A

COLLECTION

OF

Voyages and Travels,

Some now firſt Printed from *Original Manuſcripts.*

Others Tranſlated out of Foreign Languages, and now firſt Publiſh'd in *Engliſh.*

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Vol. II.

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The Effigies of Mr. Jn. Nieuhoff.

Mr. John Nieuhoff's Remarkable
VOYAGES & TRAVELLS into ye
best Provinces of ye West and East Indies.
LONDON,
Printed for Awnsham and John Churchill
at the Black Swan in Pater Noster Row, 1703.

VOYAGES and *TRAVELS*,

INTO

BRASIL,

AND THE

EAST-INDIES:

CONTAINING,

An Exact Deſcription of the *DUTCH BRASIL*, and divers Parts of the *EAST-INDIES*;

Their PROVINCES, CITIES, LIVING CREATURES, and PRODUCTS:

The MANNERS, CUSTOMS, HABITS, and RELIGION of the INHABITANTS:

WITH

A moſt particular ACCOUNT of all the remarkable Paſſages that happened during the Author's ſtay of Nine Years in *BRASIL*;

ESPECIALLY,

In Relation to the REVOLT of the *Portugueſes*, and the Inteſtine War carried on there from 1640. to 1649.

AS ALSO,

A moſt Ample Deſcription of the moſt famous City of *BATAVIA*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

By Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF*.

Both Adorned with Copper Plates, done after the Life.

Tranſlated from the DUTCH *Original.*

ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.

IT *is about Nineteen Years ſince my Brother,* John Nieuhoff, *juſt before his Second Voyage into the* Indies, *preſented me with his Deſcription of* China, *and certain Draughts he had made during his Embaſſy in that Empire, which being afterwards Publiſhed, were ſoon after Tranſlated into Six ſeveral Languages.*

My Brother had, before that time, not only been in Braſil, *and ſeveral other Places in thoſe Parts, but alſo ſince that time, has had the Opportunity of Travelling through a great part of* Aſia, *till* 1671. *when returning into* Holland, *he brought along with him all his Papers, Obſervations, and Draughts, he had Collected during his Voyages; which, though much Coveted by all curious Perſons, yet, for ſome Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he did not think fit to commit to publick View.*

But, after his Deceaſe, conſidering with my ſelf, that ſuch uſeful Collections ought not to be Buried in Oblivion, I thought fit to Publiſh them for the Publick Good.

As thoſe Things which he relates of the Revolt of the Portugueſes *in* Braſil, *are Extracted* verbatim *out of the Records kept during my Brothers Abode of Nine Years in* Braſil, *under the Government of the Lords,* Henry Hamel, Peter Bas, *and* Adrian

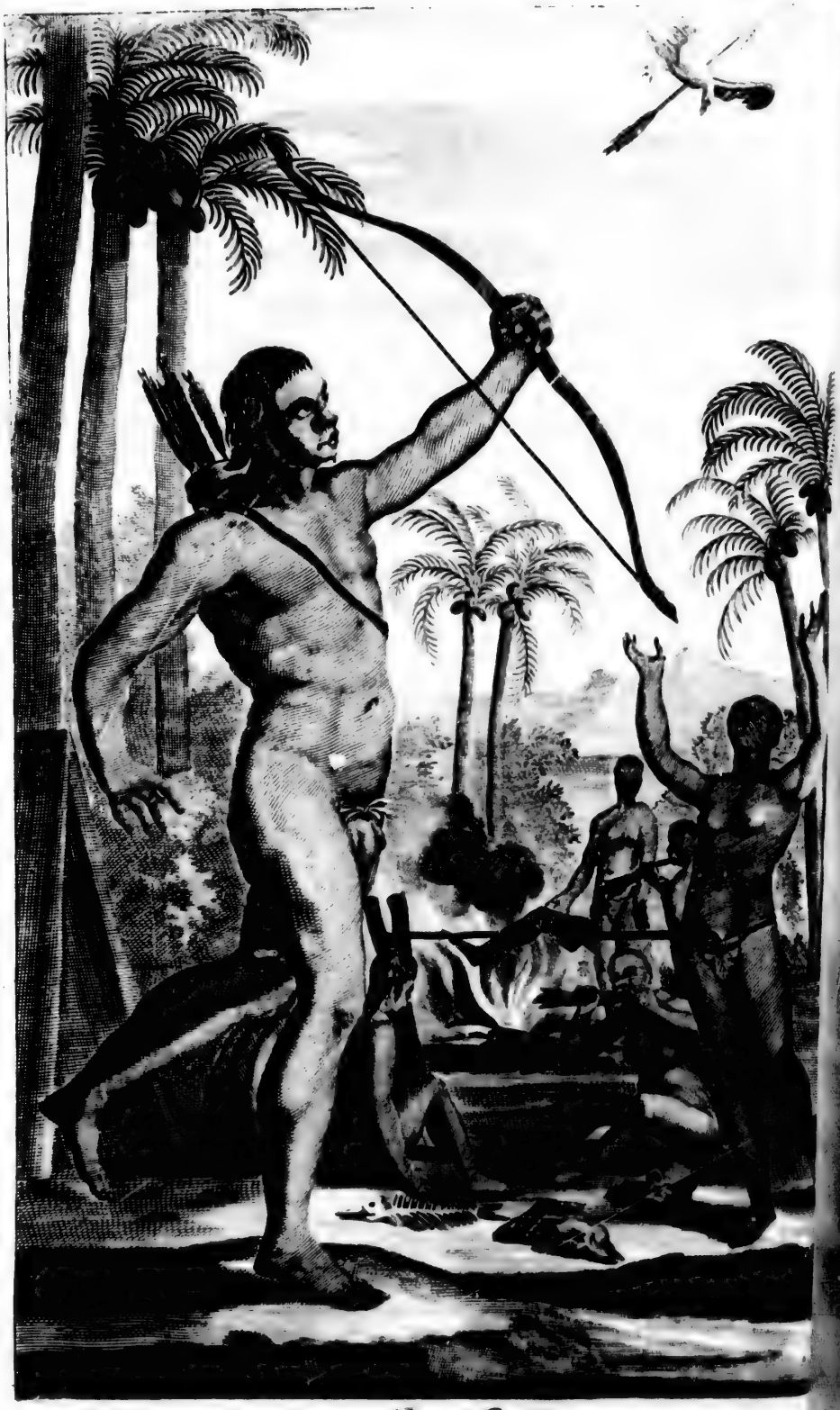
Adrian Bulleſtrate, *and Authentick Letters; ſo the Truth thereof admits not of the leaſt doubt from Unbyaſs'd Perſons.*

The vaſt Countries through which my Brother Travell'd in his Life-time, as Braſil, *part of* Perſia, Malabar, Madura, Coromandel, Amboyna, Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Tagowan, *and part of* China, *beſides many Iſlands, could not in the leaſt Infect him with that Diſeaſe, ſo incident to Travellers, to Relate Fables inſtead of Hiſtories, it having been his conſtant Practice, to Adhere moſt Religiouſly in all his Treatiſes, to the Naked Truth, without the leaſt Diſguiſe.*

His laſt Voyage to the Iſle of Madagaſcar, *where he was loſt, I have taken partly out of his own Letters, partly out of the Journal of Captain* Reinard Claeſon, *which he brought along with him from thence.*

As to his Perſon, I will only add thus much: He was Born at Uſſen *in the Earldom of* Benthem, *(where his Father, Brother, and Brother-in-Law, were all Three Bourgermaſters) of a good Family, the 22d of* July 1618. *He was a comely Perſon, of a good Underſtanding, good Humour'd, and agreeable in Converſation, a great Admirer of Poeſy, Drawing and Muſick: As he delighted in Travelling, ſo he was thereby become Maſter of divers Languages: In what Station he Lived during his Abode in* Braſil, *and the* Eaſt-Indies, *will beſt appear by the Two following Treatiſes.*

HENRY NIEUHOFF.



A Brasilian

Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF*'s

REMARKABLE

Voyages and Travels

TO

BRASIL.

1640.

IN the Year 1640. I entred into the Service of the *West-India* Company, and on the 24th of *October*, went in the Quality of Merchant Supercargo, aboard the Ship called the [illegible], of 28 Guns and 130 Men, Commanded by *Nicholas Selles* of *Durkendam*.

[illegible] day. We set Sail out of the *Texell* the same day, in Company of several other Vessels bound for *France*, *Spain* and the *Streights*; And pursued our Voyage the 28th. with a favourable Gale through the Channel betwixt *France* and *England*.

A violent Storm. On the 29th. We were overtaken with a most violent Tempest, which obliged us to take in all our great Sails: It continued from Morning to Night, when the fury of the Winds being somewhat allay'd, we found that we had escaped without any considerable damage; but the Sea continued very turbulent all that Night. The next Day following our Sea-Men catch'd a Wood-Snipe, a Wild Pidgeon, and several other small Birds; which were forc'd into the Sea by the Violence of the Storm.

On the 31. We found our selves under the 45th Degree of Northern Latitude, The next morning being the first of *November*, some of our Sea-Men catch'd a Sea-Hog by the means of a Harpeon; it was so big, that four Men could scarce lift it into the Ship. It's Taste was not very agreeable, but Rankish, which was the reason our Men did not catch any more of them, tho' they Swam in vast Numbers round about our Vessel. By Sun-set the Wind beginning to encrease, we parted from the other Ships, bound for *Spain* and the *Streights*, which were not separated from us in the last Storm, steering our Course South West. The 2d and 3d. it blew very hard, with Thunder and Lightning, so that we were forc'd to take in all our great Sails, and, the Ship being very Leaky ever since the last Tempest, to ply the Pump with all our might. *Another most violent Tempest.*

The 4th. We found our selves under the 40 Deg. 30 Min. when about Midnight the Wind encreased with so much violence, that the Air which surrounded us, appearing no otherwise than one continual Fire, occasion'd by the Lightning which scarce ever ceas'd all that Night. During this Calamity we perceived certain small Fires or Lights fixt to the Mast: They are called *Fearceables Fires* by the Sea-Men. These Fires are suppos'd to be certain Sulphureous Vapours, forc'd by the violence of the Winds from the Shoar into the Sea, where being Lightned by the violent agitation of the Air, they burn till their Oily Substance be consumed. The Sea-Men look upon them as a good Omen, that the Storm is going to abate; which prov'd true in effect, the fury of the Winds beginning to allay from that time; and we had the good Fortune to discover two Leaks near our Forecastle, which else might have prov'd of dangerous Consequence. *Wild-Fire*

The 5th we pass'd the *Barrels*, under the 39th Degree; where according to an ancient Custom, every one, of what Quality or Degree soever, that has not passed there before, is obliged to be Baptized, or redeem himself from it. He that is to be Baptized, has a Rope tyed round his Middle, wherewith he is drawn up to the very top of the Bowsprit, and from thence three times successively tumbled into the Water. There were some who look'd very blank upon the *They pass the Barrels.*

Matter, but others went chearfully about it, and for a Meaſure of *Spaniſh* Wine, ſuffered themſelves to be re-baptized for the Maſter and the Merchant. But this Cuſtom is aboliſhed of late Years, by ſpecial Orders from the Governors of the Company, to avoid Broils and Quarrels, which uſed often to ariſe upon this occaſion.

They make two Turkiſh Veſſels.

The 6th as we were ſteering our Courſe S. S. W. with a freſh Gale, we diſcryed two Veſſels, making all the Sail they could towards us, whom we ſuppoſing to be *Turkiſh* Pirates (as indeed they proved afterwards) it was reſolved to defend us till the utmoſt extremity. Accordingly Orders were given to clear every thing upon the Deck, and to furniſh the Seamen with Muſquets, Hangers, Pikes, and other ſuch like Weapons. Every one having taken his Station, we put up the Bloody Flag, and expected their coming under the ſound of our Trumpets. The Maſter of the Ship, being all that time very ill of ſome Wounds he had received formerly, which were now broken up afreſh, and the Commiſſary *Francis Zweers*, not being in a condition, by reaſon of his great Age, to remain upon Deck, I was fain to undertake the whole management of the Ship, and encouraged them to fight bravely for their Lives and Liberty, ordering them not to Fire at all, till they were in their full reach, they being much better Manned than we.

Prepare for an Engagement.

About Noon we ſaw the *Turks* make up towards us with Orange-colour'd Flags, which however they ſoon after changed for the Bloody Flags, and the biggeſt of them ſaluted us with two Cannon Shot out of his Forecaſtle, without doing us the leaſt harm, but the ſecond time almoſt ſhot our Foremaſt in pieces. In the mean while we were come ſo near to one another, that we ſent them a good Broadſide into their Ship, which the *Turks* repay'd us immediately; but it was not long before we obſerved the biggeſt of the two had received a Shot betwixt Wind and Water, which made her keep at ſome farther diſtance, till ſhe had repaired her damage, which gave me opportunity to encourage our People with Words, and a good proportion of Wine; which they mix'd with ſome Gunpowder, and I, to pleaſe them, followed their Example.

An Engagement with two Turkiſh Boats.

By this time they returned both to the Charge, and ſaluted us ſo fiercely with their Cannon and Small-ſhot, that they took away the Roof of our great Cabin, and did us ſome damage in our Rigging. I then changed my Scimetar for a Muſquet, and diſcharged continually upon the Enemy, and I found my ſelf ſore for ſeveral Weeks after, by the Hurt I received from a Muſquet of one that ſtood hard by me, which being by a Cannon-ball forced out of his Hands againſt my Body, I fell down ſtretch'd all along upon the Deck, without Senſe or Motion; but having after ſome time recovered my ſelf, I returned to my Poſt. I then perceived the Captain of the biggeſt *Turkiſh* Ship with a Turbant on his Head, in the Stern, encouraging his Men, which made me order thoſe about me, to aim at him with their Small-ſhot, which, as I ſuppoſe, ſucceeded according to our hopes, it being not long before we loſt ſight of him. Notwithſtanding this, the heat of the Fight encreaſed on both ſides, many Broadſides paſſing betwixt us, accompanied with moſt dreadful Outcries and Lamentations of the Wounded on both ſides. However the *Turks* durſt not attempt to Board us; whether it were that they thought us better Mann'd than really we were, or that they feared we would ſet Fire to the Ship, which we threatned we would, ſhewing them a Match ready for that purpoſe. They anſwered us in *Dutch*, That they would not part with us upon thoſe Terms; yet was it not long, before we ſaw them make away from us, having received many Shots thro' their Ships; and we with a brisk Gale, made all the Sail we could to be rid of theſe unwelcome Gueſts, ſteering a quite different Courſe, which with the advantage of the darkneſs of the Night, brought us quite out of ſight of them by next Morning.

The Turks leave the Fight.

We gave Thanks to God, for his having delivered us from the danger of Slavery, and crowning our Endeavours with ſucceſs againſt an Enemy much ſtronger than us, the biggeſt of them carrying 24 Guns, and the other two, whereas we had no more than 18, beſides that they were much better Man'd than we. After having taken a view of our Ship, and found it ſound under Water, we betook our ſelves to repair the damage we had received during the Fight; but whilſt we were buſie in this Work, we were on the ſeventh ſurprized by ſo violent a Storm, that we were forced to take in all our Sails. This put us to a great Nonplus, but by good fortune the Storm blew ſoon over, when Orders were given to give an Allowance of three Pounds and

and a half of Bisket *per* Week to the Seamen, all our other Bread being become musty by that time. The 10th. we found our selves under the 39th Degree, and 30 Minutes, about 20 Leagues off of the *Canary Islands*; here we discovered the Pike of *Tenariff*, being two Leagues and a half high, and accounted the highest Mountain in the World, it may be discovered at 60 Leagues distance from the Shoar. Thus we continued our Voyage till the 14th, without any memorable Accident, when we passed the Tropick of *Cancer*. About Noon we were overtaken by another Storm, which made us take in most of our great Sails, for fear of the worst, but it lasted not long.

This Tract of the Sea, is called by the *Dutch*, the *Kroos Sea*, by the *Portuguese*, *Mar del Aragaco* (or *Largaco*, or *Sargaco*) i. e. *The Sea of Ducks-meat*, because hereabouts, *viz.* from the 18th to the 30th Degree, or as some will have it, from the 20th to the 22d and 23d Degree of Northern Latitude, it is found in great quantity, and carried along with the Stream: Its Leaves are of a pale green colour, like that of Parrots, small, thin and carved at the end. It bears Berries of the same colour, about the bigness of a Pepper-corn, but are quite hollow, without any Seed within, or taste. It is sometimes so closely twilted together, that it stops a Ship in its full course; tho' we had the good Fortune to pass thro' it without much difficulty; being then about 400 Leagues from the Coast of *Africk*; where are no Illands, nor Anchorage. It may be pickled with Salt and Pepper, and used like as we do Capers, being accounted a good Remedy against the Gravel. It is generally found without Roots, having only a few thin Sprouts, which, as it is supposed, take Root in the Sandy Grounds of the Sea; tho' others are of opinion, that it is carried by the violence of theStream from the Illands into the Sea.

The 18th. one of our Ships Crew died, who was the next Day thrown overboard, at which time I observed, what indeed I had heard often before, That the dead Carcasses always float with their Heads to the East at Sea.

The 22d. we were overtaken by another Tempest, called *Travado*, which with horrible Thunder and Lightning surprizes the Ships so suddenly, that they have scarce leisure to take in their Sails, and sometimes returns three times in an hour. We catch'd here abundance of Fish, such as *Bonytes* of 10 Foot long, and *Korets*, and a great Lamprey, which we had enough to do to bring aboard; we only took out the Brains, being look'd upon as a Sovereign Remedy against the Stone in the Bladder, the Flesh being of an Oily Taste.

The 24th. we saw great Quantities of small Birds about our Vessel, and catch'd one not unlike a Crane, but somewhat smaller, it being a very fair Day.

The 26th. being under the fifth Degree, 47 Minutes, we were so becalmed that we could not perceive the Ship to move, and spent our time in catching of Fish, of which we had such Plenty, that we chose only the best for our eating; among the rest we met with a Fish called the *King's-Fish*: For by reason of the impenetrable Depth of the Sea in this place, the Waters are so clear and transparent in still Weather, that you may see the Fish in vast Numbers swimming near two Feet deep; so that you need but fasten a crooked Nail or any thing else like a Hook to a String, and hanging it in the Sea, you may catch as many Fish as you please. This Calm was followed by a most violent Storm of Rain.

The 30th we found our selves under the fourth Degree, 41 Minutes, where we saw abundance of *Flying Fish*.

The 3d of *December* we came under the first Degree, 30 Minutes, where we met with Millions of Fish, and did catch as many as we thought fit: Some we put in Salt, others we rubbed in the Belly with Pepper and Salt, and hung them up by the Tail in the Sun.

The 4th by Break of Day, being very clear Weather, we saw the Island of St. *Paulo*, as it is called by the *Portuguese*, which at a distance represents a Sail, which as you approach nearer to it, proves five high Rocks. About Noon we found our selves at 53 Minutes of Northern Latitude, taking our Course five Leagues to the West. Here at several times we catch'd some Sea-Gulls; those Birds make a shew as if they would bite you, but remain unmoveable in the place, till they are caught or kill'd.

The 5th about 11 a Clock we passed the Equinoctial Line, so that in the Afternoon we found our selves at five Minutes Southern Latitude, where we had but little reason to complain of cold; it being often so calm here, that Ships are forced to spend a considerable time in passing this Tract. It is extreamly hot here, and great scarcity of good and sweet Water, the Rain Water being not whole-

wholeſome, but cauſing the Scurvy, by reaſon of its being corrupted by the violent heat of the Sun

About three Years after my Arrival in *Braſil*, a certain *Portugueſe* Ship was found a-drift under the Equinoctial Line, without any living Creature in it, which according to the Journal, had been ſix whole Weeks under the Line. We had a very good Paſſage, and catch'd abundance of Fiſh, and among the reſt a certain Fiſh called the *Blower*, which ſwallow a conſiderable quantity of Water in their Guts, and then at once ſpout it forth again. They will follow the Ships for a long time.

They are very frequent in that Parallel.

The 8th we paſſed by the Iſle, called *Ilha Ferdinando* of *Neronha*, it being very Serene Weather, we ſaw vaſt numbers of Birds, and whole Shoals of Flying Fiſh, which were followed by the *Bonytes* and *Korets*.

The Iſland of *Ferdinando* of *Neronha*, ſituate under the fourth Degree of Southern Latitude, about 50 Leagues from the Coaſt of *Braſil*, was about the Year 1630. inhabited by the *Dutch*, but by reaſon of the vaſt numbers of Rats which conſumed all the Fruits of the Earth, deſerted by them a few Years after; it being otherwiſe a very fruitful Iſland, and abounding with Fiſh, the Inhabitants of *Reeief*, being uſed to ſend their Fiſher-boats thither, which return commonly well freighted with Fiſh. The Council of *Braſil* did afterwards ſend a certain number of Negroes thither, under the Conduct of one *Gellis Vepant*, to cultivate the Grounds for their Subſiſtance, who likewiſe ſtay'd there for ſome time. About a Year and a half after the Council of Juſtice baniſh'd ſeveral Malefactors into that Iſland, who being furniſh'd with neceſſary Inſtruments for cultivating the Ground, were forced to ſeek for their Suſtenance there.

The 11th at Night we found our ſelves under the ſeventh Degree, over againſt the Province of *Goyana*, about 20 Leagues on this ſide of *Olinda*, with Break of Day we ſaw the Shoar of *Braſil*, but kept out at Sea till it was broad Day.

The 12th. it was very foggy, and we kept our Courſe with fair Wind and Water all along the Coaſt, and arrived before Noon ſafely near the *Reeief*, where we caſt our Anchor at ſeveral Fathoms depth, after we had ſpent ſeven Weeks and one Day in the Voyage.

Their arrival in Braſil.

After we had return'd our Thanks to God for his Deliverance from the Dangers of the Sea, and Slavery of the *Turks*, I went aſhoar the ſame Night with the Maſter and Commiſſary in a Boat, to notifie our happy Arrival, and to deliver a Letter to Count *Maurice*, and the Governour of the Council. I continued aſhoar that Night, but return'd aboard the next Day. And

The 15th the Pilots conducted our Veſſel into the Harbour of the *Reeief*, where we found 28 Veſſels and two Yachts lying behind the *Water Caſtel*.

Towards the latter end of *Aug.* 1643. I received Orders from the Council to ſail with the Yacht called the *Sea-Hog*, loaden with Fullers-Earth to the Iſle of St. *Thomas*, to exchange it for Black Sugar, this being the chief Commodity tranſported from thence. My Voyage proved fortunate enough, not meeting with any ſiniſter accident, except with a violent Storm of Thunder, Lightning and Rains, and came the 9th of *September* at an Anchor there; the Cargo did bear no good Price, yet after a ſtay of 14 Days, I return'd with a Cargo of Black Sugar to *Braſil*, where I arriv'd the third of *October* before the *Reeief*, after a Voyage of near three Months.

1643.

The Iſle of St. *Thomas* is of a circular Figure, about 36 Leagues in compaſs; the high Mountains in the midſt of that Iſland are always covered with Snow, notwithſtanding that in the Low Grounds, by reaſon of its ſituation under the Line, it is exceſſive hot. It is very fertile in Black Sugar and Ginger; the Sugar-fields being continually moiſtned by the melted Snow that falls down from the Mountains. There were at that time above 60 Sugar-Mills there, but the Air is the moſt unwholſome in the World, no Foreigner daring to ſtay as much as one Night a-ſhoar, without running the hazard of his Life; becauſe by the heat of the Sun-beams ſuch venomous Vapours are drawn from the Earth, as are unſupportable to Strangers. This Fog continues till about ten a Clock in the Morning, when the ſame is diſperſed, and the Air cleared, which made us always ſtay a Board till after that time. This Miſt is not obſerv'd at Sea.

The Iſland of St. Thomas.

The Air here is very hot and moiſt throughout the Year, except in the Summer about *June*, when the South-Eaſt and South-Weſt Winds abate much of the heat of the Climate. The Vapours drawn up by the Sun, occaſion certain epidemical intermittent Fevers, which carry off the Patient in a few days, with exceſſive Pains in the Head, and violent Torments in the Bowels; tho'

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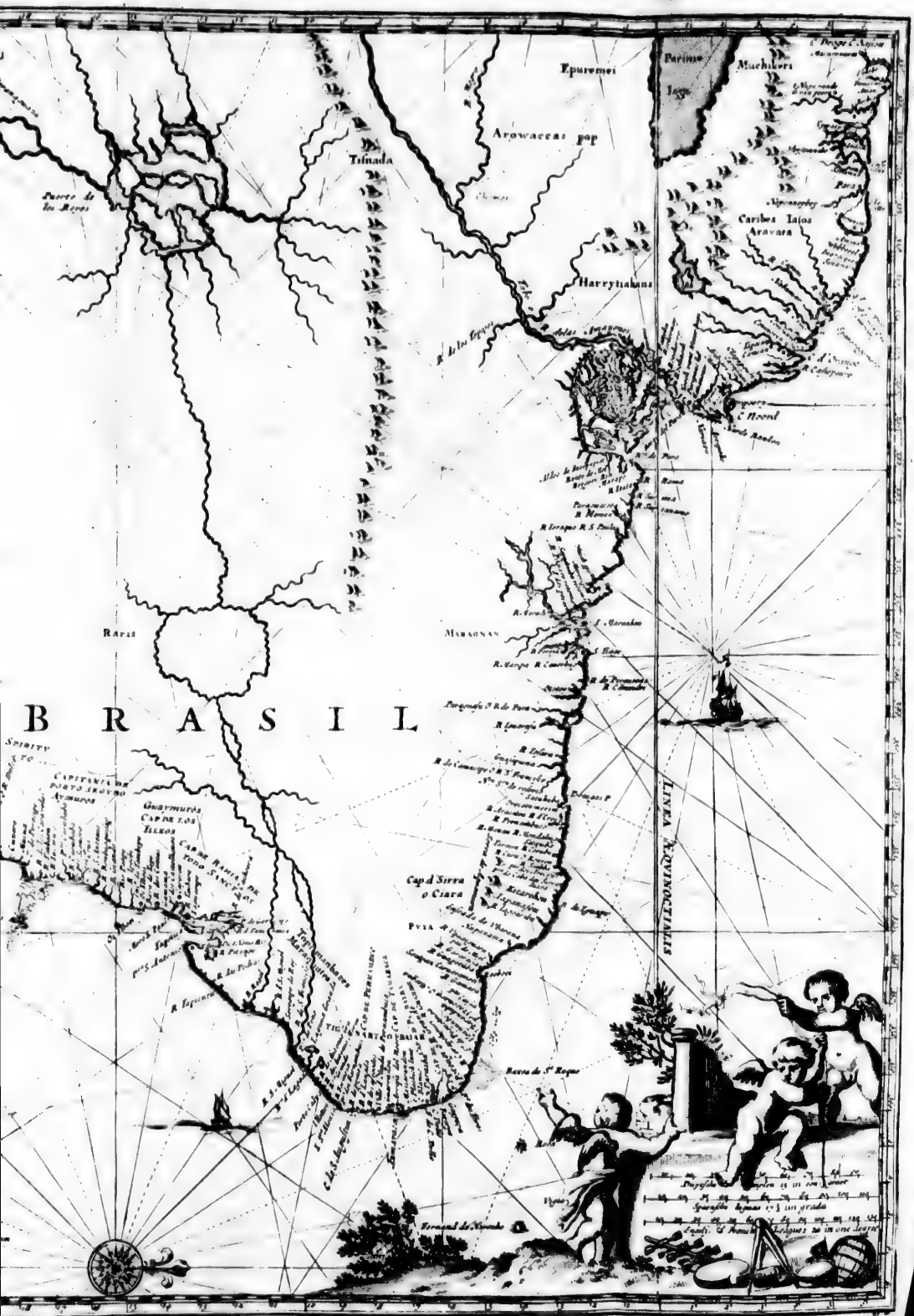

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Puerto de los Reyes
Raris
Maragnan
B R A S I L
Spirity
Capitania de Porto Seguro
Aymuros
Guaymuros
Cap de los Isleos
Cap de Bahia de Todo Sanctos
Cap d'Sirra o Ciara
Puia
Linea Æquinoctialis
Baxos de S. Roque
Fernand de Noronha

1643. tho' ſome attribute it to the immoderate Uſe of Women, and of the Juice of *Coco's*. Certain it is, that among 100 Foreigners, ſcarce 10 eſcape with Life, and thoſe ſeldom live till 50 years of Age; tho' ſome of the Inhabitants, as likewiſe the Negro's (who are all louſie here) live to a great Age. Its firſt Inhabitants were *Jews*, baniſh'd out of *Portugal*; they are of a very odd Complexion. Among the Mountains dwell abundance of Negro's, who are run away from the *Portugueſes*, and make ſometimes Excurſions to the very Gates of the City of *Pavaoſa*. It is almoſt next to a Miracle, that any People ſhould inhabit ſo unwholſom a Climate; but that the hopes of Lucre makes all Danger eaſie.

The City of *Pavaoſa*, belonging to this Iſland, is ſituate upon a Rivulet; it contains about 800 Houſes, and 3 Churches. This City, as well as the whole Iſland, was 1641. *Octob.* 16. conquered by the Admiral *Cornelius Tol*, after a Siege of 40 Days, without any conſiderable Loſs; But both he and his Lieutenant, as well as ſeveral other Commanders and many Seamen were ſwept away by this Peſtilential Air: and of 300 *Braſilians* not above 60 eſcaped with Life.

But, before I proceed to give you an Account of all the Remarkable Paſſages, that happened in *Braſil*, ſince the Revolt of the *Portugueſes*, and during my ſtay of Eight Years there; it will not be amiſs to inſert a ſhort Deſcription of this Countrey.

A Deſcription of Braſil.

America (or the *Weſt-Indies*) is divided into the *Northern* and *Southern America*. *Braſil* is part of the laſt.

The *Northern America* borders to the *North* upon the *Terra Incognita*, or rather upon *Hudſon's Streights*; to the *South* and *Weſt* upon the *South-Sea*, and to the *Eaſt* upon the Streights of *Panama*, the Bay of *Mexico*, or (*New Spain*) and the *North Sea*.

It comprehends the following *Provinces*: *Eſtotiland* and *Labrador*, *New France*, *Canada*, *Baccalaos*, *New England*, *Virginia*, *Florida*, *New Spain*, the Provinces of *Mexico*, *New Mexico*, *Tlaskalla*, *Guaxaka*, *Mechoakana*, *Zakatula*, *Kolim*, *Tukatan*, *Tabasko*, *New Gallicia*, *New Biscay*, *Chiametla*, *Kuliaka*, *Cinalon*, *New Granada*, *Kalifornia*, *Anian*, *Quivira* or *New Albion*, *Kombas*, *Guatemala*, *Sokonusko*, *Chiapa*, *Vera Paz*, *Honduras*, *Nikaragua*, *Koſtarika*, and *Veragua*.

The Southern *America* is a Demi-Iſland, in form of a Pyramid; the Baſis of which lies to the *North*, the Point extends to the Streights of *Magellan*, under the 53d. Degree of Southern Latitude; bordering to the Eaſt, upon the *Atlantick Ocean*, or *North Sea*, and to the Weſt upon the *South Sea*, its whole Circuit being of about 4000 *Italian* or 1000 *German* Miles. It contains the Provinces of *Kaſtilla d'Or*, *Tierra firma*, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Paria*, *Kumana*, *Karibana*, *Braſil*, *Chika* to the Eaſt, to the Weſt *Popayan*, *Peru*, *Chili*, beſides ſeveral Inland Provinces. 1643.

Braſil was firſt diſcovered by *Pedro Alvaro Kapralis* a *Portugueſe*, ſome time before *Americus Veſputius*, viz. in the Year 1500. He gave it the name of *Santa Cruz*, which was afterwards by the *Portugueſes* changed into that of *Braſil*, from the Wood of the ſame name, which is found there in great quantity, and from thence Tranſported into all Parts of *Europe*, for the uſe of the Dyers. *First Diſcovery of Braſil.*

It is ſituate in the midſt of the *Torrid Zone*, extending to the *Tropick* of *Cancer*, and the *Temperate Zone*. *Its Situation.*

Concerning its Extent from *North* to *South*, there is no ſmall difference among the Geographers; but according to the beſt Computations, its beginning may be fix'd under the ſecond Degree and a half of Northern Latitude, near the River *Para*, and its end under the 24th Degree and a half of Southern Latitude, to the River *Capibari*, two Leagues above the City of St. *Vincent*; ſo that its whole Extent from North to South, comprehends 25 Degrees or 375 Leagues; Some place *Braſil* betwixt the River of *Maranhaon* and *Rio de la Plata*. The Extent of *Braſil* from the Eaſt (where it borders upon the *North Sea*) to the Weſt, is not determined hitherto, there being very few who have penetrated ſo deep into the Country; tho' its bigneſs from Eaſt to Weſt may be computed to be 742 Leagues; there are however ſome who extend its limits farther to the Eaſt, and to the Weſt as far as *Peru* or *Guiana*, which makes an Addition of 188 Leagues; Some make the Boundaries of *Braſil* to the *North* the River of the *Amazons*; to the South *Rio de la Plata*; to the Eaſt the *North Sea*, and to the Weſt the Mountains of *Peru* or *Guiana*. *Extent.*

Braſil thus limited, is divided by the *Portugueſes* into 14 Diſtricts, called by them *Kapitanias*, or Captainſhips; *viz.* *Paria*, the firſt of all towards the North; *Maranhaon*, *Siara*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande*, *Paraiba*, *Parnambuko*, *Tamarika* or *Itamarika*, *Its Diviſion.*

1643. [illegible], *Seregippo del Rey*, *Quirimuce* or [illegible] *todos los Santos*, *Nioe-Kombe*, or *os Illos*, *Pakata*, or *Porto Securo*, *Rio de Janeiro* or *Nuetereya*, *St. Vincent* and *Espiritu St.*

Whilst part of *Brasil* was in our Possession, it might conveniently be divided into the *Dutch* and *Portuguese Brasil*. Each of these *Captainships* is watered by some considerable River or other, besides several others of less note; Most of these have very rapid Currents in the rainy Months, and overflow the adjacent Country.

The River of St. *Francis*, the largest and most considerable in those Parts, is the common Boundary of the *Captainship* of *Parnambuko* and *Bahia de todos los Santos*, or the *Bay of all Saints*. In some places it is so broad, that a Six-pounder can scarce reach over it, and its Depth is 8, 12, and sometimes 15 Yards; But it admits of no Ships of Burthen, because its Entrance is choak'd up with Sands.

Its first Spring is said to arise out of a certain Lake, which being augmented by many Rivulets out of the Mountains of *Peru*, but especially by the Rivers of *Rio de la Plata* and *Maranhaon* exonerates it self into the Sea. Some of our People went in a Shallop near 40 Leagues up the River, and found it of a good depth and pretty broad. If we may believe the *Portugueses*, there are about 50 Leagues from the Sea, certain impassable Cataracts, or Water-falls, called by them *Kakoeras*; Beyond those the River winds to the North, till you come to its Source in the Lake, in which are many pleasant Islands, inhabited by the Barbarians; as is likewise the Shoar round about it. They find good store of Gold Dust in this Lake, but it is none of the best, being carried thither by the many Rivulets, which wash the Gold-bearing Rocks of *Peru*; here is also most excellent Salt-Petre.

It is observable, That in the Summer and those Winter Months, when it Rains but seldom, this River has more Water than in the rainy Season: The reason alledged for it is, the vast distance from its first Source, whither the Rains that fall from the Mountains must first be conveyed by many Rivulets; All the other Rivers near the *Receif*, are so empty of Water during the Summer Season, that they are rendred quite Unnavigable. But the Ridges of Mountains which lie not far from the Sea-shore, exonerate their Waters as well here as in *Peru*, backwards to the West, and dividing themselves into two Branches; The first runs to the North, and joins with the large and most rapid Rivers of *Maranhaon*, and of the *Amazons*; the other with the Rivers of St. *Francis de la Plata*, and *Janeiro*. The Waters of these Rivers being considerably encreased by many Rivulets, they exonerate themselves with so much violence into the Sea, that the Seamen meet often with fresh Water at a considerable distance at Sea.

The increase of the Waters in this River, during the dry Season, may likewise be attributed to the vast quantity of Snow among the Mountains, which being melted by the heat of the Sun, occasions the River to transgress its ordinary bounds; which in this point is quite different from other Rivers, which commonly in the Winter time overflow their Banks.

Six of those *Captainships* were under the Jurisdiction of the *West-India* Company, before the *Portuguese* revolted from the *Dutch*, which they had conquered with their Swords, *viz.* The *Captainship*, (it begins on the Southside) *Seregippe del Rey* of *Parnambuko*, *Itamarika*, unto which belongs *Gauiana*, *Paraiba*, *Potigi* or *Rio Grande* and *Siara*, or *Ciara*. The *Captainship* of *Maranhaon* was 1644, by special Command of the Company, left by the *Dutch*. This part of *Brasil* used to be called by the *Portugueses*, the *Northern Brasil*, as the other remaining in their possession, went by the Name of *South Brasil*. *The* Dutch Brasil.

The 6 *Dutch Captainships* did extend all along the Sea Coast from North to South, in length about 160 or 180 Leagues; for from *Rio Grande*, to the Northern Border of *Seregippe del Rey*, is 100 Leagues: the two others, *viz.* that of *Siara* to the North, and *Seregippe del Rey* to the South, make up the rest. Each of those *Captainships* contain several other lesser Districts, call'd by the *Portugueses Fregesias*, and by us *Fregesien*; as for instance, in *Seregippe del Rey*, are *Pojuka*, *Kameragibi*, *Porto Calvo*, *Serinhaim*, and several others. *Fregasie*, comprehends a certain Tract of Ground, composed of divers Villages, Rivers, Hills and Vallies, betwixt each of which is commonly a Tract of barren Hills, of about three or four Leagues in length. Most of the *Dutch Captainships*, are but indifferently cultivated, because the *Portugueses* used not to manure the Ground in those parts, beyond three or four, or at farthest, five Leagues distance from the Sea.

The

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Seregippe del Rey.

The *Captainſhip* of *Seregippe del Rey*, is likewiſe called *Carigi*, from a certain ſmall Lake of that Name; it is ſituate in the Southern part of *Braſil*, extending about 32 Leagues along the Sea Coaſt, bordering on the North ſide, upon the River of St. *Francis*, by which it is divided from *Parnambuko*, as on the South ſide it is ſeparated by *Rio Real*, from *Bahia dos todos los Santos*. *Seregippe del Rey*, has among others, a certain *Fregaſie*, called *Porto Calvo*, ſituated betwixt the 9th and 10th degree of Southern Latitude; being encompaſs'd on the North Weſt-ſide by the *Fregaſie* of *Serinhaim*, and the ſmall River of *Piraſenunga*, extending to the South as far as the River *Parepuera*, by which it is divided from the *Fregaſie* of *Alagoaſi*, containing in all about 12 Leagues in length near the Sea ſhore, its bounds to the Land ſide reaching to the unpaſſable Woods.

The Village of Bon Succeſſo de Porto Calvo.

In this *Fregaſie*, is a Village call'd by the *Portugueſe*, *Villa de bon ſucceſſo de Porto Calo*, but was formerly called *Portocano Dos quatros Rios*, it being ſituate at the confluence of the four Rivers, *Maleita*, *Tapamunde*, *Commentabunda* and *Mongnaba*. It is built upon a riſing Ground, about 4 Leagues from the Sea ſhore, and by the *Dutch* ſtrengthned with 2 Forts; the biggeſt of which was called *Bon Succeſſo*, being built all of Stone, ſurrounded with a good Counterſcarp, with a large Baſon for freſh Water within. The other Fort was called by us, the *New Church*, being created out of the Ruines of an old Church, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Noſſa Senhora de Preſentacao*. Betwixt both theſe Forts, a third was ordered to be erected by Count *Maurice*, upon the Banks of the River, but it lying within the reach of Musket-ſhot from the Mountains, was not brought to perfection.

The Village has two Streets, the chief of which runs parallel with the River, from one Fort to the other; and is called St. *Joſeph*'s ſtreet, it contained no more than three Houſes of one ſtory high, and about 36 others, covered with Pan-tiles, being only built upon the Ground. The *Portugueſes* have in lieu of their Churches, which were demoliſh'd, when the Fortifications were erected, built themſelves another on the other ſide of the River, where they ſometimes hear Mass. The Village is ſituate in a moſt pleaſant and wholeſome Air, being cooled by the continual Brezes from the Sea, which are not ſtop'd by any Hills, betwixt them and the ſhoar. In the Night time they enjoy the benefit of the Land Wind, which drives the cool Vapours ariſing from the neighbouring Rivers thither: Formerly there was a certain Town called *Seregippe del Rey*, ſomewhat higher up the River, in a very barren place, of a conſiderable bigneſs, and well built, with three goodly Churches, and a Monaſtery belonging to the *Franciſcans*, but without any Fortifications. Above this Town you ſee a Chappel dedicated to St. *Chriſtopher*, whither the *Roman Catholicks* come on Pilgrimage.

1643.

This *Captainſhip* was firſt of all reduced under the Obedience of the *Portugueſe* or *Spaniards*, by *Chriſtovan de Barros*; who for this his good ſervice, had all the Lands betwixt the ſmall Lake of *Segerippe* and St. *Franciſco*, granted to him, with full power to ſettle Colonies there within a limited time. This drew many of the Inhabitants of the *Bay of all Saints* thither; who within a few Years after laid the Foundations of this Town, by erecting 4 Sugar-Mills, and building about 100 Houſes, with 400 Stables for their Cattle. But this Town, with all the circumjacent Houſes, was 1637, the 24th of *December*, laid deſolate by our People, the Inhabitants retiring to the *Bay of all Saints*. For the *Spaniſh* General *Benjola* being, 1637, poſted with a Body of 2000 Men near that place, did with ravaging and burning, conſiderable damage to our Colonies, which obliged Count *Maurice* to diſlodge him from thence; but being then ſick of an Ague, he committed this Expedition to the charge of Colonel *Schoppe*; for which purpoſe having gathered a Body of 2300 Men, beſides four hundred *Braſilians*, and 250 Seamen out of the adjacent Places, near the River of St. *Francis*, *Alagous*, the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, out of the *Receif* and *Moribeka*, and given him for his Aſſiſtant Mr. *John van Grieſſelen*, a Member of the Great Council, he commanded the *Dutch* Admiral *Lichthart*, to cruiſe with his Fleet near the *Bay of all Saints*, thereby to draw the Enemy out of his advantageous Poſt to the Sea-ſhoar. The *Spaniſh* General had no ſooner notice of our paſſing the River, but fearing to be encloſed betwixt us and the Fleet, marched with his Body to *Torre Garcie de Avila*, a place about 14 Leagues to the North of the City of St. *Salvador*.

The *Dutch* General *Schoppe*, hearing of his removal, immediately attack'd the place, which he laid deſolate, and returned with incredible ſwiftneſs to the South ſide of the River of St. *Francis*.

Here

1643. Here he intrench'd himſelf, with an intention to annoy the Enemy, by cutting off his Proviſions, and driving away his Cattel; which ſucceeded ſo well, that we kill'd above 3000 of their Horn Beaſts, beſides what was carried away on the other ſide of the River; ſo that what was left by the Soldiers, was by the Inhabitants carried to the *Bay of all Saints*; from whence it is evident, what vaſt Numbers of Cattel this Countrey did produce at that time.

The Great Council took once a reſolution to re-people that part of the Countrey, and agreed for this purpoſe with *Nanno Olfredi*, Councellor of Juſtice in the *Receif*, who found means to ſettle ſeveral Families there: But the Council of XIX. diſapproving the matter, it was laid aſide.

In the Year 1641, Count *Maurice* reduced this place under the Obedience of the *Weſt-India* Company, erected a Fort there, and ſurrounded the Town *Seregippe del Rey* with a Ditch. It lies upon a ſmall River, betwixt St. *Franciſco* and *Real*, which however at Spring-Tide has 14 Foot Water or thereabouts. Within the juriſdiction of this *Captainſhip*, is the Mountain of *Tabayna*; from whence ſeveral ſorts of valuable Oar was preſented to the Council of XIX; but upon Proof, was found not worth farther looking after.

The Captainſhip *of Parnambuko.*

The *Captainſhip* of *Parnambuko*, is one of the chiefeſt and biggeſt of the *Dutch Braſil*. It extends above 60 Leagues along the Coaſt, betwixt the River of St. *Francis*, and the Captainſhip of *Tamarika*. *Parnambuko* properly denotes the Entrance of the Harbour, which by reaſon of the many Rocks and Shelves hidden under Water, was called by the *Portugueſes*, *Inferno Bokko*, and broken *Parnambokko*, or the *Mouth of Hell*. It is ſubdivided into 11 leſſer Diſtricts, inhabited by the *Portugueſes*, *viz.* the City of *Olinda*, *Garazu*, *Receif*, *Moribeka*, St. *Anthony*, *Poyuka*, *Serinhaim*, *Gonſalvi d'Una*, *Porto Calvo*, the Northern *Alagoa*, and the Southern *Alagoa*. Among which *Olinda* and *Garazu* were the chiefeſt.

11 Towns and Villages of Parnambuko.

Garazu. The Town, or rather the Village of *Garazu*, lies at ſome diſtance from the Shoar, over againſt the Iſland of *Tamarika*, upon a River of the ſame Name, about 5 Leagues from *Olinda*. It was formerly Inhabited by *Portugueſe* Handicrafts Men, but ſince our taking of *Olinda*, ſeverel rich Families ſettled there; we became Maſters of the Place 1633, in *May*. 1643.

Moribeka. *Moribeka* lies deeper into the Countrey, more to the South, about 5 Leagues off of the *Receif*.

St. Anthony. St. *Anthony* is about 7 or 8 Leagues diſtant from the *Receif* to the South, near the Cape of St. *Auſtin*.

Poyuka. The City of St. *Michael de Poyuka*, lies about 10 Leagues to the South of the *Receif* upon a River of the ſame Name, which diſembogues in the Sea, on the South ſide of the Cape of St. *Auſtin*. It was formerly a very Populous Place, and had 13 Sugar-Mills.

Serinhaim The Village *Serinhaim*, much about the ſame diſtance thence with the former, is a very pleaſant place, has 12 Sugar-Mills, each of which produces 6 or 7000 *Aroba's*, an *Aroba* making about 27 or 28 Pound weight.

Gonſalvi d'Una. The Village of *Gonſalvi d'Una*, lies 20 Leagues from the *Receif*, ; it has 5 Sugar-Mills.

Porto Calvo. The Village called *Porto Calvo*, is 25 Leagues diſtant from the *Receif*; it has 7 or 8 Sugar-Mills. Here is the Caſtle of *Porocano*, which was not Conquered by us, till under the Government of Count *Maurice*.

The Towns of the Northern and Southern *Alagoa's*, are 40 Leagues from the *Receif*.

Within the Diſtrict of *Parnambuko*, are two Woods, called by the *Portugueſes* the greater and leſſer *Palmairas*, or Palm-tree Woods.

The two Palmaira's. The leſſer *Palmairas*, which is Inhabited by 6000 Negroes, lies about 20 Leagues above the *Alagoa's*, being enclo-ſed with Woods near the ſmall Lake of *Guagobubi*, which exonerates it ſelf into the great Lake of *Paraiba*, 6 Leagues from thence to the North, about 4 Leagues from the Lake *Meridai*, to the South of the Northern *Alagoa*, being near that point of Land commonly called *Jaragoa*. The Village conſiſts of 3 Streets, each near half a League in length. Their Huts are made of Straw twiſted together, one near another, their Plantations being behind. They retain ſomething of the Religious Worſhip of the *Portugueſes*, but have their peculiar Prieſts and Judges. Their Buſineſs is to rob the *Portugueſes* of their Slaves, who remain in Slavery among them, till they have redeemed themſelves by ſtealing another: But ſuch Slaves as run over to them, are as free as the reſt. Their Food is Dates, Beans, Meal, Barley, Sugar-Canes,

canes, Tame Fowl, (of which they have great Plenty) and Fiſh, which the Lake furniſhes them withal. They have twice a Year a Harveſt of Barley, which being over, they make merry for a whole Week together. Before Sowing time, they light great Fires for 14 Days, which may be ſeen at a great diſtance. The ſhorteſt way from the *Receif* to this *Palmairas*, is along the Lake of the Northern *Alagoa*.

The greater *Palmairas* is betwixt 20 and 30 Leagues diſtance behind the Village of St. *Amar*, near the Mountain of *Bebe*, being ſurrounded with a double Encloſure. About 8000 Negroes are ſaid to Inhabit the Valleys near the Mountains, beſides many others, who dwell in leſſer Numbers of 50 or 100, in other places. Their Houſes lie ſtragling, they Sow and Reap among the Woods, and have certain Caves whither they retreat in caſe of neceſſity. They dreſs their Victuals in the Day time, and at Night tell over their whole Number, to ſee whether any be wanting; if not, they conclude the Evening with Dancing and beating the Drum, which may be heard at a great diſtance. Then they go to ſleep till 9 or 10 a Clock the next Day. During the dry Seaſon, they detach a certain Number among them, to ſteal Slaves from the *Portugueſes*. The ſhorteſt cut to their Habitations, is from the *Alagoas* through St. *Amar*, and ſo croſs the Plains of *Nhumabu* and *Kororipe*, towards the backſide of the Mountain of *Warrakaka*, till you come to the Lake *Paraiba*; along which you muſt paſs till you reach the Mountain *Bebe*, from whence you go directly into the Valleys. Under the Government of Count *Maurice*, the Negroes of this *Palmairas* did conſiderable miſchief, eſpecially to the Country People about the *Alagoas*; to repreſs which, he ſent [illegible] Firelocks, 100 *Mamelukes*, and [illegible] *Indians*.

The Receit, Maurice's *Town, and* Anthony Vaez.

The *Receif*. The *Receif* is, by reaſon of its commodious and advantageous ſituation the ſtrongeſt place of all *Braſil*; beſides that, it is ſtrengthned and defended by ſeveral adjacent Forts: But to give you the moſt commodious View both of the *Receif*, and the Situation of *Maurice*'s Town, it is to be obſerved, That the whole Coaſt of *Braſil*, is from one end to the other, ſurrounded with a long, thick, and flat ridge of Rocks, which in ſome places is 20, and in others 30 Paces broad: However there are certain Paſſages in this Ridge, through which the Ships approach the Shoar, and ſome few Places, where this Ridge is not found at all. Thus a League on this ſide *Rio dolce*, 2 Leagues on the Northſide of the City of *Olinda*, there is nothing of this Ridge to be found; but begins again near *Pourmarelle* or *Soxamardo*, and extends to the Iſle of *Itamarika*. Betwixt the Ridge and the Continent, you may paſs in Boats at High-water; for at Low-Tide moſt of thoſe Rocks appear above Water; tho' the Tide never fails to cover the ſame. The Rock over againſt the *Receif* of *Pernambuko*, is between 20 and 30 Paces broad, being not only at Spring-Tides, but at all other Tides overflown by the Sea; it is thereabouts very flat, without any Prominencies, and extends for a League from South to North. On the North Point is an open Paſſage for Ships to approach the Shoar, lying 500 Paces further to the North, than the *Receif* it ſelf. It is but narrow, and at Spring-Tide not above 22 Foot deep.

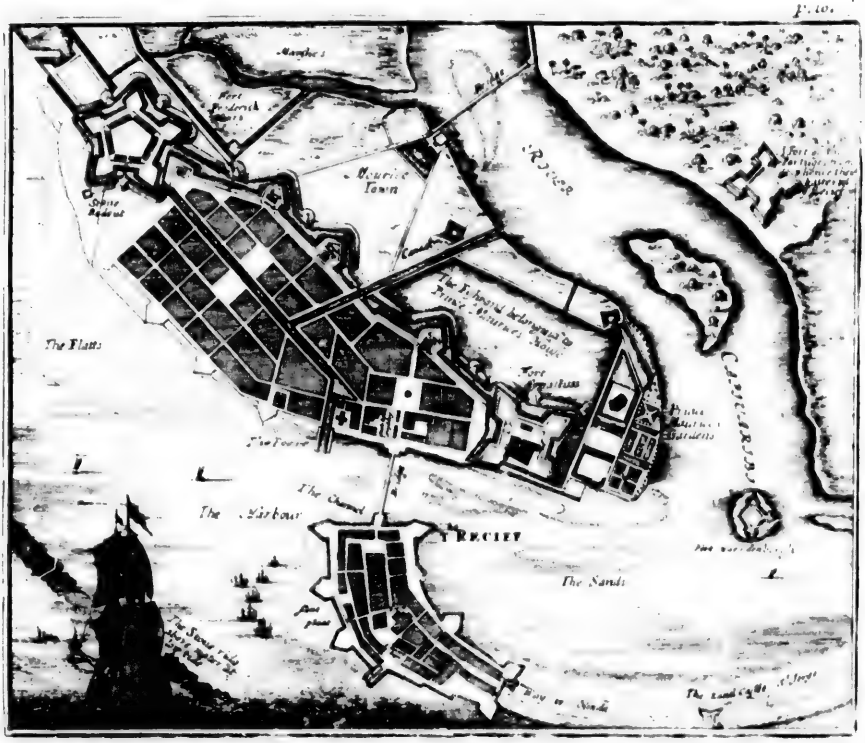
The Stone Ridge round the Coaſt of *Braſil*.

Betwixt this Rocky Ridge and the Continent, there is a Sandy Ridge, or ſmall Iſland extending to the South from *Olinda*, a League in length, and about 200 Paces broad. This is by our People commonly called, *The Sandy Receif*, to diſtinguiſh it from, *The Stony Receif*.

The Sandy *Receif*.

On the Southern Point of this little Iſland, a League off *Olinda*, the *Portugueſes* had built a Village, called *Povoacano*, which ſignifies *Peopling*, or elſe *Receiffo*; it was very Populous for a conſiderable time, till the building of *Maurice*'s Town, in the Iſland of *Anthony Vaez*. For after *Olinda* was forſaken by its Inhabitants, and deſtroyed by us, many of them, but eſpecially the Merchants, ſetled in this *Receiffo*, or the Village of *Povoacano*, where they erected magnificent Structures. At our firſt Arrival, we found no more than 200 Houſes there, which were afterwards increaſed to above 2000, ſome of which are very goodly Edifices. We ſurrounded it with Palliſadoes on the ſide of the River *Biberibi*, which at Low-water is fordable; and for its better ſecurity fortified it with 3 Bulwarks, one towards *Olinda*, the other to the Harbour, and the third towards the *Salt River*; upon each of which was raiſed a good Battery with 3 great Cannon. This *Receif* is ſituate under the 8th degree, 20 Minutes Southern Latitude.

Some derive the word *Reciffo* from the *Latin*, *recipere* and *receptus* to receive, which after was turned into *Reciffo*, because the Ships used to be received betwixt the Stony and Sandy *Receifs*, to load and unload their Goods. Before the building of *Maurice's* Town, we kept here our Factories, and all Business both of Peace and War, were transacted in this place. In the time of the *Portugueses*, all the Ships coming out of the Sea, did unload on the Village of *Pozoacano*, or the *Receif*, and the Goods were from thence in Boats and Lighters conveyed up the River *Riberibi*, to the Suburbs of *Olinda*.



Before the building of *Maurice's* Town, most of the Traffick was in the *Receif*, where all the great Merchants had their Habitations, and from hence the Sugar was transported into *Holland*. To prevent the Frauds in the Customs, it was surrounded with Pallisadoes, and a goodly Hospital was erected for the conveniency of the Sick and Wounded, and the Education of Orphans, under the tuition of 4 Governours, and as many Governesses.

Upon the uttermost Point of the Stony *Receif*, on the left side as you enter the Harbour out of the Sea, is a strong and large Castle, built of Free-stone, surrounded with a very high Wall, upon which are mounted many heavy Cannon, with suitable Artillery and other Provisions. When we took the place, we found 9 Brass, and 22 Iron pieces of Cannon within it; so that it seems both by Art and Nature impregnable; there being no coming near it on Foot, at High-water.

About 5 Leagues higher, upon a branch of the great River, lies a small Town of little consequence, called by our People, *The New City*; and upon another branch of the same River, opposite to the former, a Village called *Arapoepe*.

The Island of *Anthony Vaez*, and *Maurice's* Town.

To the South of the *Receif*, opposite to it, lies the Isle of *Anthony Vaez*, so called

1643. called by our People, from its ancient Poſſeſſor. It is about half a League in Circuit, being divided from the *Receif*, by the *Salt River*, or *Biberibe*.

On the Eaſt-ſide of this Iſland, Count *Maurice* laid the foundation of a City, which after his own Name, he call'd *Maurice*'s Town, or City; the Ruines of the Churches and Monaſteries of the City of *Olinda*, furniſhed the Materials for the building of it, which were from thence carried to the *Receif*, and ſo tranſported to this place.

On the Weſt ſide it is environ'd with a Moraſs; and on the Eaſt ſide waſhed by the Sea, which paſſes the Stony Ridge. Beſides which it is on the Land ſide ſtrengthned with an Earthen Wall, four Bulwarks, and a large Moat.

On that ſide where the Fort of *Erneſtus* was, the Town lay open, and the Houſes took up a larger compaſs than thoſe in the *Receif*; but after the Revolt of the *Portugueſe*, moſt thoſe Houſes were pull'd down, and the place drawn into a more narrow Compaſs, to render it more defensible: Yet was the place well ſtock'd with Inhabitants, as well Merchants as Handicrafts Men.

Maurice's Town was on each ſide guarded by a Fort. On the South ſide by the Fort called *Frederick Henry*, or the Quinquangular Fort, from its 5 Bulwarks. This Fort was beſides this, ſurrounded by a large Ditch and Palliſadoes, and ſtrengthned by two Hornworks, ſo that it commanded the whole Plain, which at Spring-Tides us'd to be overflown by the Sea.

The ſecond Fort *Erneſtus*, thus called after *John Erneſt*, the Brother of Count *Maurice*, was fourſquare, with 4 Bulwarks, with a very large Ditch; it commanded the River, the Plains, and *Maurice*'s Town. Near this laſt Fort was the Garden of Count *Maurice*, ſtor'd with all ſorts of Trees, brought thither from *Europe*, and both the *Indies*.

Upon the Northpoint of the *Stony Receif*, juſt over againſt the *Sandy Receif*, lies the beforenamed Fort, built all of Stone, being about 100 Paces in Circumference, provided with a good Garriſon and 20 pieces of great Cannon, tho' in ſtormy Weather the Water flies over it on all ſides. It commands the Harbour, the Land Fort, the *Bruin Fort*, and the *Receif*.

As the Iſle of *Anthony Vaez* was joyned to the Continent by a Bridge, ſo it was thought neceſſary, to joyn the *Receif* with another Bridge to the ſaid Iſland; for the conveniency of Carriage, the Sugar Cheſts being before that time never to be tranſported to the *Receif*, except at Low-Water, unleſs the Owners would run the hazard of expoſing them to the danger of the Sea in ſmall Boats. Accordingly the Great Council, with conſent of the Governour, Count *Maurice*, agreed with a certain Architect for the building of a Bridge with Stone Arches, for the Sum of 250000 Florins. But after the Architect had conſumed a prodigious quantity of Stone, and raiſed the Structure near to the height of the Banks of the River, finding that at Low-Water there was ſtill 11 Foot Water, and deſpairing to be able to accompliſh it, left it unfiniſhed. But the Council being unwilling to deſiſt, renewed the Work, which had already coſt 100000 Florins; and by means of many Trees of 40 and 50 Foot long, ſtop'd the Current till the Bridge was brought to perfection, which was done in 2 Months time, and a certain Toll impoſed upon all Paſſengers, *viz.* For an Inhabitant 2 Pence, for a Soldier and Negroe 1 Penny, for a Horſe 4 Pence, and a Waggon drawn by Oxen, 7 Pence.

The ſpace betwixt the *Sandy*, and *Stony Receif*, is properly the Harbour, which at High-Water has about 13 or 14 Foot depth, where the Ships ride very ſafe, being defended from the Sea by the *Stony Receif*. The Paſſage betwixt the *Sandy Receif* and the Continent, is called the *Salt River*, to diſtinguiſh it from the River *Kapivaribi* which carries ſweet Water. The Harbour.

The River *Kapivaribi* has derived its Name from a certain kind of River or Sea Hogs, which uſed to be found there, and were by the *Braſilians* called *Kapivaribi*. This River ariſes ſome Leagues to the Weſt, paſſing by the *Matta*, or the *Wood of Braſil*, *Maſyaſſi*, St. *Lorenzo* and *Real*, where joyning with the River *Aſſogados*, near another River of the ſame Name, diſembogues in the Sea, near the *Receif*. The River *Kapivaribi* divides it ſelf into 2 branches; one turns to the South, and paſſes by the Fort *William*, and is called *Aſſogados*; the other running to the North, retains its former Name, continuing its Courſe betwixt the Continent and *Maurice*'s Town, or the Iſle of *Anthony Vaez*, (into which you may paſs over it by a Bridge) and ſo to *Waerdenburgh*, where it joyns with the River *Biberibi*, or *Salt River*, both which are afterwards mix'd with the Sea. The two branches of this River, ſurround the The River *Kapivaribi*.

River

1643. River *Biberibi* on the West side, and to the East the Isle of *Anthony Vaez*. Upon that branch of the River, called *Afogados*, are abundance of Sugar Mills, from whence the *Portugueses* used to convey their Sugar Chests, either in Boats, by the way of the River, or in Carts to *Baretta*, and from thence in Flatbottomed Boats to the *Receif*, and to *Olinda*.

A League to the South of *Maurice*'s Town upon the branch, called *Afogados*, a foursquare Fort of the same Name, otherwise called Fort *William*; from whence you may pass along a Lake to the Fort *Frederick Henry*, or *Maurice*'s Town. It was a Noble Structure, surrounded with high and strong Walls, a large Ditch and Pallisadoes, with 6 Brass Cannon. It defended the Avenues to the Plains.

About half a League from thence, and at the same distance from the Continent, lies another Fort on the Sea shoar, called *Baretta*: This commands the Avenues both by Sea and Land to the Cape of St. *Austin*, and to the *Receif*.

Upon that part of the Island which lies betwixt the Rivers *Kapivaribi*, and *Biberibi*, and betwixt the Forts of *Frederick*, and the Triangular Fort of *Waerdenburgh*, were the before mentioned Gardens of Count *Maurice*, stor'd with all kinds of Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Greens, which either *Europe*, *Africk*, or both the *Indies* could afford. There were near 700 Cocoa-Trees of all sizes, some of which were 30, 40, and 50 Foot high; which being transplanted thither, out of the circumjacent Countries, bore abundance of Fruit the very first Year: Above 50 Limon-Trees, and 18 Citron-Trees, 80 Pomgranate-Trees, and 60 Fig-Trees, were also to be seen in these Gardens.

In the midst of it stood the Seat it self, called *Vryburgh*, a Noble Structure indeed, which, as is reported, cost 600000 [illegible]. It had a most admirable Prospect, both to the Sea and Land side, and its two Towers were of such a height, [illegible] might be seen 6 or 7 Leagues off [illegible] and served the Seamen for a Beacon. In the front of the House was a [illegible] Marble, rising by degrees from [illegible], upon which were mount[illegible] [illegible]n, for the defence of the River. About 2 or 3 Rods from the River, were several large Basons in [illegible], containing very sweet Water, [illegible] the River all round [illegible] nothing but Salt Water; besides this, there were divers Fish-Ponds, stock'd with all sorts of Fish.

1643. His Summer Seat.

At the very Foot of the Bridge which is built over the River *Kapivaribi*, from *Maurice*'s Town to the Continent, Count *Maurice* had built a very pleasant Summer Seat, called by the *Portugueses*, *Baaretta*, i. e. *Aftan Prospect*. It was not only surrounded with very pleasant Gardens and Fish Ponds, but served likewise as a Fort for the defence of the Isle of *Anthony Vaez*, and *Maurice*'s Town.

The Land Fort.

Upon the *Sandy Receif*, opposite to the *Sea*, or *Water Fort*, was a strong Fort built of Stone, called by the *Portugueses*, St. *Toris*, our People used to call it the *Land Fort*, to distinguish it from the beforementioned *Water Fort*; it defends the Entrance of the Harbour with 13 Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort *Bruin*.

About a Musket Shot thence to the North, lies upon the same *Sandy Receif*, a small Fort with 4 Bastions, called the Fort of *Bruin*; and about a Musket-shot further to the North, a Redoubt, called *Madam de Bruin*: Both these Forts were built by the *Dutch*.

The Fort of *Waerdenburgh*.

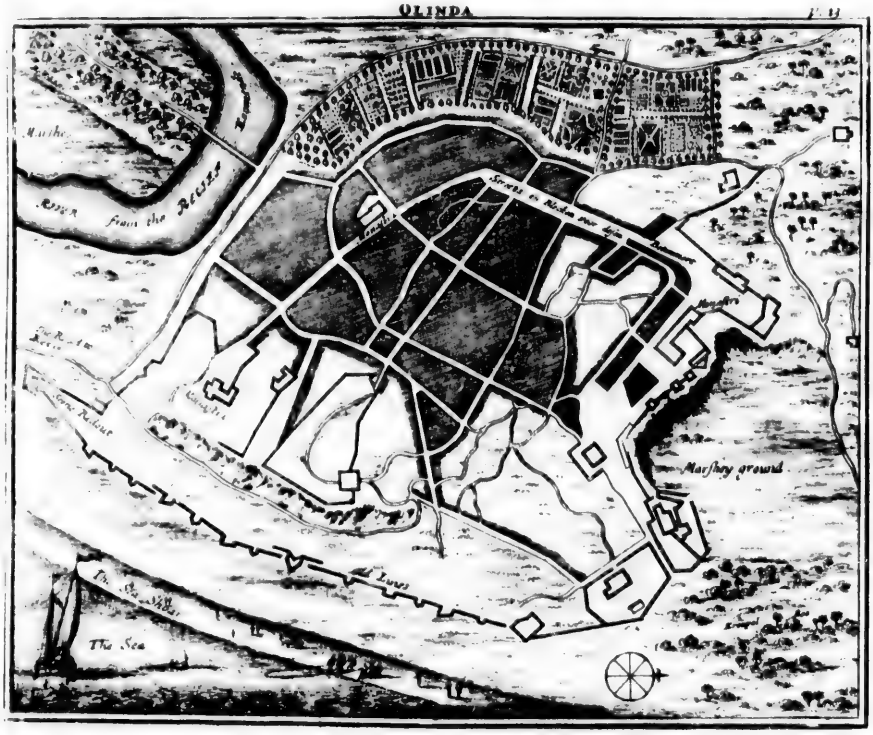
Near the Continent, not far from the Salt-Pits, betwixt the *Sandy Receif*, and the Isle of *Anthony Vaez*, was a Triangular Fort, called *Waerdenburgh*. It was at first a foursquare, but afterwards turned by the *Dutch*, into a Triangular Fort, the fourth Bulwark being not defensible, by reason of the Ground: Those three Bulworks were afterwards changed into as many Redoubts, and provided with some Brass Guns: At High-Tide it is surrounded on all sides with Water.

The City of Olinda.

At a small distance from the *Receif*, or *Maurice*'s Town, to the North, is the ruinated City of *Olinda*, once a famous place among the *Portugueses*; the whole Product of *Brasil*, being from thence transported by Sea into *Europe*. The best part of the City was built upon divers Hills; towards the Sea, on the South side, these Hills were pretty plain, extending to the Sea-shoar, which has a very white Sand all along that Coast. Towards the Land side, or the North, those Hills are more steep and craggy, full of Thorn-bushes, intermix'd with a few Orange-Trees. These Hills are an additional strength to the place, which besides this, was guarded by several Bastions to the Land side, tho' by reason of the great variety of Hills contained in its Circuit, it was a difficult Task to bring

1643. bring the Fortifications into a regular form. There is a very fair Proſpect from the higher part of the Town, both to the South and North, or to the Sea and Land ſide, by reaſon of the great quantity of circumjacent Trees, which continue Green all the Year round. You may alſo from thence ſee the Iſle of *Anthony Vaez*, and *Maurice*'s Town. The point of Land near *Olinda*, is called *Tipo* by the Inhabitants.

Upon the higheſt Hill within the place, ſtood formerly a Convent belonging to the *Jeſuits*, being a magnificent Structure, founded by *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, who endowed it with conſiderable Revenues. It had a very fair Proſpect, and might be ſeen at a good diſtance at Sea. Not far from thence was another Monaſtery belonging to the *Capucines*; and near the Sea-ſhoar, another of the *Dominican* Fryars: Beſides which, it had two Churches; the one called St. *Salvador*, the other St. *Peter*. 1643.

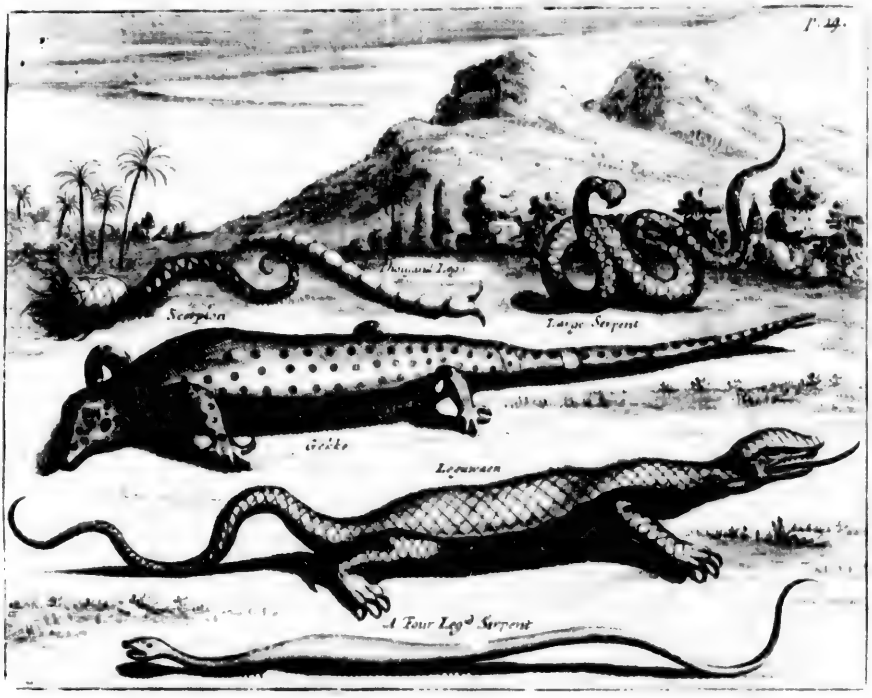


It contained above 2000 Inhabitants, beſides the Clergymen and Slaves, among whom were 200, that were accounted very rich. On the foot of the Mountain upon which the City of *Olinda* was built, a ſtrong Redoubt was erected, which in the Year 1645, was by a Serjeant betrayed to the *Portugueſes*, for a Sum of Money. About a League from the City, near the Waterſide, were the Suburbs, well ſtor'd with Inhabitants and Packhouſes; but deſtitute of freſh Water, which they were fain to fetch from beyond the River.

The whole Diſtrict of *Pernambuko* abounds in divers kinds of Fruits and Cattel. The Vallies afford good Paſturage, and the lower Grounds near the Rivers, great ſtore of Sugar-Reeds, which are much cultivated hereabouts. The Mountains produce richer Minerals here, than in the other *Captainſhips*. During the Rainy Seaſon, the Heat is more tolerable here in the Day time, than the cold Nights.

1643. *The Chameleon, or* Indian Salamander, *otherwise called* Gekko.

This Creature, which is not only found in *Brasil*, but also in the Ile of *Java*, belonging to the *East-Indies*, and which, by our People is called *Gekko*, from its constant cry (like, among us, that of the *Cuckoe*) is properly an *Indian Salamander*. It is about a foot long, its Skin of a pale or Sea-green colour, with red Spots. The Head is not unlike that of a Tortoise, with a streight Mouth. The Eyes are very large, starting out of the Head, with long and small Eye-Apples. The Tail is distinguished by several white Rings: Its Teeth are so sharp, as to make an impression even upon Steel. Each of its four Legs had five crooked Claws armed on the end with Nails. Its Gate is very slow, but wheresoever it taftens, it is not easily removed. It dwells commonly upon rotten Trees, or among the Ruines of Old Houses and Churches; it oftentimes settles near the Bedsteds, which makes sometimes the Moors pull down their Huts. 1644.



Its constant cry is *Gekko*, but before it begins, it makes a kind of hissing noise. The Sting of this Creature is so venomous, that the Wound proves Mortal, unless it be immediately burnt with a red hot Iron, or cut off. The Blood is of a palish colour, resembling Poison it self.

The *Javanese* use to dip their Arrows in the Blood of this Creature; and those who deal in Poisons among them (an Art much esteemed in the Island of *Java*, by both Sexes) hang it up with a string tied to the Tail on the Ceiling, by which means it being exasperated to the highest pitch, sends forth a Yellow Liquor out of its Mouth, which they gather in small Pots set underneath, and afterwards coagulate into a body in the Sun. This they continue for several Months together, by giving daily Food to the Creature. It is unquestionably the strongest Poison in the World; its Urine being of so corrosive a quality, that it not only raises Blisters, The strongest Poison in the World.

1643. fters, wherever it touches the Skin, but turns the Fleſh black, and cauſes a Gangrene. The Inhabitants of the *Eaſt-Indies* ſay, That the beſt Remedy againſt this Poiſon is the *Curcumie* Root. Such a *Gekko* was got within the Body of the Wall of the Church in the *Recef*, which obliged us to have a great hole made in the ſaid Wall, to diſlodge it from thence.

There are alſo ſeveral ſorts of *Serpents* in *Braſil*, ſuch as *Rattle Serpents*, *Double-headed Serpents*, and ſuch like; of which the *Braſilians* enumerate XXIII. *viz. Boigvacu*, or *Liboya*, *Arabo*, *Riboy*, *Boiciminga*, *Fottrapo*, *Boykupekanga*, *Rapoba*, *Kukuruku*, *Kammana*, *Kurukakutinga*, *Grimpaiagwara*, *Jeraraca*, *Takaracuſa*, *Jbiboboca*, *Jararaka*, *Manima*, *Pona*, *Tarciboya*, *Kakaboya*, *Amorepinima*.

We will give you an account of thoſe only that dwell in the Houſes and Woods of *Pernambuko*, paſſing by the reſt, as not ſo well known among us; and it is obſervable, that tho' ſome of the *American* or *Braſilian Serpents* exceed thoſe of *Europe* in bigneſs, they are nevertheleſs not ſo Poiſonous.

The Serpent of *Boiciminga*, or *Boiciniminga*, likewiſe called *Boiquira*, by the *Braſilians*, is by the *Portugueſes* called *Kaſkaveda* and *Tangedor*, i.e. *A Rattle*, and by our People a *Rattle Serpent*, becauſe it makes a noiſe with its Tail, not unlike a Rattle: This Serpent is found both upon the Highway and in deſolate Places; it moves with ſuch ſwiftneſs, as if it had Wings, and is extreamly venomous. In the midſt it is about the thickneſs of a Man's Arm near the Elbow, but grows thinner by degrees, towards the Head and Tail. The Belly and Head is flattiſh, the laſt being of the length and breadth of a Finger and a half, with very ſmall Eyes. It has 4 peculiar Teeth longer than all the reſt, white and ſharp like a Thorn, which it hides ſometimes within the Gums. The Skin is covered with thick Scales, thoſe upon the Back being ſomewhat higher than the reſt, and of a pale yellowiſh colour, with black Edges. The ſides of the Body are likewiſe yellowiſh with black Scales on each ſide; but thoſe upon the Belly are larger, fourſquare and of a yellow colour. It is 3, 4, and ſometimes 5 foot long; has a round Tongue ſplit in the middle, with long and ſharp Teeth. The Tail is compoſed of ſeveral looſe and bony Joynts, which make ſuch a noiſe, that it may be heard at a diſtance. Or rather at the end of the Tail, is a long piece conſiſting of ſeveral Joynts, joyned within one another in a moſt peculiar manner, not unlike a Chain. Every Year there is an addition of one of theſe Joynts, ſo that you may know the exact Age of the Serpent by their Number, Nature ſeeming in this Point to have favoured Mankind, as a Warning to avoid this Poiſonous Creature by this noiſe. One of theſe Joynts put in the Fundament, cauſes immediate Death; but the Sting of this Creature proceeds much lower in its Operation; for in the beginning a Bloody Matter iſſues from the Wound, afterwards the Fleſh turns blue, and the Ulcer corrodes the adjacent Parts by degrees.

1644. The moſt ſoveraign Remedy uſed by the *Braſilians* againſt the Poiſon of this and other *Serpents*, is the Head of the ſame Serpent that has given the Wound; which they bruiſe in a Mortar, and in form of a Plaſter, apply it to the affected part. They mix it commonly with Faſting Spittle, wherewith they alſo frequently moiſten the Wound. If they find the Poiſon begins to ſeiſe the nobler Parts, they uſe the *Tiproka* as a Cordial, and afterwards give ſtrong Sudorificks. They alſo lay open the Wound, and apply Cupping-glaſſes, to draw the Venom from thence. Or elſe they burn it with a red hot Iron.

The Serpent *Kukuruku*, is of an Aſhe colour, with yellow Spots within, and black Speckles without, and has juſt ſuch Scales as the *Rattle Serpent*.

The Serpent *Guaku*, or *Liboya*, is queſtionleſs the biggeſt of all Serpents; ſome being 18, 24, nay 30 foot long, and of the thickneſs of a Man in the middle. The *Portugueſes* call it *Kobre de-hado*, or the *Roebuck Serpent*, becauſe it will ſwallow a whole Roebuck or any other Dear it meets with; and this is performed by ſucking it through the Throat, which is pretty narrow, but the Belly vaſtly big. After they have ſwallowed ſuch a Deer, they fall aſleep, and ſo are catch'd. Such a one I ſaw near *Paraiba*, which was 30 foot long, and as big as a Barrel. Some Negroes ſaw it accidentally ſwallow a Roebuck, whereupon 13 Muſqueteers were ſent out, who ſhot it, and cut the Roebuck out of its Belly. It was of a greyiſh colour, though others are inclining more to the brown. It is not ſo venomous as the other Serpents. The *Negroes* and *Portugueſes*, nay even ſome of the *Dutch* eat the Fleſh; neither are its Stings look'd upon as very infectious, the Wound healing

Serpents of Braſil.

The Rattle Serpent.

Kukuruku.

The Roebuck Serpent.

1643. ing often up without any application of Remedies; ſo that it ought not to be reckoned among the number of Poiſonous Serpents, no more than the *Kaninana*, *Maviua* and *Vocia*. This Serpent being a very devouring Creature, greedy of Prey, leaps from amongſt the Hedges and Woods, and ſtanding upright upon its Tail, wreſtles both with Men and wild Beaſts; ſometimes it leaps from the Trees upon the Traveller, whom it taſtens upon, and beats the Breath out of his Body with its Tail.

Jararaka. The Serpent *Jararaka* is ſhort, ſeldom exceeding the length of an Arm to the Elbow. It has certain protuberant Veins on the Head, like the Adder, and makes much ſuch a noiſe. The Skin is covered with red and black ſpots, the reſt being of an Earth colour. The Stings of this Creature are as dangerous, and attended with the ſame Symptoms, as thoſe of other Serpents. Its Body, the Head, Tail, and Skin being before taken away together with the Entrails, boil'd in the Water of the Root of *Jurepeba*, with Salt, Dill, and ſuch like, is look'd upon as a very good Remedy.

Boitrapo. The Serpent *Boitrapo*, call'd by the *Portugueſes*, *Cobre de Cipo*, is about 7 foot in length, of the thickneſs of a Man's Arm, feeds upon Frogs, and is of an Olive colour, it is very venomous, and when it ſtings occaſions the ſame Symptoms, as the Serpent *Kukuruku*; nay, the Wound is accounted paſt curing, unleſs you apply the hot Iron.

Ibiara. The Adder *Ibiara*, by the *Portugueſes* called *Cobra Vega*, or *Cobra de das Cabecas*, i. e. *The Doubleheaded Serpent*, becauſe it appears to have two Heads, which however is not ſo. They are found in great numbers lurking in holes under Ground. They feed upon Piſmires, are of the thickneſs of the length of a Finger, and a foot and a half long, of a Silver colour; nothing is more poiſonous than the Stings of theſe Creatures, tho' not beyond all hopes of Cure, provided the beforementioned Remedies be applied in time.

Ibiboboka. The Serpent by the *Braſilians* called *Ibiboboka*, the *Portugueſe* call *Cobra de Corais*. It is very beautiful, of a Snow white colour, ſpeckled with black and red ſpots, and about two foot long: Its Sting is Mortal, but kills by degrees.

Biobi. The Serpent *Biobi*, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Cabro Verde*, or the *Green Serpent*, about three quarters of a yard long, and the thickneſs of a Thumb; of a ſhining green colour. It lives among Houſes and hurts no Body unleſs when provoked. Its Sting is however full of Poiſon, and ſcarce curable. A certain Soldier being 1643. wounded by one of theſe Creatures, which lay hidden in a Hedge, in his Thigh, did for want of proper Remedies, die in few Hours after: His Body ſwell'd, and turn'd pale blue.

Kaninana The Serpent *Kaninana* is yellow on the Belly and green on the Back, its length is about 8 Hands, and is look'd upon as the leaſt venomous of all. It feeds upon Eggs and Birds, and the *Negroes* and *Braſilians* eat the Body, after they have cut off the Head and Tail.

Ibiraboa. The Serpent call'd by the *Braſilians* *Ibiraboa*, is of ſeveral colours, with white, black, and red ſpots. The Sting of this Creature is very Poiſonous, attended with the ſame Symptoms as that of *Kukuruku*; for it kills infallibly, unleſs proper Remedies be applied immediately. If the Poiſon has not ſeiſed the Heart, they boil the Fleſh of the ſame Serpent with certain Roots, and give it the Patient in Wine.

The Serpent *Tarciboya*, and *Kakaboya*, are amphibious Creatures. The firſt is of a blackiſh colour, very large, and Stings when provoked, but is not very difficult to be cured. The *Kakaboya* is of a yellowiſh colour, 6 Hands long, and feeds upon tame Fowl.

Of the Senembi *or the* Leguan.

Not only in the *Captainſhip* of *Parnambuko*, but alſo all over *Braſil* and *America*; as likewiſe in the Iſle of *Java* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, are a certain kind of *Land Crocodile*, call'd by the *Braſilians*, *Senembi*, by our People *Leguan*; ſome are larger than others, ſome being 3, others 4 foot long, but ſeldom exceed 5: They are all over covered with Scales, which are ſomewhat bigger on the Back, Legs, and beginning of the Tail, than on the other parts: The Neck is about a Finger and a half long, the Eyes are black and bright, and the Noſtrils in the hindermoſt part of the Head. Each Jawbone is full of ſmall, black and ſhort Teeth; the Tongue is very thick: All along the Back from the Neck to the Tail, are ſmall ſharp Teeth of a greeniſh colour; they are biggeſt on the Neck, and grow ſmaller and ſmaller towards the Tail: Under the Throat are likewiſe many of the ſame kind. The whole Skin is of a delicate green, with black and white ſpots. It has 4 Legs and Feet, with 5 Claws armed with very ſharp Nails: It can live 2 or 3 Months without Food.

Its

1643. Its Flesh is white as that of a Rabbit, and of as good a taste as that of Fowls, [illegible] it be boil'd or well fry'd with Butter. In the Head of this Creature are certain Stones, which are an infallible Remedy to break and drive the Gravel out of the Kidneys, given to the [illegible] Drams at a time, or carried on some part of the Body.

There are in *Brasil* Lizards both great and small, some are green, others greyish, and some 4 foot long, with [illegible]. The Negroes feed upon some of them, whom they kill with blunt Arrows, they [illegible] them, after they have skin'd them, and eat them with [illegible]. Among all those that are found among the Thorns and Bryers, or the Ruines of Houses, there is [illegible] kind Venomous, which [illegible]. They are like the others, but [illegible] not exceeding the bigness of a [illegible]; they are of an Ash-colour, inclining to White; the Body and Limbs thick and swell'd with the Poison, but the Tail short and broad. The Wounds given by them are full of a thin stinking Matter, with Blue Swellings, with a Pain near the Heart, and in the Bowels.

There are also certain Creatures, called *Thousand Legs*, as likewise *Hundred Legs*, by the Natives called *Ambua*, who bend as they crawl along, and are accounted very Poisonous. The first are commonly found in the Houses, and the last among the Woods, where they not only spoil the Fruits of the Earth, but also plague Men and Beasts.

Scorpions, by the *Brasilians* call'd *Jaacaira*, are found here in great Numbers, being in shape like the *European* Scorpions, but not so pestiferous, and consequently the Wounds given by them are easily cured. They lurk in Houses, behind old Stools, Benches and Chests. They are exceeding big, no bigger being to be found in any other parts, some being 5 or 6 foot long, and of a considerable thickness.

There are such prodigious quantities of Pismires in *Brasil*, that for this reason, they are called by the *Portugueses*, *Rey de Brasil*, *i. e.* King of *Brasil*. They eat all that lights in their way, as Fruit, Flesh, Fish, and Insects without any harm. There is also a certain Flying Pismire of a Fingers length, with a triangular Head, the Body being separated into two parts, and fastned together by a small string. On the Head are two small and long Horns, their Eyes being very small. On the foremost part of the Body are 6 Legs, 3 Joints each, and 4 thin and transparent Wings; to wit, 2 without, and 2 within; the hindermost part is of a bright brown colour and round, which is eaten by the Negroes. They [illegible] to the Ground, [illegible] same the S[illegible].

There is another kind of great Pismires, resembling a great Fly, the whole Body of which, is about the length of half a Finger, and separated into 3 several parts. The last part resembling in shape and bigness a Barly-corn; the middlemost of an Oblong Figure, with 6 Legs, half a Finger long, each of which has 4 Joints: The foremost part, or the Head, is pretty thick, in the shape of a Heart, with 2 Horns, and as many black crooked Teeth: The White of the Eyes is inclining to Black, the whole Composition of the Head being the 2 Eyes, placed opposite to one another, resembling the Figure of a Heart. The fore and hindermost parts are of a bright Red colour.

There is another kind of Pismire, of a bright Black colour, with black and rough Legs. It is about the length of a Finger, with a large fourfquare Head, starting black Eyes, and Teeth, and 2 Horns, half a Finger long. The Body is also separated into 3 parts. The foremost of an Oblong Figure, not very thick, with 6 Legs, each of the length of half a Finger; the Middlemost very small and square, not exceeding the bigness of a Louse; the Hindermost is the biggest of the three, of an Oval Figure, and sharp on the end. These 3 parts are fastned together, with a single string, the *Brasilians* call it *Tapijai*.

There is besides this another Pismire, call'd by the *Brasilians Kupia*, of a Chesnut brown colour; its Head being as big as another Pismire, with Black Eyes, 2 Horns, and 2 Tusks instead of Teeth. The whole Body is covered with Hair; it is divided into 2 parts: The Foremost with 6 Legs being somewhat less than the Hindermost; at certain Seasons it gets 4 Wings, the foremost being a little bigger than the hindermost, which it loses again at a certain time.

The *Iron-pig* of *Brasil*, called by the *Brasilians*, *Kuandu*; and by the *Portugueses Ourico Kachiero*, is of the bigness of a large Ape, its whole Body being covered with sharp Spikes of 3 or 4 Fingers long, without any Hair. Towards the Body those Spikes are halfways yellowish, the remaining part is black, ex-

1643. cept the Points, which are whitiſh, and as ſharp as an Awl. When they are vexed, they are able by a certain contraction of the Skin, to throw or dart them with ſuch violence, that they Wound, nay, ſometimes Kill Men or Beaſts. Their whole Body to meaſure from the hindermoſt part of the Head, to the beginning of the Tail, is a Foot long, and the Tail a Foot and 5 Inches in length, which likewiſe has half ways ſharp Spikes, the reſt being covered with Briſtles like other Hogs. The Eyes are round, ſtarting and gliſtering like a Carbuncle; about the Mouth and Noſe are Hair of 4 Fingers length, reſembling thoſe of our Cats or Hares. The Feet are like thoſe of Apes, but with 4 Fingers only without a Thumb, inſtead of which you ſee a place vacant, as if it had been cut away. The fore Legs are leſs than the hindermoſt, they are likewiſe armed with Spikes, but not the feet 1643.

This Creature commonly ſleeps in the Day time, and roves about by Night; it breaths through the Noſtrils, is a great lover of Fowl, and climbs up the Trees, tho' very ſlowly. The Fleſh is of no ungrateful Taſte, but Roaſted and Eaten by the Inhabitants. It makes a noiſe *Ji*, like the *Luyaert*.

That four-legg'd Creature, by the *Braſilians* called *Ai*, by the *Portugueſes Preguiza*, and by the *Dutch Luyaert* (Lazy-back) from its lazy and ſlow pace, becauſe in 15 Days time it ſcarce walks above a Stones throw. It is about the bigneſs of a middle-ſized Fox, its length being a little above a Foot, to meaſure from the Neck (which is ſcarce 3 Fingers long) to the Tail. The fore-legs are 7 Fingers long to the Feet, but the hindermoſt about 6; the Head round of 3 Fingers in length: Its Mouth, which never is without a Foam, is round and ſmall, its Teeth neither large nor ſharp. The Noſe is black, high, and glib, and the Eyes ſmall, black and heavy. The Body is covered all over with Aſh-coloured Hair, about 2 Fingers long; which are more inclining to the white towards

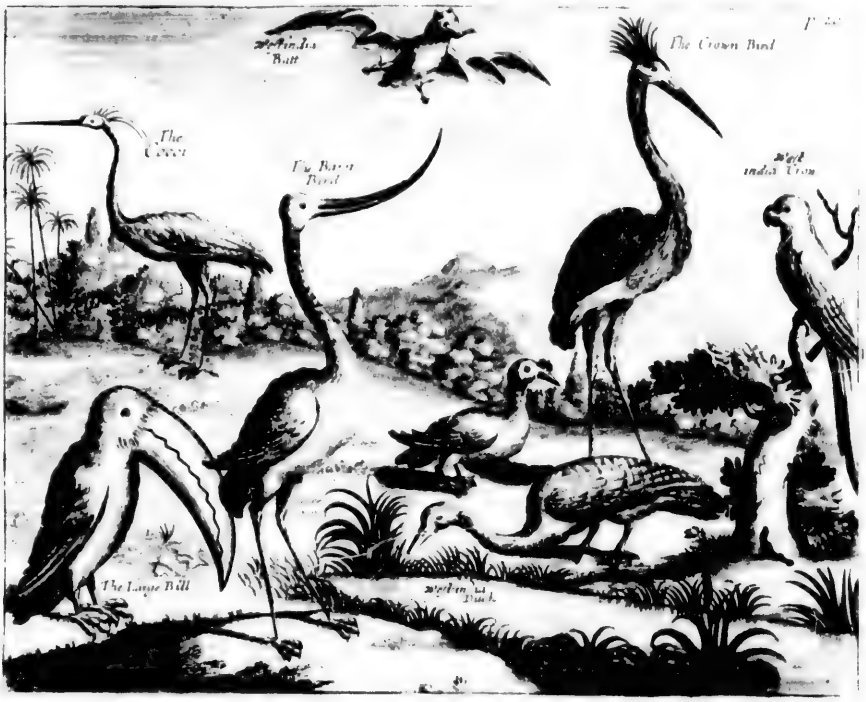
towards the Back. Round about the Neck the Hair is ſomewhat longer than the reſt. It is a very lazy Creature, unable to undergo any Fatigues, by reaſon its Legs are as it were disjointed in the middle; yet it keeps upon the Trees, but moves, or rather creeps along very ſlowly. Its Food is the Leaves of the Trees, it never Drinks, and when it Rains, hides it ſelf. Whereever it faſtens with its Paws, it is not eaſily removed; it makes, tho' ſeldom, a noiſe, like our Cats. 1643.

The *Piſmire-Eater*, is thus called, becauſe he feeds upon nothing but Piſmires; there are two ſorts, the great and the ſmall: The *Braſilians* call the firſt *Tamanduai*, and the laſt *Tamanduai-Guacu*. It is a Four-legg'd Creature, of the bigneſs of a Dog, with a round Head, long Snout, ſmall Mouth, and no Teeth. The Tongue is roundiſh, but ſometimes 25 Inches, nay two Foot and an half long. When it Feeds, it ſtretches out its Tongue upon the Dunghills, till the Piſmires have ſettled upon it, and then Swallows them. It has round Ears, and a rough Tail; is not nimble, but may be taken with the Hand in the Field. The ſmall one, called *Tamanduai-Guacu*, is of the bigneſs of a *Braſilian* Fox, about a Foot in length. On the fore-Feet it has four crooked Claws, two big ones in the midſt, and the two leſſer on the ſides. The Head is round, yet pointed at one end, a little bent below; with a little black Mouth without Teeth. The Eyes are very ſmall, the Ears ſtand upright about a Fingers length. Two broad black Liſts run along on both ſides of the Back; the Hairs on the Tail are longer than thoſe on the Back, the extremity of the Tail is without Hair, wherewith it faſtens to the Branches of the Trees. The Hairs all over the Body are of a pale yellow, hard and bright. Its Tongue is round, and about eight Fingers long. It is a very ſavage Creature, graſps every thing with its Paws, and if you hit it with a Stick, ſits upright like a Bear, and takes hold of it with its Mouth. It Sleeps all day long, with its Head and fore-feet under the Neck, and roves about in the Night time. As often as it Drinks, the Water Spouts forth immediately through the Noſtrils. 1643.

They have alſo a kind of Serpents, of about two Fathoms long, without Legs, with a Skin of various Colours, and four Teeth. The Tongue is Split in the middle reſembling two Arrows, and the Poiſon is hid in a Bladder in its Tail.

The four Legg'd Creature, called by the *Braſilians*, *Tatu* and *Tatupera*, by the *Spaniards*, *Armadillo*, by the *Portugueſes*, *Encuberto*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schilt-Verken*, (Shield-Hog,) becauſe it is defended with Scales like as with an Armour, reſembles in bigneſs and ſhape our Hogs; there are ſeveral ſorts of them. The uppermoſt part of the Body, as well as the Head and Tail, is covered with bony Shields, compoſed of very fine Scales. It has on the Back ſeven Partitions, betwixt each of which appears a dark brown Skin. The Head is altogether like that of a Hog, with a ſharp Noſe, wherewith they grub under ground; ſmall Eyes, which lie deep in the Head; a little, but ſharp Tongue; dark brown and ſhort Ears, without Hair or Scales: The Colour of the whole Body inclining to Red; the Tail in its beginning is about four Fingers thick, but grows by degrees ſharp and round to the end, like thoſe of our Pigs: But the Belly, the Breaſt, and Legs are without any Scales; but covered with a Skin not unlike that of a Gooſe, and whitiſh Hair of a Fingers length. It is generally very bulky and fat, living upon Maloens and Roots, and does conſiderable miſchief in the Plantations. It loves to rout under ground, Eats Rabbets, and the dead Carcaſſes of Birds, or any other Carrion: It Drinks much, lives for the moſt part upon the Land, yet loves the Water and marſhy Places; Its Fleſh is fit to be eaten. It is catcht like the Doe in *Holland* with the Rabbits, by ſending a ſmall Dog abroad, who by his Barking, gives notice where it lurks under ground, and ſo by digging up the Ground it is found and catcht. Shield-Hogs.

The



The Batts in *Brasil*, called by the Inhabitants *Andirika*, are of the bigness of our Crows; they are very fierce, and Bite most violently with their sharp Teeth. They build their Nests in hollow Trees, and holes.

Wild-Geese. The Bird called by the *Brasilians*, *Ipekati Apoa*, by the *Portugueses*, *Pata*, is no more than a Goose; and for that reason by the *Dutch* called a Wild-Goose. It is of the bigness of one of our Geese of about nine Months old, and in all other Respects resembles them. The Belly, and underpart of the Tail, as likewise the Neck, is covered with white Feathers; but on the Back to the Neck, on the Wings and Head, the Feathers are black, intermixed with some green. There are also some black Feathers intermixed with the white ones on the Neck and Belly. They differ from our Geese in this, that they are somewhat bigger; their Bills resemble rather those of our Ducks, but are black and turn'd at the end; and on the top of it grows a broad round and black piece of Flesh, with white speckles. They are commonly found near the River-side, are very fleshy and well-tasted.

The Bird by the *Brasilians* called *Toukan*, (or large Bill) is about the bigness of a Wood-Pigeon. It has a crop about the Breast of three or four Fingers in compass, of a Saffron colour, with high red coloured Feathers round the edges, which are yellow on the Breast, but black on the Back and all the other parts of the Body. Its Bill is very large of the length of a Palm of a Hand, yellow without, and red within. It is almost incredible how so small a Bird is able to manage so large a Bill, but that it is very thin and light. *The Bird Toukan.*

The Bird call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Kokoi*, is a kind of a Crane, very pleasing to the sight, as big as our Storks. Their Bills are streight and sharp, about six Fingers in length, of a yellowish colour inclining to green. The Neck is fifteen Fingers long, the Body ten, the Tail five: Their Legs are half ways covered with Feathers, about eight Fingers in length,

1643. length, the remaining part being six and an half. The Neck and Throat is white, both sides of the Head black, mixt with Ash colour. On the far and undermost part of the Neck are most delicious, white, long, and thin Feathers, fit for Plumes: The Wings and Tail are of an Ash colour, yet mixt with some white Feathers. All along the Back, you see long and light Feathers, like those on the Necks, but are of an Ash colour: Their Flesh is very good, and of a grateful Taste. There is another kind of these Birds, which is somewhat bigger than a tame Duck. Its Bill is streight and sharp at the end, of the length of four Fingers and a half, with a double Set of Teeth both above and below: The Head and Neck, (which is two foot long) resembles the Crane, with black Eyes enclosed in a Gold colour'd Circle. The Body is two foot and a half in length; the Tail, which stands even with the extremity of the Wings, four Fingers. The Bill is of an Ash colour towards the Head, the rest yellow, inclining to green. The Head and upper part of the Neck are covered with long pale yellowish Feathers, intermixt with black. On the Back and Wings it has Ash colour'd Feathers inclining to yellow; but the Legs and Feet are dark grey: The Flesh of this Bird is Eatable, and tastes like that of a Crane.

Jabiru-Guaku. The Bird called by the *Brasilians*, *Jabiru Guaku*, and by the *Dutch*, *Schuur Vogel*, (or Barn-Bird) has no Tongue, but a very large Bill, near seven foot and a half long; round and crooked towards the end, of a grey colour. On the top of the Head is a crown of white and green Feathers. The Eyes are black, behind each of which are two great Concavities instead of Ears. The Neck is ten Fingers in length, one half part of which as well as the Head, is not covered with Feathers, but with an Ash colour'd whitish rugged Skin. This Bird is of the bigness of a Storck, with a short black Tail, which stands even with the extremities of the Wings. The other part of the Neck, and the whole Body is covered with white Feathers, and those on the Neck very long ones: The Wings are likewise white, but mixt with some red. The Flesh, if Boil'd, after the Skin is taken of, is good Food, being very white, but somewhat dry.

Brasil produces incredible quantities of other Wild-Fowl, of all sorts, both great and small, some of which live among the Woods, others in the Water, but are very good Food.

Of the best kind are the Thrushes, called by them *Bamodi*; Pheasants of divers kinds, called by the *Barbarians*, *Maknagu*, *Jaku*, and *Acakua*.

Mouton is a Bird of the bigness of a Peacock, but has black Feathers, the Flesh is very good and tender. Because this Country is full of Fruit-Trees and Woody Places, it produces abundance of Sparrow-Hawks, and other Hawks, called by the *Portuguesses*, *Guaulon*, and by the *Brasilians*, *Yeguata* and *Inage*, which are always at Enmity with the Chickens and Pidgeons.

Among those that live both in the Water and upon the Land, the Wild-Ducks claim the Precedency; some of those are smaller than the European Ducks, others much exceed them, being as big as a Goose. They have also a sort of Snipes, called *Jakana-Miri* and *Jakana Guaku*. Besides these there are Cranes, Quails, and Ostridges, and many others of that kind; the Flesh of which is Eatable, but not very toothsome.

The rest of these Birds are very greedy after the Amber-Greese, which is thrown a shore by the boisterous Sea, which they devour before the Inhabitants can come thither to gather it. They have also abundance of *Parrakets*, or small Parrots, these never speak; but their Parrots are extraordinary fine and large, some of which learn to speak as distinctly as a Man. I have seen some of these Parrots express every thing, what they heard cried in the Streets, very plainly; and among the rest, I saw one, which if put in a Basket upon the Floor, would make a Dog, that belonged to the same House, sit up before the Basket; crying out to him, *Sit up*, *Sit up*, *You nasty Toad*. Neither did this Parrot leave of Calling and Crying, till the Dog came to sit up before the Basket. It was afterwards presented to the Queen of *Sweden*.

There is among the rest, a certain small Bird, no bigger than a joint of a Finger, which notwithstanding this makes a great noise, and is catch'd with the Hands, whilst it is sitting among the Flowers, from whence it draws its Nourishment. As often as you turn this Bird, the Feathers represent a different colour; which makes the *Brasilian* Women fasten them with golden Wires to their Ears, as we do our Ear-rings. The Birds here are never destitute of Food, which they always meet with either

ther among the Flowers or Fruits of the Trees, which are never ſpoil'd here during the Winter Seaſon.

The Rivers and Lakes of *Braſil*, as well as the Neighbouring Sea, furniſhes them with great ſtore of all ſorts of Fiſh; which are accounted ſo wholeſome here, that they are even allowed for thoſe that are troubled with Agues. The ſtanding Waters near the Sea-ſide, which ſometimes are quite dry'd up, produce abundance of Craw-Fiſh, Tortoiſes, Shrimps, Crabs, Oyſters, and divers others of this kind, which are all very good Food.

There are abundance of Fiſh in *Braſil*, common to the Sea and Rivers; eſpecially during the Rainy Seaſon; when a great quantity of the River Water being conveyed into the Sea, the ſweetneſs of the Water allures the Fiſh into the Rivers, where meeting with abundance of green Weeds, (the product of the bottom of the Rivers) they never return to the Sea. 164

Among the River Fiſh the chiefeſt are, the *Duja*, *Prapiba*, and *Akara-Puku*, the laſt of which reſembles the beſt and largeſt of our Perches.

Braſil produces alſo various kinds of Inſects, ſome of which are of four Fingers length, and an Inch thick. They have likewiſe Silk-Worms, called by the *Braſilians*, *Iokuku's*, and their Silk, *Iokuremmbo*. There are alſo divers ſorts of Fire-Flies, which are likewiſe found in the *Eaſt-Indies*, where we ſhall give you a further account of them. Beſides theſe, there are many ſorts of other Flies, Hornets, Waſps, and Bees, ſome of which produce Honey, ſome none at all.

Among other kinds of Spiders there is one of a prodigious bigneſs, which is always found either in Dunghills, or in the Concavities of hollow Trees They call it, *Nhandeguaka*. Theſe Creatures Weave Cobwebs like other Spiders; the Skin is rough and black, provided with ſharp and long Teeth. This Creature, if provoked, wounds with its poiſonous Sting, (which is ſo ſmall as ſcarce to be viſible) and raiſes a bloody Tumour, which is very painful, and if care be not taken in time, occaſions a Spiders

Inflammation, attended with such dangerous Symptoms, as prove afterwards incureable. 1643.

Near *Rio St. Francisco* are vast numbers of a certain small Insect not unlike our Crickets; I have been very curious to get sight of this Creature, to satisfie my self as to its Shape and Resemblance to others of this kind; but tho' it makes a very shrill Noise, which resembles that of our Crickets, I was never able to see any of them; for as soon as you approach, they desist, so that you are at a loss which way to look. They Sing sometimes for a quarter of an Hour without intermission. In the Island of *Java* in the *East-Indies* it is commonly heard in the Months of *February* and *June*. At last I had the good fortune to get one of these Creatures into my hands, by means of a certain *Chinese* Woman, after I had often been in search of it, both within and without the City of *Batavia*. The *Javaneses* set two of these little Creatures a Fighting together, and lay Money on both sides, as we do at a Cock-Match.

There are also abundance of ravenous wild Beasts in *Brasil*, such as Tygers, Leopards, &c. The Tygers are extreamly Savage here; they fall upon Beasts, and sometimes upon Men, of whom several were kill'd by them in my time. A certain *Portuguese* had a Sugar-Mill very pleasantly situated near a Wood, whither we used to go to divert our selves sometimes. The *Portuguese* sitting one time with four more of his Friends in the House, with the Windows drawn up, for the conveniency of the Land-Air, a Dog belonging to the House, who had ventured too far into the adjacent Wood, was pursued by a Tyger, so that to save his Life, he leapt into the Window to seek for shelter near his Master; but the Tyger closely pursuing him, leapt also through the Window into the Room, where the Door being shut, he tore two of those there present in pieces, before the rest could make their escape, and afterwards went his way.

There is another sort of Savage Beast in those Parts, called by some of our People, *Jan over-Zee*, (or Jack beyond Sea) which surpasses all others in nimbleness, and tears all to pieces it meets with.

Brasil has also great plenty of Cattel, but the Flesh will not keep above 24 hours after it is dress'd. The *Dutch* cut off the Fat, and cut the Lean in thin slices, and dry it in the Sun like Fish. No Butter is to be made here, because the Milk turns to Curds immediately; The *Dutch* Butter is drawn out of a Vessel like Oil. 1643.

Their Hogs are small and black, but very well tasted and wholesome; there is another kind of amphibious Hogs, by the *Portugueses*, called *Kapiverres*, they are very near as black as the others, and good Food. Hog.

There is another four legg'd Creature in *Brasil*, called by the Inhabitants *Taperete*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Antes*; its Flesh has the taste of Beef, but somewhat finer. It is about the bigness of a Calf, but shaped like a Hog; it Sleeps all day among the Woods, and seeks for Belly-Timber in the night: Its Food is Grass, Sugar-Reeds, Cabbages, and such like. They have likewise good store of Goats, call'd by them *Pakas* and *Kotias*, and Hares and Rabbits, which don't give way in goodness to those of *Europe*. There is also an excellent kind of Lizards, call'd, by the Inhabitants, *Vuana* and *Teju*, which are accounted a dainty Bit.

The Fish in *Brasil* are no less considerable for the supply of our Plantations, than the Cattel, which are on the Coasts of *Brasil*, but especially in *Pernambuke*, where they are found in such Plenty, that at one Draught they catch sometimes 2 or 3000 fine Fish in the four or five Summer Months; for, during the rainy Season, they catch but few. There are certain Districts along the Sea-Coast whither the Fish most resort; some of those belong to the Inhabitants, the rest to the Company, and are Farm'd at a certain Rate *per Annum*. The Lakes, as well as the Bays, are stor'd with an incredible multitude of Fish; the first are by the *Portugueses* call'd *Aligoas*; and the best they produce, are the *Sindia*, *Queba*, and *Noja*, all without Scales. And tho' the Fish, which are catcht in the Lakes are not so much esteemed as the River-Fish, nevertheless are they not much behind them in goodness, because these Lakes are not always standing Waters, but intermix'd with several Rivers. Some of these Fish they dry in the Sun. The chiefest of this kind, are those called by the *Brasilians*, *Kurima Parati*, and by the *Dutch* Inhabitants *Herders*. They abound no less in Sea-Fish of all sorts. The Fish call'd by the *Brasilians*, *Kuapantangele*, which is not unlike our Perch, has the Preference among them. And as the Rivers furnish infinite numbers of Fish, so they are generally fatter, and better tasted than the Sea-Fish. Those which are catcht in those Fisheries near Fish.

the

1643. the Sea-shore, are for the most part salted, and carried from thence into the Country, for the use of the Sugar-Mills, which cause great Plenty among them.

The Craw-Fish, which are in great quantities near the Rivers and in the marshy Grounds, serve likewise for Food to the *Brasilians* and Negro's, and some of our People like them tolerably well.

It is further to be observed, that whereas a considerable number of Cattel, during the War, was run astray out of the Parks into the Forests and Woods [illegible] the River of *St. Francis*, it was [illegible] by the great Council [illegible] here, to agree with [illegible] to catch this Cattle, and bring it to the *Receif*, in order to be killed for the use of the Inhabitants. [illegible] of the said Contract being expired, it was consulted, whether the same [illegible] be renewed; but [illegible] that there were not enough left, to [illegible] Cost, the same was laid aside, and this Resolution sent to the Council of XIX. [illegible], in the mean while, the Inhabitants near *Rio St. Francisco* and *Rio Grande*, having applied themselves with great Industry to the Breeding of Cattle, their Parks were so well stockt by this time, that they not only furnish'd the Inhabitants of the *Receif*, but also the Sugar-Mills, with plenty of Meat, which was bought at the rate of three and four Pence *per* Pound in the Country; besides, that they provided the Garisons with the same for a Twelve-Month, after the Store-Houses of the *Receif* were emptied; and notwithstanding this, the Inhabitants of those Parts were not out of Debt, when those of *Pernambuko* and *Parayba*, were involved over Head and Ears; which shews what Advantage they reapt from the Breeding of Cattle; and that if the *Dutch Brasil* had continued in Peace, those Parks might have furnished all the Garisons with Meat, without impairing their stock for Breeding, which, together with the great [illegible] of Fish, are the two main Pillars [illegible] of *Brasil*.

[illegible] all which, it is certain [illegible] the Inhabitants of the *Dutch* [illegible] be provided with sufficient [illegible], without a yearly Supply from *Europe*, as well of Eatables as other [illegible], as has been found by experience, to the great Detriment of the Company; after our Store-Houses were [illegible] by the several Expeditions against *Angola*, *Maranhaon*, and other [illegible].

In the Rivers and Lakes here, are also found Crocodiles, by the *Brasilians*, called *Jakare*, and in the *East-Indies*, *Kay-* [illegible]. They are like the *African* Crocodiles, but not quite so big, seldom exceeding five Foot in length. They lay [illegible] or 30 Eggs bigger than Geese-Eggs; which are Eaten by the *Brasilians*, *Portugueses*, and *Dutch*, as well as the Flesh. 1643. Crocodiles.

In the Seas, near the Coast of *Brasil*, they meet also sometimes with great Lampreys. Before the Bridge from the [illegible] to *Maurice-Town* was built, one of this kind of a considerable bigness did [illegible] near that Passage, where the Boats used to pass over from one side to the other, and snatcht all that fell in his way, (both Men or Dogs, that swam [illegible] after the Boat) into the Water: But at a certain time, by the sudden falling of the Tide, being got aground with the foremost part of the body, he was with much ado brought [illegible].

The District of *Pernambuko* does also abound in various sorts of Fruits, as well as all the other Parts of *Brasil*, of which we shall say more hereafter.

Upon the *Captainship* of *Pernambuko*, Borders to the North, the *Captainship* of *Tamarika*, which owes its Name to an Isle of the same Name, being the chiefest part of this District, which however extends near 35 Leagues along the Sea-Coast on the Continent.

The Island of *Tamarika* lies two Leagues to the North of *Pomerello*, in the Sea; being parted from the Continent by the River *Tamarika*, its most Southern Point lying under the 7th Degree 58 Minutes Southern Latitude. It is from South to North about two Leagues long, and its Circuit near seven. To the Jurisdiction of this Isle did also belong *Goyana*, *Kapivaribi*, *Tomkupa*, and *Abray* on the Continent. Formerly it had but few Inhabitants, and scarce any Houses, tho' it is a very pleasant Isle, and tolerably fertile, producing *Brasil*-Wood, Coco-Nuts, Cotton, Sugar-Reeds, Melons, and such like; besides Wood for Firing, and fresh Water for the conveniency of the *Receif*: It abounds likewise in Wood both for Building of Houses and Shipping. This Island was much infested with Wild-Beasts, which did great mischief to the Sugar Reeds. This moved *Peter Pas*, Director of the *Captainship* of *Itamarika*, to make his Application to Count *Maurice*, and the Great Council, 1647. to know their Pleasure,

Pleaſure, whether they ſhould diſpoſe of thoſe Beaſts by Contract to ſuch as would be at the Charge of catching of them, or whether they ſhould be taken and kill'd for the uſe of the Garriſons; But this was rejected by the Council, who enjoyn'd the Inhabitants, not to kill thoſe Beaſts in the open Fields, unleſs they ſhould break into their Plantations, it being for the Intereſt of the Company to preſerve them in caſe of a neceſſity: The Damage which from thence might accrue to the Sugar-Reeds, being to be prevented by ſurrounding their Plantations with Pales and Stakes. 1643.

The Conſequence of this Iſle.

The Iſland is look'd upon as of the greateſt Conſequence to us, it having been propos'd by ſome to transfer the Seat of the *Dutch Braſil* from the *Receif* thither; but the Directors of the Company did not agree to it, conſidering that at that time this Iſland was quite deſolate; whereas upon the *Receif* were Store-Houſes, Magazines, Ware-Houſes, and ſuch like Buildings ready to their Hands, beſides that the Place was much more pleaſant, fertile, and ſtronger; and the Harbour much more convenient for Ships: The River *Tamarika* on the other hand being not Navigable, but for ſmall Veſſels, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the Harbour, which was noted for Shipwracks. The Defect of freſh Water in the *Receif*, in which this Iſle abounds, may be ſupplied from the River *Biberibi*; beſides that, they had ſeveral Baſons with freſh Water within the *Receif* for their preſent uſe. During the War with the *Portugueſes* we were ſenſible of the Conveniencies we received from this Iſland, by reaſon of its ſtrength both by Art and Nature, which might ſerve as a ſafe Retreat upon all Emergencies; beſides, that its preſervation was abſolutely neceſſary for the *Receif*, which was ſupplied from thence with Fiſh, and ſeveral other ſorts of Proviſions.

Upon the Banks of the River at the South Entrance of the Harbour, we had built a Quadrangular Fort, called *Orange*. It was provided with a goodly Wall, but the Ditch was not very deep, and for the moſt part without Water, for which reaſon it was ſtrengthned with Palliſadoes. On the Northſide we had a Hornwork, but much decay'd; within the Body of the Fort was a Powder-Vault, and other Conveniencies for the Bedding of Soldiers. Several Batteries were raiſed upon the Walls, mounted upon ſix Braſs and as many Iron great Guns. In the Iſland near the entrance of the River cloſe by a Moraſs, full of Thorn-Buſhes, was a ſmall Town, moſt inhabited by Soldiers, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Noſtra Senhora de la Conceptiano*. Upon a hanging Rock, juſt by, was an old Redoubt erected by the *Portugueſes*, called by the ſame Names, which together with the whole Iſland, was taken by the *Dutch*, under the Command of Colonel *Schop* from the *Portugueſes*, and the Place after his Name, called *Schop's Town*. This Fort was afterwards by the *Dutch* cloſed up on the backſide towards the Church, ſo that it afterwards ſerved both for the Defence of the Town and the Harbour, as the *Blockhouſe* on the Northſide covered the Gates. There were then 11 pieces of Cannon mounted upon it. At the North Entrance of the Harbour was another Redoubt, which defended that paſſage on that ſide, with three iron Cannon. One Mr. *Dortmont*, Governor of *Itamarika*, found under the before-mentioned Rock, in 1645. as he was digging a Well, a Spring of freſh Water, which proved very uſeful for the Garriſon, becauſe it could not be cut off by the Enemy. 1643.

Hanging Rock.

Somewhat higher up the River *Tamarika*, lies an Iſland called *Magioppe*, where are found abundance of *Mandihoka* Roots. You may go quite round this Iſland in Barks; it having a kind of a Harbour on both ends, *viz.* to the South and North, but the firſt is the beſt; becauſe there riſes from the Northern ſhore of the Continent, a Shelf, which reaches very cloſe to the Iſland, the Channel betwixt both not having above 10 or 12 Foot Water. The only Harbour fit for uſe thereabouts is the South-Entrance of the River, which makes *Tamarika* an Iſland, where Ships, that drew 14 or 15 Foot Water, may paſs through; There is no convenient Anchorage. That end, where the River returns into the Sea, is by the *Dutch* called the North-Entrance, and by the *Portugueſes*, *Katuamma*.

The Rivers Maratarinha and Garaſſou.

Betwixt *Pomerello*, and the River *Tamarika*, a River comes from the Continent fit for Barges, called *Marataxinha*; and half a League within the Mouth of the River *Tamarika*, another falls likewiſe from the Continent, called *Garaſſou*, but is of little moment. From thence to the North, are ſeveral other Rivers near the Sea-ſhore, which are Navigable with Barges for the conveniency of the Sugar-Mills, of which there are ſeveral thereabouts.

1643.

A League and an half further to the North of the North-Entrance of *Tamarika*, is a noted point of Land called by the *Portugueſes*, *Punto Pedra*, ſurrounded with a *Receif*, betwixt which you may paſs with Barges and Yachts.

Punto Pedra.

A League further to the North from this Point, and three Leagues to the North-Weſt of *Tamarika*, is the ſmall River *Goyana*, under 7 Deg. and 46 Min. which diſembogues in two Branches in the Bay; At the entrance lies a great Rock, where is great ſtore of Sea-Fowl. Before it lies a great *Receif*, but within it are ſo many Shelves that renders the paſſage very dangerous.

The River Goyana.

About two Leagues and a half beyond the River *Goyana*, to the North, is a great River, called *Anyay*, but the Entrance is ſo choak'd up with Sands, that there is ſcarce any paſſage for Barges. This River ſends forth ſeveral Branches into the Country, upon one of which to the North, lies the Village of *Maurice*, and upon the Southern Branch the Village *Anyay*.

The River Anyay.

Among others, *Porto Franciſco* lies in a Creek three long Leagues to the North of the River *Anyay*; and five Leagues to the North-Weſt of the ſame River, an Unnavigable River called *Grammana*, beſides ſeveral other Rivulets.

Porto Franciſco.

About a League and a half to the North-Weſt of the River *Grammana*, is the *Cabo Blanco*, or White Cape, and three Leagues from thence to the North-Weſt, the Cape of *Parayba*, being a long point of Land, with a large adjacent Bay. The whole Coaſt from *Pomercllo* to the Cape of *Parayba*, is covered with Receifs or Rocks, which lying for the moſt part about half a League from the Shore, and the Water betwixt them being generally very ſmooth, affords an eaſie paſſage to Barges, even in tempeſtuous Weather; when it is almoſt impoſſible for Ships to paſs without the Rocks, by reaſon of the violence of the Current from the Northern, and the Southern Winds, which blow there continually.

Cape of Parayba.

Three Leagues within the Mouth of the River *Goyana* is a Town of the ſame Name, where is kept the Court of Judicature of this *Captainſhip*. There are five or ſix Sugar-Mills thereabouts, ſituated upon the Banks of the River, for the more commodious Tranſportation of Sugar in Barges to *Pernambuko*. This Country produces likewiſe *Braſil*-Wood, Ginger, Cotton, and *Indian* Nuts; The People called *Petiguares* Inhabit here; tho' this whole Tract of Land, as far as *Cabo Blanco*, is not very populous, having only a few Villages, inhabited by the *Braſilians*.

The Town of Goyana.

1643.

The Iſle of *Tamarika* has ſeveral landing Places on the River-ſide, the chiefeſt are: *Os Marcos* and *Pedrenos*; where the River is narroweſt; *Tapaſima* and *Kamboa* of *Domingos Rebeyro*; the great *Makqueira* and *Kamboa* of *Conrad Pauli*; in which Places the Enemy landed in that Iſland. The Paſs near the North-Entrance of *Tapoua*, and the Iſland, *Tapoſoka*, where with one ſingle Ship you may defend the paſſage from the Rivers *Tujukapape* and *Maſſerandaku*, as likewiſe from the Sea. For the reſt the Shore all along the River being very marſhy and full of *Manga*'s Trees, is of a very difficult acceſs. The Shore towards the Sea-ſide is very flat, but Woody, which together with the Sands, that are at ſome diſtance in the Sea, makes the approach of Ships very dangerous on that ſide. Formerly the Court of Judicature of the *Captainſhip* was kept in this Iſland, but was afterwards transferred from thence, as we told you before, to the Town of *Goyana* and *Kipivaribi* on the Continent, becauſe theſe Places were both more populous, and more Sugar-Mills were built thereabouts, the Ground being much better here than in the Iſland. In my time there were five Judges belonging to this Court, three of which lived at *Goyana*, the other two in the Iſle of *Itamarika*. However, this Court was afterwards likewiſe removed from *Goyana*. In the year 1641. Mr. *Peter Paz* was Director of the *Captainſhip* of *Itamarika* for the *Weſt-India Company*, and Captain *Sluiter* Commander in Chief over the Soldiers.

1643

This *Captainſhip* has derived its Name from the Capital City, which has borrowed hers of the River *Parayba*, upon which it is ſituate. It is one of the moſt Northerly *Captainſhips*, about five Leagues diſtant from the Sea. It was formerly in the Poſſeſſion of the *French*, who were 1585. chaſed from thence, and ſeveral other Harbours, by the *Portugueſe* General *Martin Leytan*.

Parayba.

Five Leagues upwards the River *Parayba*, is a City founded by the *Portugueſes*, and after *Philip* King of *Spain*, called *Filippen* and *Neſſa Senhora de Nives*, otherwiſe *Parayba*, from the River *Parayba*; which Name was by the *Dutch*, after they had in *November* 1633. conquered the whole *Captainſhip*, changed into that of *Frederick's Town*, after *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*. This City

The City Parayba.

1643. City had been but lately built by the *Portugueſes*, and had ſeveral ſtately Houſes with Marble Pillars, the reſt being only of Stone. Here is kept the Court of Judicature of this *Captainſhip*. Before the time of the Rebellion of the *Portugueſes*, this Place was Inhabited as well by the *Portugueſes* as Dutch, being much frequented by the Inhabitants of the circumjacent Country, was uſed to Exchange their Sugar for what other Commodities they ſtood in need of, which was afterwards from thence tranſported to other Places.

Within the Mouth of the River *Parayba*, were three very conſiderable Forts. One on the South-Point, by the *Portugueſes* called *Catharine*, but by Count *Maurice*, afterwards named *Margaret*, after his Siſter. It was defended with five goodly Baſtions, and a Hornwork without.

Fort Margaret.

Fort S. Anthony.

The Fort called *St. Antonio* by the *Portugueſes*, was built upon a ſmall Iſland, which by a narrow Branch was ſeparated from the North-Point. This is only the Remainder of a large four ſquare Fort, formerly erected by the *Portugueſes*, which was afterwards Raſed by the *Dutch*, part of it having been waſhed away by the River. It is ſurrounded with Palliſadoes and a good Ditch, ſupplied with Water from the beforenamed Branch of the River: The Walls are very ſtrong, and upon a Battery are mounted 6 Iron pieces of Cannon. It may be defended by the Cannon, both from the City of *Parayba*, and from the Fort *Margaret* lying juſt oppoſite to it on the South-ſide, which is the reaſon it was always but carelefly guarded by the *Portugueſes*.

The Third Fort.

The Third Fort lies upon a Triangular Iſland, called *Reſtinga*, not far from thence, more upwards the River. It was ſtrengthned with Palliſadoes, and upon the Batteries, were mounted five Braſs, and as many Iron pieces of Cannon.

The River Parayba.

The *Captainſhip* of *Parayba* is watered and divided by two conſiderable Rivers, *viz.* the *Parayba*, and *Mongoapa*, otherwiſe called *St. Domingo*. The great River of *Parayba* lies under the 6th Deg. 24 Min. four Leagues to the North of *Cabo Blanco*, and diſcharges it ſelf in two Branches into the Sea, being ſeparated by a large Sand Bank: One is called the Northern, and the other the Southern Entrance. From the laſt extends a Rocky-ridge as far as *Cabo Blanco*, and within the River lies a Sand Bank quit croſs to the Fort *Margaret*. This River is very ſhallow during the Summer time, but in the Winter Seaſon, the Waters riſe to that height that they overflow all the adjacent Country, ſometimes to the great loſs of Men and Cattle. 1643.

Two Leagues beyond this River to the North, is a Bay, which affords a very ſafe Station to the largeſt Ships. It is by the *Portugueſes* called *Porto Lucena*, and by the *Dutch*, the *Red Land*, the Grounds being Red hereabouts. There is very good Anchorage here at 5 and 6 Fathom Water, and the Country near it affords very good freſh Water; which is the reaſon why the *Dutch* Ships bound for *Holland* from the *Receif*, uſed to ſtay for one anothers coming in this Bay, and to provide themſelves with freſh Water. Porto Lucena.

Half a League further to the North, under 6 Deg. 34 Min. is the River *Mongoapa*, or *Mongoanamapy*, exonerates it ſelf into the Sea: This River is much larger towards its Source than at the Mouth; the Banks on both ſides being full of Briars, Buſhes, and *Mangal* Trees. Before its Entrance, lies a *Receif*, and at the very Mouth two dangerous Sand-Banks; It has three Fathom Water at low Tide. River Mongoapa.

About two ſmall Leagues to the North of the River *Mongoapa*, is a Bay, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Rabica de Treyçano*, or *Treaſon*, where, at about a League diſtance from the Shore, is 11 or 12 Fathom Water. Five Leagues to the North of this Bay, you meet with the River *Barra Kongnon* or *Konayo*, which is ſcarce paſſable for Yachts. About a League and a half from thence is a large Bay of about two Leagues in length, called *Pernambuko*; and five Leagues beyond it to the North, the River *Jan de Sta*, or *Eſtau*.

The Natives of *Parayba* inhabit about 7 Villages, the chiefeſt of which is called *Pinda Una*, which in 1634. contained about 1500 Inhabitants, whereas each of the others had ſcarce 300; each of theſe comprehending not above 5 or 6 very long Buildings, with a great many Doors, but very ſmall ones.

The chief Commodities of this *Captainſhip*, are Sugar, *Braſil*-Wood, Tobacco, Hides, Cotton, and ſuch like. The Sugar-Reeds did bear extreamly well, becauſe they were tranſplanted into freſh Grounds. Whilſt the Diſtrict of *Parayba* was under our Juriſdiction, there were above 21 Sugar-Mills on both ſides of the Banks of the River, 18 of which ſent away every year 4000 Cheſts of Sugar. Near the River-ſide, the Country

1643. Country is low and plain, but not far from thence riſes by degrees, and affords a very agreeable variety of Hills and Valleys. The flat Country, which is alſo the moſt fertile, is diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Diviſions, ſome of which have borrowed their Names from ſmall Rivers which run through them, as for inſtance: *Gramamma*, *Tapoa*, *Tibery*, *Ingeby*, *Mongnappe*, *Iuvery*, *Kamaratuba*, and ſeveral more. All thoſe Countries are extreamly fertile, occaſioned by the overflowing of the River *Parayba*. Their Products are: Sugar, Barley, Turky Wheat, Potatoes, *Anana*'s, *Coco*-Nuts, Melons, Oranges, Citrons, *Banana*'s, *Pakova*'s, *Mankoma*'s, Cucumbers, and all other Neceſſaries for the Suſtenance of Men and Beaſts. They have here a kind of wild Pears, called *Kaiou*'s, which are very Juicy and well-taſted; within is a certain Bean or ſmall Nutt, the Rind of which is bitter, but the Kernel ſweet if roaſted in the Aſhes. The Pear is very cooling, but the Nutt has a contrary quality.

Fertility.

Towards the end of *November* 1634. the *Dutch* undertook the Expedition againſt *Parayba*, their Forces being Embarked in 32 Ships under the Command of Colonel *Schoppe*, *Artisjoski*, *Hinderſon*, *Stachouwer*, and *Carpentier*. The whole Fleet was divided into 2 Squadrons, the firſt conſiſted of 21 Ships, in which were 1945. the other of 11 Yachts, with 409 Men. *Schoppe* was the firſt that landed 600 Men, and advanced towards the Enemy, who betook themſelves to their Heels, leaving their Arms and Cloaths behind them; *Anthony Albuquerque* their General, himſelf ſcarce eſcaping their hands. In the mean while, the reſt being likewiſe got a Shore, 3 Companies, under the Conduct of *Gaſper Ley*, marched directly to the Fort of *Margaret*, and intrencht himſelf near the Fort, whilſt *Schoppe* kept all along the Shore, and *Artisjoski*, poſted himſelf on the right ſide in ſight of the Garriſon: At the ſame time Mr. *Lichthart* attackt the Fort in the ſmall Iſland *Reſtinga*, which he took by force, and put the Garriſon to the Sword. By this time, *Schoppe* had raiſed a Battery againſt the Fort, from whence he ſo ſorely gall'd the Beſieged, that their Commander *Simon d' Albuquerque* ſurrendred the Place. Hereupon the Fort of *St. Antonio* was ſummoned to ſurrender, *Maglianes* the Governor deſired three days delay, which being denied, he marched away ſecretly by Night, leaving the Place to *Lichthart*, who found there 5 great Braſs Pieces, and 19 Iron Pieces of Cannon.

The Dutch conquer Parayba.

1643.

The ſame Night our Forces marched towards the City of *Parayba*, being 1600 ſtrong, and having paſs'd a ſmall Branch of the River called *Tambra Grande*, made themſelves Maſters of it without any oppoſition: The Spaniſh General *Banjola*, who commanded there with 250 Men only, having left the Place before, and being retired to *Goyana*, after he had either ſunk or nail'd up the Cannon, and ſet fire to three Ships, and two Warehouſes, in which were conſumed 3000 Cheſts with Sugar. The Fort of *St. Catharine* being much decay'd, was ordered by Count *Maurice* to be repaired, and the Ditch to be enlarged and deepned; giving it the Name of *Margaret* after his Siſter. The Fort of *St. Antonio* was raſed for the greateſt part, there being only one Bulwark left for the Defence of the North-point of the River. The Fort *Reſtingas* was ordered to be ſurrounded with new Palliſadoes, and the Convent of *Parayba* fortified with a Wall and Outwork; and the Command thereof given to *Elias Harkman*, together with the Government of the whole *Captainſhip*.

The *Captainſhip* of *Potigi*, or *Potingi*, or *Poteingi*, is otherwiſe by the *Portugueſes* called *Rio Grande*, from a River of the ſame Name: The *Dutch* call it *North Braſil*, in reſpect of the more Southern *Captainſhips* of *Braſil*. It Borders to the South upon *Parayba*, and to the North upon the *Captainſhip* of *Siara*; tho' the *Portugueſe* Geographers extend its Bounds as far as the Iſland *Maranhaon*.

Potigi, or Rio Grande.

The *French* were once Maſters of this *Captainſhip*, till 1597. they were Chaſed from thence by the *Spaniſh* Commander, *Feliciano Creça de Karvalaſho*. It has four Diviſions, named after ſo many Rivers, that run through them; *viz. Kunhao*, *Goyana*, *Mumpobu*, and *Potegy*. And tho' this Diſtrict has been much neglected by the *Portugueſes*, yet does it produce plenty of Wild-Fowl, and Fiſh, which are ſo luſcious, that they commonly Eat them only with Lemon-Juice or Vinegar, without Oil. There is an incredible number of Fiſh in the Lake *Goraires*, beſides which, abundance of *Farinha* is planted here. This part of the Country ſtood us in good ſtead during the late Rebellion of the *Portugueſes*, our Garriſons in *Parayba*, and other Places, being ſupplied from thence with good ſtore of Fleſh and Fiſh.

Above

1643. River Rio Grande.

Above the River *Rio Grande*, is a Town of no great moment, called *Amſterdam*; the Inhabitants live by Planting *Farinha* and *Tobacco*, and Fiſhing. Higher up in the Country live ſome *Moradores*, or Husbandmen, who cultivate the Grounds; but on the North-ſide of *Rio Grande* are but few Inhabitants.

The River *Rio Grande*, *i. e.* the *Great River*, is ſo called by the *Portugueſes* from its bigneſs; but by the *Braſilians*, *Potigi*, or *Poteingi*. The Mouth of this River lies under 50 Deg. 42 Min. Southern Latitude, 3 Leagues from *Punto Negro*, coming from the Weſt-ſide of the Continent. It diſembogues 4 Leagues above the Fort *Keulen*, call'd by the *Portugueſes*, *Tres Reyes*: It bears Ships of great Burthen; But the River *Kunhao* in the ſame *Captainſhip* is only Navigable with Barges and Yachts. The Bays of this *Captainſhip* are, *Bahia Formoſa*, *Punto Negro*, *Ponto de Pipas*, and the Bay of *Martin Tiſſen*. The Bay of *Gimapabo* lies beyond *Rio Grande* to the North; and beyond that a River called *Guaſſavi*, upon which near the Mouth lies the Village *Atape Wappa*. Near to the North you meet with the River *Siria Mixm*; and near the Village of *Natal*, and the Fort of *Tres Reyes*, paſſes a River called the *Croſs River*, which ariſes out of a ſmall Lake in *Rio Grande*. Over againſt the ſame Fort, a freſh River falls into the Great River, betwixt two Land-Banks, and not far from thence another Salt-Water River.

The Fort Keulen.

The Fort *Keulen* was fourſquare, built upon a Rock or Point of a *Receif*, at ſome diſtance from the Shore, at the Mouth of the River *Receif*; being ſurrounded with Water as often as it's flowing Water, ſo that at high-Tide there is no coming at it but with boats. In the midſt of this Fort is a ſmall Chapel, where in 1645, and 1646, our People found a Wall about a Foot and a half wide on the top, but at the bottom 3 feet, cut within a Rock, which brings freſh Supplies of good and ſweet Water every Tide; with an ordinary Tide, 225, and at Spring-Tide, about 350 Quarts; which is more than ſufficient for the uſe of the Gariſon, in caſe of a Siege. The Fort is built of ſquare Stone; being towards the Shore defended with two half Baſtions, in form of Hornworks. In the year 1646. there was an Artillery of 29, as well Braſs as Iron pieces of Cannon in the Place, and provided with a good under-Vault, and convenient Lodgements for the Soldiers.

1643. *It is taken by the Dutch.*

This Fort was in 1633. taken by the *Dutch* under the Command of *Matthias van Keulen*, one of the Governors of the Company, who being aſſiſted by ſeveral noted Captains, viz. *Byma*, *Kloppenburgh*, &c. Dutch. *Lichtbart*, *Garſtman*, and *Manſfeldt van Keulen*, ſet Sail thither with 808 Men, embarked in 4 Ships, and 7 Yachts, and made himſelf Maſter of it, and the whole Captainſhip at the ſame time; ſince which it changed its Name *Tres Reyes* into that of *Keulen*, from the Commander in chief of this Expedition.

The *Tapoyers*, (or Mountaineers) uſe commonly twice a year, eſpecially when the dry Seaſon puts them in want of freſh Water, to make an Inroad into this *Captainſhip*; there being a conſtant Enmity betwixt them and the *Portugueſes*. It happen'd in *July* 1645. that theſe *Tapoyers* being adverti'ſed that the *Portugueſes* intended to Revolt from us, and had actually begun the ſame in *Pernambuko*, did, under the Conduct of one of their Leaders, called *Jacob Rabbi*, after ſeveral Provocations given them by the *Portugueſes*, make an Incurſion into *Kunhao*, where they killed 36 Perſons in a Sugar-Mill, belonging to one *Gonſalvo d'Olivera*. From thence they marched to a certain Place, where the *Portugueſes* had caſt up a Line for their Defence, which they made themſelves Maſters of, and put the *Portugueſes* to the Sword. The *Braſilians* told us, that this had been done in requital of what had been done to ſome of thoſe Mountaineers by one *Andrew Vidal* in *Serinhaim*, after quarter given them before, of which we ſhall ſay more hereafter. Since which time, the *Portugueſes* have laid this Tract deſolate, which the *Dutch* once had a mind to Re-people, and to put it in the ſame Condition as the *Portugueſes* had poſſeſs'd it, but for want of People that deſign was fain to be laid aſide.

Siara.

The *Captainſhip* of *Siara* is one of the moſt Northerly Diſtricts of *Braſil*, bordering upon *Maranhaon* to the North upon the River *Siara*. It is of no great extent, its whole Compaſs being not above 10 or 12 Leagues.

The River Siara.

The River *Siara*, which riſes deep in the Continent, diſembogues about ſeven Leagues and a half to the North of the Bay *Mangorypa*, under 3 Deg. 40 Min. Southern Latitude.

The Native Inhabitants of this *Captainſhip*, according to the Report of thoſe that have frequently viſited it, are very large of Stature, with ugly Features, long Hair, and black Skin; except

1643. cept the ſpace betwixt the Eyes and Mouth. They have holes in their Ears, which hang downwards upon the Shoulders; ſome make holes in their Lips, ſome in their Noſes, in which they wear Stones as an Ornament. Their Food is *Farinha*, Wild-Fowls, Fiſh, and Fruit. They Drink moſt Water, but make likewiſe a certain Liquor out of *Farinha*; and of late began to be uſed to Drink good ſtore of Brandy, tho' it was expreſsly forbidden to bring it into the Villages, to keep them from the exceſſive uſe of ſtrong Liquors. The Country produces Sugar-Reeds, Chryſtal, Cotton, Pearls, Salt, and ſeveral other Commodities. Ambergreeſe is alſo found on the Sea-ſhore.

The Inland part of the Country was in 1630. govern'd by one of their own Kings, call'd *Algodoa*; in ſome reſpect Tributary to the *Portugueſes*, who had built a Fort upon the River *Siara*, and made themſelves Maſters of the whole Sea-Coaſt thereabouts; notwithſtanding which they were in continual Broils with one another till 1638. This Fort and the whole Country was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueſes* in the following manner.

Siara conquered by the Dutch.

Count *Maurice*, and the Council, being ſollicited by the Natives of that Country to make themſelves Maſters of the *Portugueſe* Fort on that ſide, and to deliver them from the Oppreſſion they lay under at that time, they offering their Aſſiſtance, and giving two young Lads of their beſt Families, as Pledges of their Fidelity, this Expedition was reſolved upon. The chief Command over the Troops deſign'd for this Exploit, was conferr'd upon Colonel *John Garſtman*, a Man of more than ordinary Conduct in Martial Affairs, tho' as the caſe then ſtood, this Enterpriſe was not likely to meet with any conſiderable Difficulties; being aſſured of the Aſſiſtance of the *Braſilians*, who bore an old hatred to the *Portugueſes*, and were acquainted with the Strength and Condition both of their Forces and Places. *Garſtman* being provided with Ships, Men, Ammunition, and all other Neceſſaries requiſite for ſuch an Expedition, ſet ſail towards the River *Siara*; where being met by the *Algodoa*, or King, with white Enſigns in token of Peace, and having landed his Men, 200 of the Natives joyned with them. With thoſe he marched directly to the Fort, which after a brave Reſiſtance from the *Portugueſes*, who killed ſome of his Men, he took by Storm; and made moſt of the Garriſon Priſoners, among whom were 1643. ſome Commanders of Note: They found good ſtore of Cannon and Artillery in the Place.

The Fort Siara.

Since that time, the *Dutch* built a ſmall Fort upon the *Siara*, unto which they gave likewiſe the Name of *Siara*, which was provided with a Garriſon of betwixt 30 and 40 Soldiers only; not ſo much for the defence of the Country, as to maintain a good correſpondency with the *Braſilians*, who being very numerous in thoſe Parts, might do us conſiderable Service in time of War. It was upon this Conſideration, that the great Council always commanded their Officers, ſent thither, to cultivate a good Underſtanding with them; and at ſeveral times ſent them ſome ſmall Preſents, which, however proved ineffectual in the end, for in 1644. they attackt and killed ſeveral of our Men at *Komeſy*, (a Place about 30 Leagues from *Siara*) as we ſhall hear anon.

For, the *Braſilians*, being in 1641. increaſed to ſuch a number in *Siara*, that the Villages thereabouts were not able to contain them without great inconveniency whereas the Diſtrict of *Rio Grande*, was almoſt deſtitute of Inhabitants, and conſequently not in a Condition to oppoſe an Enemy, one *Andrew Vlieſs*, propoſed to the great Council, to build a Village in *Rio Grande*, for the uſe of ſuch as intended to ſettle there out of *Siara*, deſiring to be conſtituted Chief of the ſaid Village: Count *Maurice*, and the Great Council, being informed of the Inclinations of thoſe of *Siara*, who were willing to Settle in *Rio Grande*, their ancient Place of abode, and conſidering the Benefit that was likely to accrue to the Company, from the Settlement of thoſe *Braſilians*, ſo near at hand, granted *Vlieſs*'s Requeſt, wiſhing him to bring thither as many of the *Braſilians* of *Siara* as he thought convenient, for the compaſs of a Village of which he was made Chief or Captain. Things being thus ſettled, they choſe, with the Approbation of our Directors, certain Chiefs or Heads out of the moſt antient Families of each Diviſion, called *Reſidoor* by the *Portugueſes*, and certain Judges; as for inſtance in *Goyana*, *Domingoi*, *Fernandes*, and *Karapeva*; in *Paraiba*, *Peter Potty*; and in *Rio Grande*, *Antonio Perapeva*. Notwithſtanding all this, the *Braſilians* of *Siara* revolted againſt the *Dutch* in 1644. ſurprized the Garriſon in the Fort, which they razed, and killed the Commander

in

in Chief, *Gideon Morritz*, with the whole Garriſon, beſides all the Workmen belonging to the Salt-Pits near the River *Upanemma*, who were all cut in pieces by theſe *Barbarians*. 1643.

A certain Maſter of a Ship, with a Captain, Lieutenant, and ſome Soldiers, who happened to come aſhore in a Boat to fetch ſome freſh Proviſions, being ignorant of their Treachery, were alſo put to the Slaughter, three Seamen having the good fortune to eſcape with their Lives into the Wood.

Some laid the Cauſe of this Rebellion at the door of the *Portugueſes* and *Braſilians* of *Maranhaon*, bordering upon them; but if we ſearch into the true Sourſe of this Evil, it muſt be attributed to the Miſcarriage of our own Officers, who by their hard-uſage, had forced the Inhabitants to revenge themſelves for the Injuries received at their hands.

Thus much concerning the *Captainſhips* of the *Dutch Braſil*; we will in the next Place give you an Account of all the memorable Tranſactions that happened betwixt the *Dutch* and *Portugueſes* in *Braſil* during our ſtay there; after I have repreſented to you the Excellency, and convenient Situation of this Country, together with the Eccleſiaſtical State of the *Dutch Braſil*.

The Excellency of Brasil.

Braſil is a Country excellently well-qualified by Nature for the producing of all Things, which are generally found in the *Weſt-Indies*, under or near the ſame Climate; except, that hitherto no Gold or Silver-Mines have been diſcovered here worth taking notice of. But next to Gold and Silver, the Sugar claims the precedency here before all other Commodities. Among all the Harbours and Places of the *Weſt-Indies*, there is not one that can compare with *Braſil*, either for the Product, or Conveniency of Tranſportation of Sugar; the whole Coaſt of *Braſil* being full of ſmall Rivers, which flowing through the adjacent Valleys, diſembogues in the Sea; from whence the Sugar-Mills built in the Valleys reap the Benefit of ſaving vaſt Charges, which elſe muſt be beſtowed upon Labourers and Carriages; whereas theſe Rivers drive the Mills, ſerve for the Tranſportation of Sugar to other Places, and furniſh them at an eaſie rate with what Commodities they ſtand in need of; all which Conveniencies, as they are not to be met with in any other Place of the *Weſt-Indies*; ſo, no Sugar-Mills could be erected there with any proſpect of Profit. The Exportation of Sugar from *Braſil* into *Europe* and *Africa* is likewiſe performed with much more Eaſe than from any other Places in the *Weſt-Indies*; for the Situation of *Braſil*, (being the moſt Eaſtern part of all *America*) is ſuch as could not be more conveniently contrived by human Art or Nature for the Tranſportation of ſo general and agreeable a Commodity, as Sugar, into all the other Parts of the World; conſidering thoſe two Excellencies of *Braſil*, together with its vaſt extent, it is moſt certain, that, provided it were well peopled, it might Command both the *North* and *Æthiopian* Seas, and ſpread its Commerce over all Parts of the World; nay, it might extend its Conqueſts both to the Eaſt and Weſt, or at leaſt eſtabliſh Factories there for the Conveniency of Traffick. To prove which, it is to be obſerved, 1643.

That all *Eaſt-India* Ships both going and coming, muſt paſs by the Coaſt of *Braſil*; and, as thoſe Ships in their Voyage thither, are often forced to touch upon this Coaſt, ſo in their return, nothing could be more commodious for them, than to be ſupplied with freſh Proviſions here. From *Braſil* you may ſail in 14 days to the *Caribbee* Iſlands, and in the ſame time, or a little longer, to *Sierra Leona* on the Coaſt of *Guinea*. It is impoſſible to enter deep into the great South Sea, (wherabouts a great part of the Terreſtrial Globe remains as yet undiſcovered) unleſs you take in freſh Proviſions and Firing in *Braſil*, or expoſe your ſelf to the greateſt Hazards imaginable in ſo long a Voyage; as is ſufficiently evident from the Journals of *Oliver Van North*, *Spilbergen*, *le Maire*, and *John l'Heremite*. And Experience has taught us, ſince Mr. *Brewer*'s Voyage to *Chili*, how eaſie the paſſage is betwixt *Braſil* and the South Sea; for he loſt not ſo much as one Ship out of four, and very few died in the whole Voyage.

The wholeſomeneſs of its Climate.

Braſil enjoys likewiſe the advantage of a very wholſome Climate; for tho' it lies betwixt the Equinoctial Line and the *Tropick of Capricorn*, and conſequently is ſubject to burning heats, yet are the ſame much allayed by the Winds, that blow out of the Eaſt from the Sea, their free paſſage being not interrupted by any Mountains or Iſlands; which is the reaſon, that in *Braſil* the ſame Diſtempers are rarely to be met with, which reign ſo frequently in *Angola*, *Guinea*, *St. Thomas*, and ſeveral other places, where the Eaſt-Winds cannot afford them the ſame advantage. A

Plague

1643. Flegue is a thing unknown in *Brasil*, in which it excels all other Countries; tho' they are not free from Continual putrid Fevers, caused by the hot and moist Air, and the excessive use of raw Fruits.

Those that are bound for the Coast of *Angola* are to have a special regard to the Winds and Stream thereabouts; and to be very careful to Sail above the Harbour whither they are bound; for if they miss, and come below it, they lose their aim, and must stay till the next turn of the Wind and Stream. For it is observable, that on the Coast of *Brasil*, the Stream runs from *February* till past the Line constantly North-erly, during which time there is no passing from the North to the South; but after those Months are past the Stream turns, and from the beginning of *September* to the latter end of *November*, runs as violently from South as it did to the North before, and consequently there is no sailing from the North to the South, no more than before from the South to the North. The Winds here turn with the Stream; and at the beginning of *March* blow South, South-East, and South-East. And like the Stream changes its Current till *September*, so the Winds continue in the East, and blow till that time out of the East South-East. For there are but two Winds that reign along this Coast, viz. the South East and North East Winds; according to which Ships shape their Course here.

The Ecclesiastical State of the *Dutch* was in my time thus ordered:

Before the Insurrection of the *Portuguese* there were to the South of the Line Five Protestant Churches; viz. in *Rio* St. *Domingo*, *Porto Calvo*, *Seregipe*, the Cape St. *Augustin*, and St. *Antonio*; tho' these were seldom altogether provided with Ministers; because that some or other of them returned into *Holland*, after their limited time was expired. In the Isle *Tamaraka* and Fort *Orange* was at that time, a Minister one *Gregorio*, who lived formerly in the Town of *Schop*, and at the same time Preached in the Church of *Igaraffu*, which was afterwards left by the *Dutch* and possess'd by the *Portugueses*. In *Rio Grande* Preached one *John Theodore Polycius*. In *Paraiba* were formerly two Ministers, whilst the Town of *Frederica* was as yet under the *Dutch* Jurisdiction, but after the revolt of the *Portugueses* the place was left by the Inhabitants, and *Henry Haeman* was the only Minister in those Parts. In the *Recief*, *Maurice*'s Town and the Circumjacent Forts, which contained about 400 Protestants, *Dutch*, *French* and *English*, were three Ministers, who Preach'd in the *Dutch* Tongue; *Nicholas Vogel*, *Peter Ongena*, and *Peter Gerb*. Besides these there was a fourth called *Jodocus Ajsett*, who formerly had been Minister of the Cape of St. *Augustin*, but now was employed either aboard our Fleet, or upon any Land Expedition. The *French* Church here remained without a Minister, after the departure of *Joachim Soluer*, so that they were forced to be contented with the reading of certain Chapters of the Bible, and Prayers every *Sunday* Morning. The *English* Minister was one *Samuel Batchelour*, who 1646 return'd likewise to *England*; about which time there were seven *Dutch* Ministers in the *Dutch Brasil*. Our Religious Worship was both in its Doctrine and Practice regulated exactly according to the Prescription of the Synod of *Dort*, and peculiar care was taken for the Education of the Youth, for which purpose the Catechism was every *Sunday* in the Afternoon explained both in the *Recief* and *Maurice*'s Town. Four times in the Year the Holy Sacrament was Administred, those who desired to be partakers of it, being obliged to make their Confession, before the Church-Council, or the Ministers, who entred their Names in a Book; and if they came from abroad, published their Names to the Congregation; and in all other respects the Church Discipline was carefully observed. The Church Council was composed of six Church-Wardens, besides the Minister; these met duly once a Week, and if any business of moment happen'd, such as chosing a Minister, &c. they called the Deacons, who were likewise six in number, to their assistance. Out of the Deacons were every Month chosen two, who (besides their ordinary business) were to visit the Sick and Wounded, and to provide for them if necessity required. They also took care of the Orphans, to have them instructed in reading and writing. In the same manner the other Churches were regulated, with this difference only, that the number of Church-Wardens and Deacons was less, in proportion to the number of their respective Congregations. Thus much of the Ecclesiastical State

1643. *Their Church Council.*

Besides

1643. Beſides thoſe living Creatures we have given you a deſcription of before, there are divers ſorts of Bees in *Braſil*, call'd *Eiruku's*, which ſettle upon the Trees in a moſt ſurpriſing manner. They are not unlike our Bees, but ſomewhat ſmaller, and ſwarm chiefly among the Woods. The *Braſilians* diſtinguiſh them into 12 different kinds; *viz. Amanakay-Mirim*, *Amanakay-Veu*, *Aibu*, *Mumbuka*, *Pixuna*, *Urutuetva*, *Tubuna*, *Tujuba*, *Eiruku*, *Fixu*, *Kubiara* and *Kurupiveira*; the laſt of which are in no eſteem among them.

Bees.

The Bees *Eiruku* are the largeſt of all, and produce a very good Honey, tho' it is not commonly uſed. They make their Combs within the hollowneſs of Trees, which the *Braſilians* draw from thence by the means of a hollow Pipe. The Bees called *Fiku* and *Kupi*, are ſmaller and of a blackiſh Colour; they make holes from without, in the Bark of the Trees, in the nature of Bee hives; and the Comb within is all of white Wax; this is now counted the beſt thing, but is not gathered in the ſame quantity as the former; beſides that theſe Bees ſting very furiouſly. The Bees *Thambuka*, are likewiſe ſmall, of a Yellowiſh Colour, they fix their Combs on the top of the higheſt Trees, and afford the beſt Honey, which is in great quantities tranſported from hence to *Europe*, where it is ſold very cheap. It is little inferiour in goodneſs to the *European* Honey, and of a good ſubſtance, tranſparent and of an agreeable ſcent. It is accounted very Balſamick, corrects the ſharp humours in the Inteſtines, and eſpecially in the Kidneys, and provokes Urin. They make of this Honey Metheglin, which is very ſtrong, and will keep a great while: You may alſo make Meath with this Honey without boiling; only mix'd with ſome Spring-water and expoſed to the weather.

Balſam.

Braſil produces likewiſe ſeveral ſorts of Balſams; the beſt of which is called by the *Braſilians Kopaiba*, from the Trees from whence it comes. *Kopaiba* is a very high wild Tree, with an Aſh colour'd Bark, which ſpreads at the top, into many Branches. The Leaves are about half a Foot long, ſometimes larger, ſometimes leſſer, which in the midſt of the Branches ſtand oppoſite to one another, but on the end like other Leaves. At the end of the great Branches are abundance of leſſer Sprouts full of Leaves, out of which comes forth the Bloſſom, and afterwards Berries, not unlike our Laurel-berries. They are Green at firſt, but as they Ripen turn Black and ſweet. Within is a round hard Stone, the Kernel of which is White, but Mealy, and not fit to be Eaten. The Berries ripen in *June*, when the *Braſilians* ſuck the Juice out of them, and throw away the Stone and Skin. The Apes take great delight in this Fruit.

1643.

The Oily and Odoriferous Balſam, in which this Tree abounds, drops every Full-Moon, provided you cut a ſlit down the Bark as deep as to the Pith, in ſuch quantity, that in three Hours time you may gather about twelve *Mergela*. But if that does not drop immediately, the ſlit is made up with Wax; and within Fourteen Days after they are ſure the Balſam will come in great quantity. This Tree does not grow ſo plentifully in the *Captainſhip of Fernambuke*, as in the Ile *Maranaon*, from whence the Balſam is tranſported into *Europe*. The Balſam is hot in the ſecond degree, of a thick Oleaginous and Reſinous ſubſtance. It is very Stomachick, and a good remedy againſt the Colick, occaſion'd by Cold, externally applied to the affected Parts; ſome few Drops taken inwardly ſtrengthen the Bowels, and ſtop the overflowing in Women, the looſeneſs and involuntary emiſſion of Seed in Men; againſt which Diſtempers it likewiſe is uſed in Clyſters or by Syringing. Thus far concerning the ſole *Dutch Braſil*; we will now proceed to give you an account of what paſſed during our abode there.

In the Year 1640, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, one of the Directors of the *Weſt-India* Company for the Chamber of *Amſterdam*, and Mr. *Dirck Kodde Vander Burg* (both Perſons excellently well qualified for the management of the *Dutch Ioraſil*, and of great Experience in Affairs of Commerce) were at the requeſt of the Council of XIX ſent to *Braſil*, and arriving there on the 8th of *Auguſt*, the two preceeding Directors or Councellors, *Matthias Van Keulen* and *John Groſeling*, reſigned their places to them, and with them the chief management of the *Dutch Braſil*, under the Government of *John Maurice* Count *Naſſau*.

At the time of their arrival in *Braſil*, there were under the Juriſdiction of the States the following *Captainſhips*: *Pernambuko*, *Itamaricka* (unto which belongs *Goiana*) *Paraiba*, *Rio Grande* and *Siara*, being the Northern part of *Braſil*: The Southern part, which contained the *Captainſhips Bahia*, *Ilheos*, *Porto Seguro*, *Spiritu*

1643. Portugueſe Brazil.

Spiritu Santo, *Rio Janeiro* and *St. Vincent*, remained under the *Portugueſes*, who Inhabited the Country as far as *Rio de Plate*. Not many Months after the Iſland of *Maranhaon* was joined with the *Dutch Braſil*, but the charges we were fain to be at to defend it againſt the *Portugueſes*, thoſe of *Para* and the Natives, which over balancing the profit, the Company was likely to reap from thence, it was thought moſt expedient to quit the ſame; which was done accordingly, in the Year 1644, or rather to confeſs the truth, by the Combination of the *Portugueſes*, thoſe of *Grand Para* and the Natives, we were forced to abandon it.

Before the arrival of thoſe new Directors, a Fleet had been ſent to the *Bahia*, to Land ſome Men there, and to Deſtroy all with Fire and Sword; which after they had put in Execution, and returned to the *Receif*, the ſame Fleet under Command of Admiral *Jol* and *Cornelius Lichthart*, was by ſpecial Command from the Council of XIX in *Holland* ordered to the *Weſt-Indies*, to lay in wait for the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet of *Terra firma* and new *Spain*; but they returned without doing any thing, 1640 in *December*, having loſt four or five Ships in this Voyage. Colonel *Koin* was much about the ſame time ſent with a Body of Souldiers, into the *Captainſhip* of *Rio Real*, to bridle the *Portugueſes*, by making a diverſion in their own Territories; but thoſe Troops being but indifferently ſupplied with Neceſſaries in an Enemies Country, and forced to undergo great fatigues; they were ſo much weakned that it was thought adviſeable to recall them out of *Rio Real*, and to aſſign them Quarters of refreſhment in the Garriſons. Major *Van Brande* had worſe Succeſs than all the reſt, for being ſent abroad with a Party to fetch in ſome Cattle, was put to the Rout, and he himſelf taken Priſoner.

The Dutch [illegible] Fleet.

In the mean while that our whole Fleet was waiting for the *Spaniſh* Plate Fleet on the Coaſt of *America*, and we conſequently were not in a condition to undertake any thing at Sea; Our Directors had all the reaſon in the world to fear, that the *Portugueſes* would take this opportunity to revenge their loſs, by deſtroying our Sugar-Mills, which made them leave no Stone unturn'd to ſecure the *Dutch Braſil* and its Inhabitants, againſt the attempts of the Enemy: and conſidering that a great part of our Security depended on the good inclinations of the *Portugueſes* living among us, it was thought convenient, 1643. to call an Aſſembly of the chiefeſt *Portugueſe* Inhabitants of the three *Captainſhips* of *Pernambuko*, *Itamarika* and *Parayba*, towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, to concert meaſures, how to defend their Sugar-Mills and Fields againſt the Incurſions of the Enemy.

The moſt effectual means that could be pitched upon in this Aſſembly were, to provide their Forts with good Garriſons on the borders, and to ſecure the Sugar-Mills, by putting a certain number of Soldiers in or near them, for the ſecurity of the adjacent Fields. This was put in Execution accordingly, and the Officers had ſtrict charge to keep a watchful Eye upon the leaſt motion of the *Portugueſes*, notwithſtanding which it had not the deſired effect; becauſe thoſe *Portugueſes* who lived at a conſiderable diſtance from us, and near the Enemies Frontiers, durſt not give timely notice of their approach; beſides that many among them having a conſtant hatred, to our Nation, did favour the Enterpriſes of thoſe Parties that burnt the Sugar-Fields, and plundered the Mills, ſerved them ſometimes for Guides, and had their ſhare in the Booty; which obliged our People to be at a conſtant Charge of a ſtrong Guard to conduct their Goods, and defend them againſt any ſudden attempts. Such an Incurſion was not long after made by the *Portugueſes* into our Territories. For in *November* the Viceroy, the Marquis of *Montelvano* ſent two Barges full of Soldiers, to burn our Sugar-Reeds in the Plains, which they effected, but durſt not go too far, or attempt any thing againſt our Mills, for fear of the Soldiers quartered thereabouts; who could not prevent their burning in the Fields, as being done in the Night-time. The *Dutch* were the greateſt loſers by it, becauſe they had generally the greateſt ſhare in thoſe Fields and Mills; beſides that the *Portugueſes* ſpared thoſe of their own Country-Men; all which brought a great damp upon Trade, every one being afraid to venture in any buſineſs, where he might loſe all his Subſtance in one Night, and that perhaps by the Hand of a ſingle Perſon; whereby the Revenues of the Company were greatly impaired, and their Charges increaſed, being forced to maintain 20 or 30 Soldiers for the Defence of any conſiderable Plantation or Sugar-Mills; which prevented them from bringing a ſufficient Body

Body of Men into the Field, to make head againſt the Enemy. This was the State of the *Dutch Braſil* towards the latter end of 1640. 1643.

The 22d of *Decemb.* in the ſame Year, Mr. *Adrian van Bulleſtraete*, arrived at the *Receif* from *Middelburgh*, in the Quality of Director of *Braſil*, ſo that now the Great Council being compleat, the beſt expedient to obviate all theſe difficulties, was judged to conſiſt in our Fleet, Purſuant to this Reſolution, all our Ships were ordered to the *Bahia*, to make the Enemy ſenſible, that we were in a a condition to be even with them, and thereby to facilitate the Negotiation that was in hand, for the ſurceaſing of burning on both ſides. The Council of XIX having alſo ſent expreſs orders, to Cruiſe with ſome Ships before *Rio Janeiro*, from whence the *Spaniſh* Ships uſed generally to return into *Spain*, about the Month of *May* or *June*, ſome of the biggeſt Ships were ordered that way to intercept it poſſible the *Flota*, the reſt being left near the *Bahia*.

The Dutch *Ships ordered to the* Bahia.

But whilſt our Commiſſioners were treating with the Viceroy about the ſurceaſing, of burning and plundering, a certain *Portugueſe*, *Paulo de Kunha* by Name, committed unheard-of Cruelties, with Murthering, Plundering and Burning, in the open Country, which made Count *Maurice* Write the following Letter to the Viceroy.

Count Maurice's *Letter to the Viceroy.*

Count Maurice's Letter to the Viceroy.

THe Barbarities lately committed by Paulo d'Kunha, *with Burning, Murthering, and Plundering in the open Country, gives me great Reaſon to fear, that your laſt obliging Letter was deſigned for a Compliment, without any Reality. The Confidence I had in your Excellencies Sincerity, made me recal our Ships and Forces from your Territories, to take away all means of Offence: But the long ſtay of our Deputies, affords great occaſion of Suſpicion, that your Intention is only to amuſe us; which has obliged me to diſpatch a Veſſel to let them know, That in caſe the Treaty is not brought to a Concluſion, to return without delay; it being our Intention, that the ſaid Negotiation ſhould not be continued longer. Your Excellency will there diſmiſs them, together with our Two Hoſtages, as we are reſolved to ſend back to you* Martin Feirera, *left with us as Hoſtage from your Excellency, his Companion being Dead of late.*

Hereupon, by the Mediation of the Clergy, living under our Juriſdiction, but eſpecially by the indefatigable Care of *Dirk Kodde vander Burgh*, who was ſent thither for that purpoſe, the Treaty was brought to a happy Concluſion in *February* 1641. by Virtue of which, all Deſtructions by Burning and Plundering were to Surceaſe on both ſides; which being publiſhed by Proclamation, the *Portugueſes* were ordered to quit our Dominions; whereby we reapt this Advantage, that now we might turn all our Forces where we found it moſt expedient. 1643.

In *June* 1641. Count *Maurice* and the Great Council received Advice of the Ten Years Truce concluded betwixt the States of *Holland*, and the King of *Portugal*, with all the Articles thereunto belonging, which were publiſhed by Proclamation in all our *Captainſhips*, and all Acts of Hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides; the *Dutch* living in good Underſtanding with the Inhabitants of the *Bahia*, giving them all the Demonſtrations of Friendſhip, ſufficient to convince the *Portugueſes*, that they had not the leaſt reaſon to fear any Infraction on their ſide. *The Treaty againſt burning concluded.*

The Great Council being willing to Improve this Interval of Peace for the Advancement of Traffick, and the Benefit of the Company, gave all imaginable Encouragement, (in proportion to the Circumſtances of time and place) to all the Inhabitants of what Nation ſoever, for the Cultivating the Lands; which had this good effect, That the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills rebuilt their Mills, and the Husbandmen betook themſelves with ſo much eagerneſs to the Cultivating of their Sugar-Fields, that they borrow'd conſiderable Sums, upon a proſpect of ſure gain, which would over-pay their Debts; as without queſtion it would have done in a ſhort time, if by the Treachery of the *Portugueſes* they had not been diſappointed in their Hopes. The next thing to be taken in hand, was, to make ſuch wholſome Laws as were thought moſt Expedient for the Eſtabliſhment and Increaſe of Commerce both in the *Receif* and other Places, and to improve the Domains and other Revenues belonging to the Company during this time of Truce.

Trade then began to flouriſh apace, ſo that ſome time after the Truce, the Merchants and Factors ſold more Commodities, than had ever been known either before or ſince. Many Millions were dealt for in a little time, the Merchants

chants and Factors being contented to 1643. Sell to thoſe, who would Pay ſome Money in part, tho' there were Buyers enough who would and could Buy for ready Caſh.

The Finances of the Company in *Braſil* were in ſo good a State, by the extraordinary Care of the Great Council, that in 1640, and 1641. they bought conſiderable quantities of Sugar upon the publick Account, which they ſent to *Holland*. In the *Receif* and *Maurice's* Town, we ſaw ſeveral goodly Structures erected by the Inhabitants, who lived in great Plenty and Magnificence, every one looking upon his Debts as ſecure, and having a fair proſpect to encreaſe his Riches, by the flouriſhing State of Commerce, and Improvement of the Lands.

But this was of no long continuance; for in the beginning of 1643. things began to appear with a quite different face. For the Magazines of the Company being exhauſted by ſeveral Expeditions againſt *Angola*, &c. and having received no Supplies in their ſtead out of *Holland*, as they uſed to do before, the *Great Council* was obliged to make uſe of what was due to the Company, for the payment of the Garriſons, and other Officers, and conſequently to force their Debtors to prompt Payments.

For at the beginning of the Government of the new Directors, the Company had a conſiderable Naval Force upon the Coaſt of *Braſil*, their Magazines were well provided with Proviſion and Ammunition, and they maintained a good number of Soldiers. The *Great Council* of the *Dutch Braſil* relying upon their Strength, did with Conſent of Count *Maurice*, ſend in 1641. ſeveral Fleets with Soldiers to *Spiritu Santo*, *Rio de Janeiro*, the Bay of *Maranhaon*, *Angola*, *St. Thomas*, and other Places thereabouts, to attack the ſame, which ſucceeded according to Expectation; but their Magazines were greatly exhauſted by thoſe Expeditions. Beſides this, the Merchants in *Holland* began to call upon their Servants and Factors for conſiderable Sums of Money, in Return of what they had received from them; who being obliged to ſend all the Money they could bring together from their Creditors, to their Maſters in *Holland*, this occaſioned great ſcarcity of ready Money, and conſequently no ſmall Detriment in Traffick; which continuing, thus from time to time, there aroſe ſuch a general ſcarcity of Money, as is ſcarce to be imagined; many of the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, that had no ready Money to 1643. ſatisfie their Debts at the appointed time, being forced to take up Money upon Credit, and to pay 3 or 4 *per Cent per* Month; which reduced many of them to ſuch an extremity in a little time, that they were neither able to pay the Principal nor Intereſt.

Upon the arrival of the three new Directors, or Members of the *Great Council* in 1640. *viz. Henry Hamel*, *Kodde*, and *Bullestraete*, they found, that the Inhabitants, but eſpecially the *Portugueſes* of the *Dutch Braſil*, by Buying of Sugar-Mills, and Plantations, as well as Negro's, and other Commodities, had run themſelves much in Debt; having bought their Negro's, not only at 300 pieces of Eight *per* Head; but alſo given extravagant Prices for all other ſorts of Commodities, and purchaſed whole Warehouſes without making a juſt account how to be able to pay for them. This was done by the *Portugueſes* in hopes of the good Succeſs of thoſe great Fleets they underſtood were Equipping in *Spain* to reduce *Braſil* under the King's Obedience, which they ſuppoſed would free them from their Debts; which the Factors not being aware of, and blinded with the proſpect of vaſt Profit, ſold their Goods to the *Portugueſes* without Reluctancy. But the deſign of the *Portugueſes* vaniſhing into Smoak for that time, they were forced to Pay; But new Supplies of all ſorts of Commodities being ſent out of *Holland*, they bought on a-freſh, heaping Debts upon Debts; till failing in their Payments, their Credit began alſo to fail with the Merchant, who now began to urge for Satisfaction of their Debts. For the Country Traders, being urged by the Factors and Merchants, who received thoſe Commodities from their Correſpondents in *Holland*, was obliged to call to an Account the *Portugueſes* unto whom he had Sold the Goods. And becauſe the *Portugueſes* had not bought thoſe Commodities from the *Dutch*, but with an Intention never to Pay for them, the Country Trader, who was obliged to Pay the Merchants in the *Receif*, ſaw himſelf reduced to Ruin, the *Portugueſes* having not wherewithal to ſatisfie their Debts.

Thus through the unwatineſs and miſmanagement of thoſe Factors, whom the Merchants in *Holland* had intruſted with their Goods, ſuch a Confuſion was introduced, as tended to the great Detriment of

of their Correſpondents in *Holland*. All the Buſineſs at that time lay among the Lawyers, and in the Courts of Judicature, which conſidering the Chargeableneſs of Law-Suits in *Braſil*, tended to their farther Ruin; for, when they had obtained Sentence and Execution againſt the Debtors, the greateſt difficulty was, how and which way to lay the Execution; moſt of the *Portugueſes* Suing for Protection from the Regency, which, if they could not obtain, they lived *incognito*; eſpecially thoſe who had no Lands or Effects, or if they had, it was no eaſie matter to find out where they were. Beſides that, if the Creditors executed their Executions upon the Lands, they were forced to be the Buyers themſelves, and to live in the Country to manage the Lands; a thing altogether inconvenient to the Merchants, who had other Buſineſs upon their Hands in the *Recif*. Such as were caſt in Priſon muſt be maintained there at the Charge of the Creditor; which in proceſs of time, amounted to ſuch a Sum, that they themſelves were fain to ſollicite the Releaſement of their Debtors, and to make the beſt Compoſition with them they could.

1643.

Mortality among the Negro's.

Beſides theſe Inconveniences there have happened of late ſeveral others, *viz.* A great Mortality of the Negro's and *Braſilians*, by a certain infectious Diſtemper, incident to the Natives, called *Bexigos*, reſembling our Small-Pox in *Europe*. Moſt of theſe Negroes were bought at the rate of 300 pieces of Eight, and conſequently their loſs drew after it the Ruin of the Planters, who alſo complained much of Vermin, and ſeveral Inundations that had done conſiderable Damage to the Sugar-Fields. This Confuſion in Traffick introduced no ſmall Broils among the Inhabitants themſelves, who, in caſe of Non-payment, threw one another in Priſon without Mercy, and endeavoured to prevent one another by Clandeſtine Means, to get in their Debts before the reſt; offering conſiderable Abatements and Rewards, to ſuch as would underhand ſurrender or tranſport their Effects; and thoſe Diviſions were not a little fomented by ſome ill-minded Perſons, to the prejudice of the Government; many of thoſe, who either by Unwarineſs or other Miſmanagement loſt their Debts, laying the fault thereof at the Door of the Regency, and of the Courts of Juſtice, vainly imagining, that what they had loſt by their own Neglect or want of Care, ſhould be made good by the publick Purſe; eſpecially if it happened ſo, that the ſame Perſons were indebted to the Company, as well as private Perſons; there aroſe great Conteſts about the Preference.

1643.

The Debts of the Company did alſo increaſe every day, which at laſt amounted to ſome Millions: For the Directors, which before the year 1640. had the Management of Affairs in *Braſil*, did Sell moſt of the Confiſcated Eſtates, Sugar-Mills, and Merchandices, as well as the Negro's bought on Account of the Company in *Africk*, upon Credit, ſo that their Books were filled with Debts, but their Caſh empty of Money. The ſucceeding Members of the Great Council, Mr. *Hamel*, *Bulleſtraet*, and *Kodde*, did leave no Stone unturn'd to correct this Cuſtom, and to Sell their Commodities for ready Money, or otherwiſe to Exchange them for Sugars, thereby to Eaſe the Company in the great Charge they were forced to be at in their ſeveral Expeditions; and it is certain, that in 1640, 1641, and 1642. they ſent ſuch vaſt Cargo's of Sugar to *Holland*, that the like had never been known before in *Braſil*. Notwithſtanding which, by the vaſt numbers of Negro's that were Imported, after our Conqueſt of *Angola*, the Company fell more and more in Debt by reaſon their Debtors were very dilatory in their Payments. The Council of XIX. ſent expreſs Orders, to Remedy this Evil, by Selling the Negro's for ready Money, or Exchanging them for Sugar; but this could not be put in Practice, becauſe there was no Body who would Buy upon thoſe Conditions, ſo that the Price of the Negro's falling daily lower and lower, and theſe being a great Burthen to the Company, and ſubject to Diſtempers and Mortality, this order was fain to be Revoked, unleſs they would ſee the Negro-Trade dwindle away to nothing; for the Inhabitants being for the moſt part ſuch as had beſtowed moſt of their Subſtance in their Sugar-Mills, Plantations, and Negro's, they could not pay ready Money, but were forced to deal upon Credit, till they could reap the Benefit of their Labour.

1644.

The Members of the Great Council did therefore take all imaginable Care, to call upon their Debtors exactly at the time of their Sugar-Harveſt, and ordered their Officers in the Country to ſeize upon ſome of them on account of the Company.

1643. From hence aroſe nothing but Law-Suits, Sentences, Executions, and Impriſonments: The Members of the Great Council thinking it not below their Station, to go ſometimes in Perſon into the Country to promote the Payment of the Debts owing to the Company. But this had a contrary Effect; for the Merchants and Factors began to be extreamly diſſatisfied, that the Company ſhould ſeize upon the Sugars in the Mills, without letting them, who were Creditors as well as they, have their ſhare in them. This occaſioned not only Murmurings, but alſo Threats; and Complaints to the Council of XIX. where they miſrepreſented theſe Tranſactions under the worſt Colours they could, hoping thereby to deter the Officers of the Company from doing their Duty. The Great Council having taken the matter into mature Deliberation, and fearing, not without Reaſon, that in time it might occaſion a general Diſcontent, they left no ſtone unturn'd to ſatisfie the Minds of the People, by finding out means to have their Debts ſatisfied. It was propoſed by ſeveral Underſtanding Perſons, that the Company ſhould undertake to ſatisfie the Debts of private Perſons, either by way of Payment or Exchange, in lieu of which the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills ſhould ſurrender to the Company every year, the whole Product of theſe Mills, till they had ſatisfied all their Debts; and to make the ſame the more effectual, for the general Benefit as well of the Company and Sugar-Mills, as the Merchants and Factors, it was agreed, That certain Articles ſhould be agreed upon for that purpoſe; the greateſt Advantage the Company pretended to reap by it, being, That they ſhould have a fair opportunity of recovering ſome of their Debts, which were given over for loſt. Theſe Agreements were wonderfully pleaſing to the Council of XIX. who in the year 1645. on the 16th of *June*, ſent their Approbation of a ſecond Agreement made with one *George Homo Pinto*, (which indeed was of as great Conſequence, as all the other Contracts together) to the Great Council, as follows:

Approbation of the Agreements.

The Approbation of the Agreements.

CONcerning the Agreement by you (meaning the Council) on the 14th of December *laſt, made with* George Homo Pinto, *we have had ſeveral Debates; which we find to have been brought to a Concluſion, with the previous Advice and Approbation of the Councellors of Juſtice, and of the Finances: ſo, that both in reſpect of the ſame, and of the great Benefit that is likely to Accrue thereby to the Company, we have thought fit to approve of the ſaid Agreement; Recommending to you the Execution of it, with the ſame Zeal, as you have ſhewn your Conduct and Circumſpection in the whole Management of theſe Contracts.* 1643.

That theſe Agreements were by all People, that had any Knowledge of thoſe Affairs, looked upon as greatly for the Intereſt of the Company, is moſt Evident from hence, that ſeveral other Merchants, that were ſenſible of this Advantage, made Agreements with their Debtors, much upon the ſame Terms, as the Company had done; which that it may be put beyond all doubt, we will give you a Copy of one of thoſe Agreements, from whence it will plainly appear, with how much Circumſpection the Council proceeded in this matter, betwixt the Company, the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, and their Debtors.

The COPY of an Agreement.

The Copy of an Agreement.

MR. Peter John Bas, *and* John van Ratsfield, *Councellors of Juſtice of* Braſil, *by ſpecial Commiſſion from the* Weſt-India *Company, and* John van Walbeeck, *Aſſeſſor of the* Great Council, *did appear before us on one ſide; and* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *Sieur* d'Ingenho Tapicura *in behalf of himſelf and his Heirs; as alſo* Benjamin de Pina, *for* 10600 *Gilders*; Iſaac de Coſta, *for* 13108; Joſeph Abenacar, *for* 490; Symon de Vale, *for* 325; Gaſper Franciſco *and* David Brandoa, *for* 1133; Abraham de Tovaer, *for* 1000; John Parente, *for* 350; John Mendonça de Moeribeca, *for* 4350; James Gabay, *for* 1050; More de Leon, *for* 600; Balthaſar de Fonſeca, *for* 600; Simon Gomes de Lisboa, *for* 5910; Bartholomew Rodrigues, *for* 900; *and* Daniel Cardoſa, *for* 910 *Gilders; the whole amounting to* 40526 *Gilders, being all Creditors of the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *and for the moſt part Debtors to the Company, on the other ſide, who profeſs and declare, to have Agreed among themſelves, that the beforementioned* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *ſhall pay to the Company the full Sum of* 60795 *Gilders*, viz. 19269 *Gilders upon his own Account, being by him Owing to the ſaid Company, and the remaining Sum on the Account of his Creditors, which proportionably to their reſpective Debts, ought to be diſcounted for with him by the ſaid Company, upon the following Conditions.*

I. *That*

1643.

I. *That the whole Debt is to be ſatisfied in the Three next following Years, the firſt Payment to begin in* January 1645. *and if it happen, that in one Year a leſs Share be paid than in the other, the whole is to be made good in the laſt year.*

II. *That no Diſcounts ſhall be entred in the Books of the Company, till after the Payment of the due Proportion appointed for each reſpective term or time.*

III. *That the Creditors of thoſe with whom they have entred into Articles of Agreement, as well as the Debtors of the Company, ſhall not be diſcharged of their Debts in the Books of the Company, but in caſe of failure or delay of Payment, either of the whole Sum or part thereof, all the reſpective appointed times, ſhall ſtand engaged and anſwerable, each for his reſpective Debt, unleſs they give other Security to the Company; But thoſe Creditors who have no Debts in the Books of the Company, ſhall have liberty to transfer other Debts, or elſe to receive their ſhare in two years time, either by Aſſignments or in Negro's; but not in any Commodities imported, from abroad, or Sugar to be exported; provided nevertheleſs that the Articles of Agreement be fulfilled; or otherwiſe the Sum be put to their own Account immediately, in which caſe they are to allow* 18 l. per Cent. *and nevertheleſs be liable to ſee the Agreement put in Execution.*

IV. *Thoſe who are entred into Articles of Agreement ſhall be obliged to Engage both their Body and Goods for the performance thereof, but eſpecially to deliver an Inventory of their Perſonal Eſtates, confirmed by Oath; beſides which, they are to give ſuch Securities as ſhall be approved of by the Great Council; with renouncing, the* beneficium ordinis, diviſionis & excuſationis, *as well for each reſpective Payment at the appointed times, as the whole Sum in general.*

V. *Theſe before-mentioned Securities are to be Perſons well-qualified, of good Subſtance, not involved in Debts, but eſpecially in the Companies; and ſhall be warranted by the Magiſtrates of their reſpective Places of Abode.*

VI. *Publick notice is to be given to all Perſons, who have any Bonds, Bills, or Accounts, or other Engagements, relating to the Perſonal Eſtates (which ſhall be named or ſpecified) of ſuch as are Entred into thoſe Articles, that within the ſpace of Three Weeks they are to produce the ſame, or elſe to be excluded from the benefit thereof, till after the Expiration of the time mentioned and appointed in the ſaid Agreement.*

1643.

VII. *That he, who has engaged himſelf in ſuch an Agreement or Contract, ſhall not be permitted to Contract new Debts, unleſs with the Conſent of the Great Council; otherwiſe the ſame to be void and null, of which publick notice ſhall be given. Neither ſhall he abalienate any Sugars by Land as remains, under the Penalty of Reſtitution to be made with full Intereſt and Charges.*

The Creditors ſhall be obliged to ſurrender and renounce all their Pretenſions, Engagements and Actions to the Company; neither ſhall they lay any claim upon that ſcore of precedence or otherwiſe.

Whenever it ſhall be judged requiſite by the Great Council, *to ſend a certain Perſon to the* Ingenho *of any Perſon entred into ſuch an Agreement, for the better ſecurity of their Debt, and the receiving and ſending away the Sugar, allotted to the Company, he ſhall be obliged to find him with Victuals and Lodgings in his* Ingenho; *but the Company ſhall pay him for his Pains.*

Purſuant to which, the before named Manuel Fernando Cruz, *with the Advice and Conſent of his before-mentioned Creditors, has obliged himſelf in general, and by theſe Preſents, Obliges and Engages his Perſon and Eſtate, both Real and Perſonal, without any Reſervation or Exception; but eſpecially the before-named* Ingenho Tapicura, *with all its Appurtenances, according to the Inventory thereunto affixed and confirmed by Oath; which* Ingenho Tapicura, *he declares to be free from any pre-engagements, with all the Grounds, Sugar-Fields, Paſturages, Woods, and other things thereunto belonging;* viz. *Eight Braſs* Calderns, *Ten* Tachoos *and Ten* Parvos; *beſides ſeveral other Copper Veſſels belonging to the ſaid* Ingenho; *Twenty Slaves, belonging to the ſaid* Ingenho, *and* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *his Houſe, and Sixty Oxen. And for the better performance of this Agreement,* Senhor John de Mendoſe *dwelling at* Moeribeca, *and* Manuel Gomes de Lisboa *living in* Moquiaxe, *have, after Certificates obtained from the Magiſtrates of their reſpective dwelling places, engaged themſelves, and do by theſe Preſents engage themſelves as Securities of the whole Debt, and as Debtors for each and every part thereof, promiſing to Indemnifie the Company of all Actions, Suits, or other Preten-*

1643. *Pretenſions which may be made againſt them on the account of any other Creditors of the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *not mentioned or engaged in this Agreement; as likewiſe, that no Sugar ſhall be ſurreptitiouſly conveyed away or abalienated: That in caſe of non Payment, the Company ſhall be hereby fully empowered to recover their Damages with Intereſt and Charges, upon their Perſons and Eſtates; they renouncing by theſe Preſents all Exceptions,* ordinis, diviſionis & excuſationis, *as likewiſe all other pretenſions of Privileges tending to the Invalidity of this Contract. The before-named Creditors alſo, in general, and every one of them in particular, declare that they have given in a true account of all their reſpective pretenſions upon the ſaid* Manuel Fernando Cruz, *neither that they do demand any other Summ or Sums of him, but what have been ſpecified there under their reſpective names; promiſing to be well ſatisfied with what has been Stipulated, and, if put in Execution accordingly, to renounce all Actions, or private Engagements, Diſcontents or Preference, in favour of the Company; and that in caſe of non Payment they will be obliged to make good and reſtore to the ſaid Company, not only each particular Summ paid at certain limitted times, but alſo the whole, in the ſame manner, as if the ſaid agreement had never been made betwixt them; leaving it to the diſcretion of the Company, whether they will lay their Actions againſt* Manuel Fernando Cruz *and his Securities, or againſt themſelves and their Eſtates; under the condition, they were in before the Concluſion of this Agreement; the benefit of* Actionem ceſſam *being allowed them againſt the ſaid* Cruz *and his Securities, for the recovery of their juſt Debts. In witneſs and confirmation of which we have granted theſe our Letters, as uſual in ſuch caſes, ſealed with the ordinary Seal of the Court of Juſtice, and ſigned by the Secretary of the Council. Tranſlated in the* Receif 23. September 1644.

In the ſame manner all the other Contracts were made and penn'd; the Contents of which amounted in the whole to 2125807 Gilders, which were due from the Farmers to the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, and from thoſe again to the Company.

For what reaſon theſe Agreements were made.

The chief, if not the only reaſon, why theſe Agreements were reſolved upon, was, (as we ſaid before) the intolerable Vexations and Exactions put upon the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills by their Creditors, who, unleſs, theſe Maſters paid them at the Rate of 2 or 3 *per Cent.* Intereſt *per* Month, made immediate Seizure of their Negroes, Oxen, Coppers, and other Neceſſaries belonging to the Sugar-Mills; ſo, that the Maſters of theſe Sugar-Mills being reduced to a neceſſity of paying ſuch exorbitant Exactions, or elſe to ſee themſelves entirely ruined, began to defend their Plantations and Mills by force, ſo that things ſeemed to tend at that time to a general Inſurrection, if the ſame had not been prevented, by entring into thoſe Contracts; by which means the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, being freed from the Oppreſſions of their Creditors, and in lieu thereof now become Debtors to the Company, and time given them to employ their Mills for the Payment of their Debts, at certain limited times, and that at the Rate of 1 *per Cent.* Intereſt *per* Month only, all Pretenſions and Occaſions of a Revolt were thereby removed at leaſt for that time; the firſt term of Payment being ſet out for a conſiderable time. 1643.

To make this the more Evident, theſe following Heads deſerve our particular Obſervation: That the Company and the Merchants, being Creditors of the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, endeavouring at the ſame time to force them to the Payment of their Debts, by Executions. This occaſioned from the year 1647. to the time of the making of thoſe Contracts, ſuch a Confuſion, as muſt needs have tended to the total Deſtruction of the Sugar-Mills, and conſequently of the Merchants and Company; which induced them to apply themſelves to the Great Council, to find out ſome means, by way of Diſcount, or otherwiſe, to put theſe Debts into the Company's Hands.

The Councellors of Juſtice did not at firſt agree in all Points to theſe Propoſals, but at their meeting on the 12th of *Auguſt* 1644. being better convinced of the matter, and that the Company was ſufficiently ſecured and benefitted thereby, the next following day did not only approve of the ſame, but alſo were of Opinion, That ſome things might be rather mitigated for the Advantage of the Maſters of Mills and their Creditors, than not to relieve them at this juncture; ſo that the Conditions were the 10th of *November* 1644. agreed unto with the Conſent of the Councellors of the Court of Juſtice and the Finances.

Pur-

1643. Purſuant to theſe, the Great Council took care that publick notice ſhould be given of theſe Agreements made betwixt the Company, and certain private Perſons, by which every one was forewarned not to Sell any thing upon Credit to them without the Conſent of the Great Council; and their Creditors ſummoned to make good their Debts within three Weeks time, or elſe to be excluded from the Benefit of the Contract, till after the time therein limitted was expired. From all which it is ſufficiently demonſtrable, with how little appearance of Truth ſome have attempted to inſinuate, that theſe Contracts were prejudicial to the Company, and had given no ſmall occaſion to the enſuing Revolt of the *Portugueſes*; when it is beyond all queſtion, from what has been ſaid before, that theſe were the only means to prevent thoſe Calamities, wherewith the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, and the Farmers, or Country Planters, were overwhelmed all that time, who were forced to let their Mills ſtand ſtill, and leave the Ground Uncultivated; All which, as it tended to the utter Deſtruction of the Sugar-Mills, ſo the Company ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, *viz.* 38 *l. per Cent.* yearly in *Braſil*, and 37 *l. per Cent.* in *Holland*, which being 75 *l. per Cent.* did altogether ariſe from the uſe of the Sugar-Mills.

Beſides this there were not a few of thoſe Merchants that were Creditors of the Sugar-Mills, that were conſiderably indebted to the Company, who pleading inſolvency, by reaſon of the *non*-payment of their Debtors, the Company would have been conſiderable loſers by them, unleſs by this way of diſcounting they had found means to recover thoſe deſperate Debts. All which moved the Great Council to make a vertue of neceſſity, and with the Advice of the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills and their Creditors, and the Approbation of the Council of XIX, to enter upon thoſe Articles; which could not be in any wiſe detrimental to the Company: tho' ſome malicious Perſons have objected againſt them, that (ſuppoſing there had been no Revolt) theſe Maſters would not in 20 Years, nay, perhaps never have been in a Condition, to wrong the Company what they had laid out upon their Account; when it is ſufficiently known that the Great Council never paid one Farthing of ready Money for them on the account of the Company; beſides that for the ſatisfaction of the Company 25 Sugar-Mills were engaged, which one with another, affording from 230 to 250 Cheſts of Sugar Yearly, if the Company had drawn but 140 or 150 Cheſts from each, the ſame would have amounted to 420000 Gilders; from whence it is evident, that, not to include the Sugar-Mills, their Coppers, Oxen, and other Inſtruments thereunto belonging, the Summ of 2125816 Gilders, being the Total Summ of the Debt owing to the Company by Vertue of theſe Contracts, might have been ſatisfied without much hazard; the *Portugueſe* Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, being by this expedient, left in the quiet poſſeſſion of their Mills, and eaſed from the oppreſſions of their Creditors, and our hopes were not a little increaſed by the induſtry of the Inhabitants of the Country, who finding themſelves now at eaſe applied themſelves with ſo much aſſiduity to the improvement of their Plantations, for the better ſatisfying of their Debts, that in 1645 there was ſuch a fair proſpect of a plentiful Harveſt of Sugar, as had not been known in many Years before. 1643.

Reaſons of the Revolt of the Portugueſes.

But it ſeems as if the *Portugueſes* out of an in-born hatred to our Nation, who had conquered them, were reſolved not to reſt ſatisfied, till by underhand Practices and Plots they had undermined our Government. Add to this that many of them having involved themſelves over Head and Ears in Debt, and ſeeing no way to ſatisfie their Creditors, were become deſperate, and more forward to run the hazard of an open Revolt (in hopes of aſſiſtance from *Portugal*) than to undergo the unavoidable neceſſities of Poverty; which made ſome of them frankly tell our People afterwards, that in caſe they were diſappointed in their hopes of Succours from the *Bahia*, they would ſeek for aid in *Spain* or *Turkey*.

Towards the latter end of the Year 1642, there were rumours ſpread abroad of a Plot contrived by the *Portugueſes* againſt the State, when they were diſarmed, and their Arms brought into the Magazines, which however they got again under ſome pretence or other afterwards, they living very quietly among us, for fear, as I ſuppoſe, of our Garriſons, and that they were not then ſufficiently aſſured of Succours from the *Bahia*. But it will not be amiſs to trace the true Origin of this Revolt.

1643.

The 13th *Decemb.* 1642, one *John Fernandes Vieira*, Alderman of *Maurice's Town*, appear'd in the Great Council, Count *Maurice* being preſent, where he told them, that he had been informed by certain *Jews*, how he and his Father-in-Law *Beringel* were ſuſpected in *Holland*, of having ſent Letters by a Son of the ſaid *Beringel* to the King of *Portugal*, tending to the detriment of the State. He did not deny to have ſent a Letter by the ſaid Perſon to the King of *Portugal*, but containing no more than a recommendation of the ſaid *Beringel*'s Perſon, to help him to ſome Employment under the King: This he offered to prove by his Copy, which being produced there was found nothing material in it, but a Congratulation to the King upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, and a recommendation of the ſaid *Beringel*; *Vieira* further propoſed, that he thought it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the Eſtate, to have the *Portugueſes* diſarmed, as likewiſe the Captains *de Campo*, with thoſe under their Juriſdiction, the *Negroes*, *Braſilians*, *Mulatts* and *Mamalukes*.

Suſpicion of Treaſchery.

There was alſo a Letter ſent by the Council of XIX, Dated 1. *June*, 1642. to Count *Maurice*, containing in ſubſtance, that one *John Van North* who had ſerved for 14 Months in the Quality of a Cadee in *Braſil*, had declared to them at *Amſterdam*, that he had been a Servant in a Sugar-Mill, belonging to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where after a ſtay of two Months, he was entreated by *Franciſco Beringel Labrador*, to go with his Son *Antonio Dandrado Beringel*, as an Interpreter to *Holland*, and from thence to *Portugal*; which upon great Promiſes he accepted of, and they ſet Sail on board the Ship called the *Love* from *Braſil* for *Zeeland*, and afterwards from *Uliſſingen* went to *Lisbon*. He ſaid, That this *Antonio Dandrado Beringel*, after a familiar Converſation of three Weeks, had told him that he was ſent with a Letter Sign'd by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Franciſco Beringel*, *Bernardin Karvailho*, *John Biſerro* and *Lewis Bras Biſerro*, in which they gave to underſtand to the King of *Portugal*, that they were well provided with Men, Money and Arms, for the reducing *Braſil* under his Obedience. The Council added, that the King of *Portugal* had made the ſaid *Beringel* a Captain for this piece of Service, and that therefore they deſired Count *Maurice* and the Great Council to keep a watchful Eye over them, being ſenſible what an averſion the *Portugueſes* did bear to the *Dutch*.

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At the meeting of the Great Council of *Braſil* 16. *February*, 1643. Count *Maurice* aſſured them, that he had received Intelligence, that ſome of the chiefeſt of the *Portugueſes* had reſolved to Surpriſe our Garriſons in the Country, at *Moribeca*, St. *Anthony*, and ſome other places, and to put them to the Sword, which was to be put in Execution upon one of their Saints Days, when they uſed to meet in conſiderable Numbers. Thoſe who had the chief management of this Affair, had their dwelling places in the *Vargea*, who had propoſed to ſurpriſe likewiſe the *Receif*, not queſtioning that if they could make themſelves Maſters of it, the other Garriſons in the Country, would be eaſily reduced, and conſequently the Company not able to ſubſiſt long in *Braſil*, without Soldiers and Trafick.

Is endeavoured by Letters from abroad.

Hereupon it was taken into deliberation, whether 'twere beſt to ſecure the heads of this Rebellion immediately, or to delay it till a more convenient time, for fear of allarming the whole Country by their Impriſonment: The laſt was reſolved upon, becauſe they did not think themſelves as yet ſufficiently aſſured of their Deſigns, and did not queſtion, but that by the ſecret Intelligence Count *Maurice* was to receive of their Tranſactions, to prevent them. It was however judged adviſeable to draw the Garriſons out of the Country into the *Receif*, which was ſtrengthened with new Palliſadoes, and the old Wooden Battery repaired; a Ship was alſo ordered with ſeveral great Chaloops, the firſt on the Sea-ſide, the others in the River, to defend the Avenues of the *Receif* with their Cannon. There were likewiſe divers Letters ſent by private Perſons, ſome without Names, to Count *Maurice* and the Great Council, confirming the Traiterous deſigns of the *Portugueſes*; among others one Mr. *Van Els* ſent a Letter to Count *Maurice*, Dated at *Serinhaim*, the 20th of *March*, 1643. importing, That he had it from ſure hands, that a certain *Mulat*, of the Company of *Auguſtin Hardoſo* being asked by certain Inhabitants of that *Fregeſie*, what buſineſs they had thereabouts, had told them, That they had been to carry Letters to ſome Perſons living near the *Receif*, adding that in a ſhort time they would ſee that place taken without any effuſion of Blood, either of the *Dutch* or *Portugueſes*.

In

In *December*, 1643. *Don Michael de Kyaſto*, *Don Baſtian Manduba de Sonho*, and *Don Antonio Ferdinandes*, three Ambaſſadours from the Count *Sonho*, in *Angola*, arrived in the *Receif*, in the Ship called the *Arms of Dort*; They had but one Servant each, but brought along with them ſeveral Negroes with Golden Collars, as a Preſent to Count *Maurice*, beſides a great number of other Negroes for the Company.

Being admitted to Audience by Count *Maurice* and the Great Council, they deſired in the Name of their Maſter, not to ſend any Aſſiſtance to the King of *Congo*, whom they feared would attack them before long, notwithſtanding they were at that time both engaged in a War againſt the *Portugueſes*; They received for Anſwer, That the Council would write to Mr. *Newland*, their Director there, to interpoſe his Authority and Mediation, in order to maintain a good Correſpondency, and remove all Occaſion of Conteſt betwixt the King of *Congo*, and their Maſter, they being both Confederates of the States: The ſaid Earl ſent likewiſe a Letter to Count *Maurice*, in which he deſired leave to buy a Chair, a Cloak, ſome Enſigns of War, ſome Apparel, and ſuch like things. The Great Council writ alſo a Letter, as well to the King of *Congo* as to the Count of *Sonho*, exhorting them to Peace, and ſent them the following Preſents in the Name of the Company.

To the KING:

A long Black Velvet Cloak, with Silver Galloons.
A Scarf edged with Silver Lace.
A Velvet Coat.
And a Caſtor-Hatt with a Silver Hatband.

To the Count:

A Red Velvet Elbow-Chair, with Gold Fringes.
A large Velvet Cloak, with Gold and Silver Galloons.
A Scarf, with a Gold and Silver Lace.
A Velvet Coat.
And a Caſtor-Hatt with a Gold and Silver Hatband.

They were entertained with all imaginable Civility during their ſtay here: They were very Skillful in playing with the Back-Sword; in the management of which, they made moſt terrible Poſtures and Faces. They underſtood *Latin* very well, and made ſeveral learned Harangues in the ſame.

The 13th of *October* 1644. a certain Jew, called *Gaſpar Franciſco de Kunha*, with two others of the Chief of the ſame Fraternity, gave notice to the Great Council, that they had been credibly informed by ſome *Jews*, who converſed and kept frequent Correſpondence in the Country, That the *Portugueſes* were Plotting againſt the *Dutch Braſil*, telling the Council the Reaſons upon which they founded this Suſpicion. The Council, after having returned Thanks to theſe Elders for their Care, reſolved to leave no Stone unturned to diſcover the Deſigns of the *Portugueſes*; and having received certain Intelligence, that they expected ſome Arms and Ammunition to be brought them by Sea, they ordered the 12th of *October* 1644. the Yacht called *Niewhouſe*, with a Galliot, and a Challoop, to Cruiſe along the Coaſt of *Dutch Braſil*, to obſerve what Veſſels did approach the Shore.

The 11th of *May* 1644. Count *Maurice* left the *Receif* in order to his return to *Holland*, after he had been 8 years Governor of the *Dutch Braſil*. All the Citizens and chief Inhabitants, both of the *Receif* and *Maurice*'s Town, appeared in Arms, making a Lane from the Old Town to the Water-gate, from whom, as he paſs'd by, he took his leave with all imaginable Demonſtrations of Kindneſs: At the Gate he mounted on Horſeback, and being accompanied by the Great Council, the Counſellors of Juſtice, and all the Military Officers, as far as *Olinda*, he there once more took his leave of them in particular, the Sieur *Bulleſtraet* remaining only with him, being Deputed by the Regency to Conduct him on Board the Ships deſign'd for his Tranſportation. They did not ſet Sail from the *Red-Land* till the 22d of *May*, with a Fleet of 13 Ships, on board of which were a good number of Soldiers, leaving only 18 Companies for the Defence of the *Dutch Braſil*. Mr. *Bulleſtraet* return'd the 26th to the *Receif*.

On the 22d of *April*, not long before the Departure of Count *Maurice*, the Commiſſion from the Governors of the *Weſt-India* Company, according to a Reſolution taken at their Meeting the firſt of *July* 1642. concerning the Government of *Dutch Braſil*, and dated the 22d of *May* 1643. was read in the Great Council, by which the Members thereof

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thereof were to have the Adminiſtration of the Government till further Orders. Accordingly Count *Maurice* having appointed a Day to Inveſt them with the Adminiſtration of the Government, he ordered (with the Conſent of the ſaid Council) an Aſſembly to be called on the 6th of *May* of the Counſellors of Juſtice, of the Magiſtrates, the Eccleſiaſtical Council and Miniſters of *Maurice*'s Town; of the Commanders in Chief both by Sea and Land, the chief Officers of the Company, the Officers of the Militia, and the Chief Men among the *Jews*.

All theſe being at the appointed time met in the great Hall of the *Stadthuis*, he told them, That ſince their High and Mightineſſes the States, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of XIX. had been pleaſed to Grant him Leave, after a ſtay of 8 years among them, in the Quality of Governor of the *Dutch Braſil*, to return into *Holland*, he had called them together, to return them Thanks, for the many Services, each in his Station, had done to the Company; as likewiſe for the Obedience, Fidelity, and Reſpect, they had always ſhewn to his Perſon; telling them, That from this Minute he reſign'd the Government into the Hands of the Great Council, Requiring and Deſiring them, in the Name of the States, the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of XIX. to ſhew them the ſame Obedience, Fidelity and Reſpect, they had done before; whereupon Count *Maurice* having Congratulated the Council, and the reſt there preſent done the ſame, he took his leave of them in the Hall, and immediately after in the Council-Chamber, of the Members of the Great Council, giving them moſt hearty Thanks for their faithful Counſel and Aſſiſtance upon all Occaſions, and for the Reſpect and Deference they had always ſhewn to his Perſon; telling them, That ſince this would be the laſt time of his appearing in their Aſſembly, he had drawn up a Memorial, which might ſerve them as a Guide, for the better Adminiſtration of the Government; and that, if they thought it convenient, he ſhould be ready to Diſcourſe with them, and enlarge further upon that Subject. The Members of the Great Council returned him their unfeigned Thanks, wiſhing him a happy Voyage, and good Succeſs in all his Undertakings, and recommended themſelves and the whole *Dutch Braſil* to his Care hereafter. Before the breaking up of the Aſſembly, it was debated in the preſence of Count *Maurice*, which of the Members ſhould have the Precedency there as Preſident, or whether the ſame ſhould be taken by turns, the ſame being not determined in their Commiſſion: After ſeveral Arguments *pro* and *con*, it was agreed, That things ſhould remain in reſpect of this Point, in the ſame Condition, as had been uſual before, in the abſence of Count *Maurice*, *viz.* for every one to keep his Rank without any Priority till further Orders from the Council of XIX. to wit; firſt Mr. *Dirk Hamel*, then Mr. *Bulleſtraete*, Mr. *Kodde Vander Burgh*, &c.

Count Maurice abdicates the Government.

Takes his leave.

The next thing the Great Council took in hand, was to inquire more narrowly into the Deſigns of the *Portugueſe* againſt the Government; to effect which, it was reſolved in *January* 1644. to ſend *Gilbert de Wit*, Councellor of the Court of Juſtice, and Captain *Dirk Hoogſtrate*, then Commander in Chief in the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, to *Antonio Telles de Sylva*, then Governor of the *Bahia*, with the following Inſtructions, dated the 15th of the ſame month; to Compliment the Governor (after the delivery of their Credentials) in the Name of the Great Council, with a ſincere Promiſe and Aſſurance of Friendſhip, and good neighbourly Correſpondency. After this, they were to repreſent to him, that many of the Subjects of the *Dutch Braſil*, after having contracted conſiderable Debts there, both with the Company, and other Inhabitants, did retire into the *Bahia*; wherefore they deſired, that for the promoting of Juſtice, they would either detain thoſe Bankrupts in Priſon, or at leaſt give timely notice of their coming thither, to the *Dutch* Government, whereby their Subjects might be enabled to proſecute them at Law: But their real Errant was to be inſtructed underhand in the following Points.

Enverſent into the Portugueſe Braſil, and their Inſtructions.

I. W*Hat Forces the* Portugueſes *had at that time in the* Bahia, *and the other Southern Provinces.*

II. *What number of Ships.*

III. *What number of Ships were expected there out of* Portugal.

IV. *How the Negro's Trade ſtood affected, and from what Places they were brought thither.*

V. *Whether there was any Commerce betwixt*

1643. *twixt them and the Inhabitants of* Bonas Aires.

VI. *In what Condition their Places were thereabouts; of all which they were to give the beſt account they were able to get, after their return to the Great Council; They were alſo charged by word of Mouth, to make diligent Enquiry, who were the Perſons, that underhand encouraged the ſo much feared Revolt of the* Portugueſes *in the* Dutch Braſil, *and what Aid or Aſſiſtance they were to have from them; and to deſire the Governour, not to permit for the future, that ſuch of the* Dutch *Soldiers as Deſerted out of the* Receif, *and went by Land to the* Bahia, *might from thence be tranſported into* Portugal, *but be ſtopt, and ſent back to the* Receif.

Their arrival at St. Salvador.

These Envoys arrived safely the 8th of *February* 1644. in the *Bahia*, and dropt their Anchor towards the Evening near the City of *St. Salvador*, and the Castle of *St. Antonio*, where two Officers came on Board them, to enquire from whence they came, and by whom, and to whom they were sent, in order to give an Account thereof to the Governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*. The next following day they were Complimented in the Name of the Governor, by Major *Domingo Delgados*, and Captain *David Ventura*, who told them, That he intended to send his Chaloop with the first opportunity to fetch them afhore. About three a clock in the Afternoon, the same Officers with three or four more, came with the Chaloop to fetch them; and they were no sooner landed, but found several Horses ready for them to mount upon, which they did, and were conducted up a high Hill, all over covered with Spectators, to the Governor's Palace. In the outward Hall was a strong guard of Soldiers; in the second, several Ensigns and other inferiour Officers; in the third Apartment they met with nothing but Captains and Lieutenants; and in the fourth with Colonels, General Officers, some Clergymen, and the Governor himself; who after having received them at the Door, desired them to Sit down next to him, upon Chairs set for that purpose. The Envoys then begun their Harangue, in which they told him, That they were extreamly glad to find him in good Health at this time, when they were sent by the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, to assure him of their good Inclinations, to maintain a good Correspondency and Friendship with him, and of their hearty Wishes for his Majesty's, his own, and the Governments Prosperity; to preserve which, they were ready to contribute all what lay in their power. Then they told him, That they had several Things to propose to him, when he should think convenient to receive them; The rest of the Discourse run upon mutual Compliments and News. After which, the Envoys were again accompanied by the Governour to the Door of the Apartment, where he ordered the beforementioned *Domingo Delgados* and *David Ventura*, to conduct them to a certain large House finely furnished, in *Bishops-street*, and to Entertain them at his Charge; which, tho' the Envoys refused, alledging it to be contrary to the Intentions of their Masters, yet were they forced to accept of the same, and were very magnificently Entertained at Supper.

Are admitted to Audience.

Their second Audience.

The next Morning about 11 a Clock they went again to the Palace, and after having desired a second Audience, were received in the same manner as before. Every one being ordered to withdraw, besides the Secretary of the Governor, the Envoys made their Propositions to the last, which they delivered to him in Writing in *Portugueſe*, recommending the same to his Consideration, as tending towards the maintaining a good and firm Correspondency betwixt them. To which the Governor gave this general Answer; *That he should always endeavour to Cultivate a good Underſtanding and Correſpondency with us, pursuant to the ſtrict and reiterated Orders he had received for that purpoſe from the King his Maſter. And that concerning the Propoſitions made by them to him, he would aſſemble his Council of War and Juſtice, and afterwards Impart to them his Anſwer.* Then they were by *Domingo Delgados* reconducted to his own House, where they were very well Entertained the same Day at Dinner, and the next by the Governor himself.

Their third Audience.

The 17th, They had another Audience from the Governor, who told them in very obliging Terms; That *he had conſulted the matter with his Council, and could give them no other Anſwer, but what was contained in this Letter*, which he delivered to them, and told them the Contents thereof; whereupon our Envoys told him, That since thereby a Door was left open for Rogues and Vagabonds, they hoped he would at least order that the Names of such as fled to the *Bahia*, might be taken notice of, that the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, might not

1643. remain quite unſatisfied, whither they were fled; which he promiſed to do. After ſome further Compliments, and mutual Aſſurance of Friendſhip, they parted for this time.

The 22d, They took their Leave from the Biſhop, and ſeveral other Perſons of Note, unto whom they owed any Obligations, and laſt of all from the Governor himſelf, being conducted thither by many Perſons of Quality and Officers; They return'd him Thanks for the Civilities and Reſpect he had been pleaſed to ſhew them; wiſhing both him and his *Portugeſe* Majeſty a long and happy Reign, and Victory againſt the *Caribians*. The Governor returned their Compliments and Conducted them out of the Room, ordering ſeveral Negro's to attend them down the Precipice of the Hill, upon which the City is built, with Chairs; but the Envoy's chooſing rather to go on foot, they were in the ſame Chaloop they came in aſhore, carried back under the ſound of Muſick, on Board their Yacht. The *Portugueſe* Officers, after having taken their Leave, returned to the City, and ours made the beſt of their way to the *Recett*, where they arrived ſafely not long after.

The Letter delivered to them by the Governor, was as follows.

The Governours Letter.

GIlbert de Wit *Councellor of your Court of Juſtice, and* Dirk Hoogſtraten *Commander in Chief on the* Cape of St. Auſtin, *your Lordſhips Deputies, whom I received according to their Quality and Merits, have delivered your Letter to me, and propoſed ſuch other Matters, as they were imboweed to Treat with me about. Tho' I endeavour nothing ſo much, as to cultivate and maintain in the ſtricteſt manner our neighbourly good Correſpondency, yet am I conſtrained at this time frankly to Acknowledge, That it is not in my Power to give your Lordſhips any more Satisfactory Anſwer than this; in hopes, that the many Proofs you have had of my ſincere Inclinations, will ſerve as a Plea with your Lordſhips, to aſſure you, That I ſhall always be ready in all Points depending on my Government, to give the ſame Proofs both of Obedience and Fidelity to the King my Maſter, whoſe Pleaſure is, That the Truce ſhould be obſerved inviolably; and of my ſincere Intentions, and the Eſteem I have for your Lordſhips Friendſhip, deſiring nothing more, than that you furniſh me with an opportunity of giving real Demonſtrations of my readineſs to ſerve you; whom I recommend to the Protection of God Almighty.* 1643

Bahia, Feb. 14. 1645. Signed,

Antonio Telles da Silva.

Concerning the ſix Points mentioned in their ſecret Inſtructions, they made the following Report to the Great Council.

Report of the Envoys to the Council.

I. *THAT the* Portugueſe *Forces in thoſe Parts, were generally eſteemed to be leſs or more betwixt* 3000 *and* 4000 *Men, without the* Braſilians *and Negroes. But that upon the moſt exact enquiry they could make, they had found them to be not above* 3000, *including the* Braſilians *and Negro's, and their Garriſons both to the North and South, as far as* Rio Janeiro. *Theſe conſiſted of five Regiments*; viz. *three of* Portugueſes, *under the Colonels* John Darauge, Martin Soares *and* N. N. *the fourth of* Braſilians *under a* Braſilian *Colonel,* Antonio Philippo Camarao; *and the fifth of Negro's, under the Command of a Neger* Henricio Dyas. *Theſe two laſt Regiments, amounting both not to above* 300 *Men, were divided in the Garriſons to the North, about* Rio Real, *on our Frontiers; they being the* [illegible] *of all their Territories, and conſequently not to be quartered near the Capital City, there having of late been ſome broils among them in the Garriſons, whither Officers were diſpatch'd, to compoſe them. The three* Portugueſe *Regiments conſiſting of about* 2700 *Men, kept Garriſon in St.* Salvador, *and the circumjacent Forts, except two Companies, one of which was quartered about* Rio Real, *the other in the Iſland* Morro St. Paulo; *and about* 150 *more, which were diſpoſed in the* Captainſhips *of* Os Ilheos Porto Seguro *and* Spirito Sancto; *ſo that the Garriſons of St.* Salvador *and the circumjacent Forts, conſiſted in at leaſt* 2300, *each Company conſiſting of* 100 *Men leſs or more, choſen Men and well Cloathed; ſo companies mounted the Guard every [illegible]; one at the Palace, at each of the two Gates one; and the fourth in the Water-forts without the City.*

II. *Of their Naval ſtrength they gave a very ſlender account, being more conſiderable in Number than Force, as conſiſting only in* 50 *ſmall Veſſels and Yachts, not in the leaſt fitted for War; neither could they obſerve the leaſt ſhew of preparations tending that*

1643. *that way; their aim being only, to protect their Ships bound to the* Portugueſe *Coaſts, againſt the inſults of the* Caſtilian *and* Denmark *Privateers, and the* Turkiſh *Rovers. It was as they ſaid upon this account, that, during our ſtay there, two ſtout* Portugueſe *Ships fit for War, Manned with* 600 *Men, and provided with good ſtore of Ammunition, arrived in the* Bahia; *under the Command of* Salvador Correa-da-ſa, *with Orders, to go directly from thence to* Rio de Janeiro, *and to fetch all Ships ready loaden from thence to the* Bahia, *from whence they were to Convoy theſe as well as ſuch other Veſſels as they found ready there, to the Coaſt of* Portugal; *for which reaſon alſo all the Veſſels, which otherwiſe uſed to go according to their own conveniency, were ordered to ſtay for the ſaid Convoy. That News was brought by the ſaid two Ships, that the King of* Portugal *had forbid the building of* Caravels *and other ſuch like ſmall Veſſels, inſtead of which they were to build Ships of better defence, againſt the Inſults of an Enemy at Sea. From whence the Envoys ſaid, they ſuppoſed would ariſe this inconvenience to the* Portugueſes, *that the Freights and Convoy Money paid for the Commodities tranſported from* Portugal *to the* Portugueſe Braſil, *and for the Sugar tranſported from thence to* Portugal, *muſt encreaſe, and conſequently would not be able to ſell the laſt at the ſame price the* Dutch *did, conſidering eſpecially that they muſt be conſiderable loſers both in their Intereſt and time, where they were forced to tarry for their Convoys, whereas they uſed formerly to make the beſt of their way home.*

1643. *there, which together with ſome other Reaſons, made them ſuſpect, that they were intended another way, in which we found our ſelves not deceived; when on the* 22*d of* February, *juſt as they were ready for their Departure, they underſtood from the* Mulat Juliana, *and of two Monks, that theſe two Ships were ſent with Men to* Angola, *for the Security of the Inhabitants of* Maſagao, *who being but ſmall in number, were ſorely afraid to be ſet upon by the Negro's of the Country, and having deſired the Governors Aſſiſtance, who ordered thoſe Ships, and the Men, to go in the Night time, and to endeavour to reach* Maſagao *unperceived by any, and without committing any Hoſtilities againſt the* Dutch; *Whether and how far this might be true, time would ſhew; but they had all the reaſon in the World to believe, that it was upon their Score of conceal ng this Expedition, as well as ſome other Matters from them, that immediately after their arrival, (though they were not informed of it till near the time of their departure) That no* Dutch *or* Germans *ſhould appear, as much as in the ſight of the Envoys, much leſs Diſcourſe with them; which was obſerved with that ſtrictneſs, that they really imagined there had been no* Dutch *there, but found terwards that they had been all (how ay they knew not) carried on Board the* Portugueſe *Veſſels, to prevent their keeping any Correſpondency with us and our Ships Crew; to which end alſo, ſix Centinels were placed in two Boats lying near our Yacht, during the time of our ſtay here; under pretence of protecting our Veſſel, but in effect to prevent any Body from coming on Board us, purſuant to the Orders of the Governor.*

III. *They had obſerved, that, tho' the Inhabitants of the* Bahia *expected the coming of thoſe Ships, at their firſt arrival, yet ſeveral Veſſels arrived there both from the* Portugueſe *Coaſt and the Iſlands, before the reſt.*

IV. *They concluded the Negro-Trade to be very inconſiderable there, they having ſcarce ever heard it as much as mentioned; but becauſe the price of a good Negro did not at that time amount to above* 300 *Gilders, they ſuppoſed them pretty well ſtocks with them; thoſe which were of late Bought there being brought thither from* Cape Verde *and* Arder. *They further reported, That when on* Wedneſday *being the* 8*th of* February, *they entred the* Bahia, *they met two Ships of good Bulk, carrying about* 20 *Guns each, and well Mann'd, going out, which (upon enquiry) were told them to be bound for* Portugal; *but could not learn to what Harbour*

V. *That the Inhabitants of the* Bahia, *and the other* Portugueſe Captainſhips, *had not the leaſt Commerce at this time with thoſe of* Bonas Aires. *That immediately after the Revolution in* Portugal, *thoſe of the* Bahia *had attempted to go thither, but were treated as Enemies by them; ſo that it was their Opinion, the place would either ſoon, or was already totally ruin'd for want of Commerce; all their Livelihood conſiſting in the traffick from the Coaſt of* Braſil *thither; which falling away no Silver could be tranſported thither from* Peru; *it being not probable that the* Spaniards *would run the hazard of paſſing along an Enemy's Coaſt, when they had a ſafer way to tranſport their Treaſures from the* Weſt-Indies.

VI. *That they could not get the leaſt certain Information concerning the Deſigns carried on betwixt ſome of the Inhabitants*

1643. *of the* Bahia, *and thoſe of the* Dutch-Brafil, *againſt the laſt; beſides which they gave them a general relation of what they had been able to learn, concerning the Conditions of the City of St.* Salvador, *its Inhabitants, Governour, and ſome other matters relating to the Country thereabouts.*

Another Revolt of the Portugueſes.

The rumours which in 1640 were noiſed about concerning the treacherous deſigns of the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants againſt us, being for that time vaniſhed into Smoak, the ſame was revived, and their deſigns began to be diſcovered in *Febr.* 1645. *viz.* That confiding in the promiſed Succours from *Bahia*, they intended to riſe in Arms againſt us; looking upon this juncture as the moſt favourable for their purpoſe, ſince Count *Maurice* with the greateſt part of our Fleet, and a good number of Soldiers were returned to *Holland*, from whence no freſh ſupplies were come of late into *Brafil*. The Great Council not being ignorant of this, were indefatigable in their care, to leave no Stone unturned to find out the Ring leaders of this Rebellion, ſo as to charge them effectually with this Crime, and find out ſufficient cauſe for their Commitment. They ſent out ſeveral of their Officers into the Country, as Spies, to ſound the Inclinations of the People, and whether they could meet with any who incited the reſt to an Inſurrection. The like he did on the other ſide of the River of St. *Francis*, and in *Camaron's* Camp, whither they had ſent certain Perſons, to Inveſtigate their Deſigns, and to learn what preparations they made for War, and whether they were intended againſt *Pernambuko*, but were not able to find out any thing, upon which they could make any ſure account. Being nevertheleſs ſenſible that thoſe forewarnings were not altogether groundleſs, and knowing the *Portugueſes* to be of ſo haughty a temper, (beſides the difference in Religion) that they would ſcarce let any opportunity ſlip of withdrawing themſelves from the obedience of their Conquerors; they writ the 13th of *Febr.* 1645. the following Letter, concerning the Deſigns of the *Portugueſes*, to the Council of XIX.

A Letter from the Great Council to the Weſt-India *Company.*

A Letter from the Great Council to the Weſt-India Company.

Moſt Noble and Right Honourable,

DUring the Government of his Excellency Count Maurice, there were already ſeveral of the Inhabitants of this State entred into ſecret Cabals, to riſe in Mutiny againſt us, in hopes of aſſiſtance from the Bahia; their buſineſs was to inſinuate into thoſe that were well affected to them, after their good ſucceſs in Maranhaon, that our Forces being conſiderably weakned by the ſtrong Detachments ſent to the Garriſons of Angola, St. Thomas and others, a fair opportunity was offered them, to withdraw themſelves from our obedience, and to enjoy their former Liberty under their own King. They were not a little encouraged in their Deſign, imagining the ſame might be carried on without any great difficulty, when they found that of late we had received no Supplies either of Meat or other Proviſions, or of Soldiers from Holland, whereby the Store-houſes of the Company here being exhauſted, the Garriſons of the Forts were forced to be ſupplied from time to time with Farinha and freſh Meats out of the Country, they judged, if they could once be Maſters in the Field, they muſt of neceſſity fall into their Hands; as it happened in 1640 to the Spaniſh Garriſons in Portugal, who for the ſame reaſon were not in a condition to hold out againſt the Portugueſes; being beſides that ſenſible, that, unleſs we would too much weaken our Garriſons, we had no ſufficient number of Troops left to appear formidable in the Field. Theſe and other ſuch like inſinuations have been frequently ſpread among the Portugueſes by thoſe, who finding themſelves moſt uneaſie under our Government, hoped for a change of their Affairs, by changing their Maſters; which however wrought no conſiderable effect, as long as his Excellency continued in the Government, partly becauſe we being forewarned of their Deſigns, kept a watchful Eye over all their actions, partly, becauſe our Sea and Land-Forces being much more conſiderable at that time, than they are now, they had but little proſpect of ſucceeding in their Enterpriſe, which therefore they judged moſt convenient to defer, till after his Excellency's departure; which, as it was ſufficiently known before-hand, ſo they were ſenſible that thereby our Forces both by Sea and Land muſt be conſiderably weakned, and conſequently would furniſh them with a fairer opportunity, of putting their ſo long rejected Deſign in Execution; the more, becauſe that many of the Portugueſes who relying hitherto upon the Authority of Count Maurice, as the only means to keep the Soldiers in awe, being now put in fear of the Executions and Exorbitances likely to be committed by the covetous Officers and rapacious Souldiers, would be forced to join with them againſt us. After the departure of his Excellency 1643.

1643. *Excellency for* Holland, *thoſe Cabals have inſtead of Divine things encreaſed every Day; they have been very diligent in getting information concerning the Strength of all our Garriſons, with an intention, to carry on their Deſigns before we could be reinforced with Supplies of Men and Proviſions from* Holland; *to effect which, they have by Meſſengers ſent to the* Bahia, *ſollicited for Succours of Men and Arms, of which as it ſeems they have no ſmall hopes. There is great reaſon to believe, that the Journey of* Andrew Vidal *from the* Bahia *hither, in* Auguſt *laſt, undertaken under pretence of taking his leave before his return to* Portugal, *in order to ſerve the King there, was founded upon no other motive, than to inform himſelf moſt narrowly concerning the true State of affairs here, in order to give a verbal account thereof in the* Bahia *and afterwards in* Portugal; *as likewiſe to ſound the Inclinations of the Inhabitants, and to animate ſuch as he found well diſpoſed for his Intereſt, with hopes of ſpeedy ſuccours from the* Bahia; *we having ſince received ſecret intelligence, that he has been preſent at ſeveral of theſe Cabals. But tho' they were greatly encouraged with theſe hopes of good ſucceſs, by reaſon of the diminution of our Forces, and ſcarcity of Proviſions, they were not very forward in venturing upon this Enterpriſe, being ſenſible, that their Deſign having taken vent, we made all neceſſary preparations againſt them; beſides that many of the* Portugueſe *Inhabitants, being beyond their expectation, well ſatisfied with the Government of the Great Council, did rather chuſe to live quietly and ſecurely, than to engage in ſo dangerous an Enterpriſe. So that things remained without any conſiderable alteration at preſent*; and as matters ſtand now we are not able to find out ſufficient cauſe to ſatisfie our ſelves whether they proceed in the ſame Deſign. *Their chief Deſign as we are credibly informed was laid againſt the* Receif, *which they intended to ſurpriſe, upon a certain Day appointed for the Sale of Negro's, when the Inhabitants of the Country flocking thither in great numbers, they did not doubt, but with the aſſiſtance of our own Negro's (who are for the moſt part Papiſts) to make themſelves maſters of the place, not queſtioning, but if this ſucceeded, the reſt would ſoon be forced to yeild. But in this they were prevented, by the ſtrong Guards we took care to poſt in the* Receif, *on thoſe Fair Days. The chief Ringleaders, as they are ſpecified to us, are* John Fernandes Vieira, *and his Father-in-Law* Franciſco Beringel, *with ſeveral others, whom we would have committed to Priſon, if we could have had more certain information againſt them; but, tho' we left no Stone unturned to find out the truth, yet could we not meet with ſufficient motives to induce us, either to impriſon them, or to proceed again to the general diſarming of the Inhabitants, we having received certain intelligence, that ſo ſoon as we ſhould attempt it, we muſt expect no leſs, than a general Inſurrection, which, conſidering our own Magazines and Store-Houſes were ſo ill provided, and no ſufficient Force could be drawn out of the Garriſon to ſecure the open Country, would have drawn after it very ill conſequences for our Nation, eſpecially thoſe living at ſome diſtance from our Forts, who thereby (as we had reaſon to fear) might have been expoſed to the danger of being maſſacred by the* Portugueſes. *It is evident from the Information given to your Lordſhips in* Holland, *and tranſmitted to us, that the Subjects of the King of* Portugal *themſelves are encouraged and animated againſt us; wherefore it will be abſolutely neceſſary to be very cautious, and to haſten the ſupplies, we ſo often have requeſted at your hands. Upon the firſt information we received, that towards the South of the* Receif *the* Portugueſes *intended to land ſome Men or Arms, we ſent the* 13*th of* Octob. *a Yacht, the* Enckhuyſen *with another Galliot and Chaloop to Cruiſe thereabouts, but they returned after ſome time without being able to diſcover any ſuch thing. The next Intelligence we had, was, that a Fleet was Equipping in the* Bahia, *to tranſport ſome Forces, for the aſſiſtance of our Rebellious Subjects; to find out the bottom of this Deſign, we thought we could pitch upon no better expedient than to ſend thither Mr.* Gilbert de Witt, *and* Dirk Hoogſtraten *with certain Inſtructions; of which we have enclоſed the Copy; who ſet Sail the* 25*th of the laſt Month. Being further informed that a certain* Portugueſe *Captain with an Enſign and three Soldiers have been lately diſpatch'd from the* Bahia *to our* Captainſhips, *to endeavour to ſtir up our Subjects to Rebellion, with aſſurance of Succours from thence; we have employed all neceſſary means to find them out and get them into our hands. We ſhall not be wanting in any thing, which, according as occaſion preſents, may contribute to the preſervation of this State.*

1643.

Receif 13. February 1645.

The 4th, the Great Council were informed by Letter from *Iſaac Raſiere*, and Captain *Blewbeck*, written at *Parayba*,

1643. That a Rumour was ſpread thereabouts, that *Kamaron*, Chief Commander of the *Braſilians* in the *Bahia*, was on his march from *Sertao* to *Seara*, to joyn with the *Braſilians* inhabiting thereabouts, to attack with their United Forces the Inhabitants of the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*. Whereupon the Council ſent Orders to *Hans Vogel*, Governor of *Seregippo del Rey*, to get Intelligence, and ſend them ſpeedy word, whether *Kamaron* with his Camp were ſtill in *Rio Reael*; and if not, whither he had taken his march; or whither he intended to take it. They alſo ſent word to the Inhabitants of *Paraiba*, that they ſhould be very diligent in inquiring after the Cauſe of this Rumour, and ſend them Intelligence accordingly. The 15th of *May* they received an Anſwer from *Hans Vogel*, dated the 25th of *April* at *Seregippo del Rey*, wherein he told them, That purſuant to their Orders he had ſent a Serjeant with ſome Soldiers to *Kamaron*'s Head-Quarters, about 10 Leagues from *Seregippo del Rey*, under pretence of looking for ſome Deſerters; who after their return reported, That his Forces, conſiſting of 200 *Portugueſes* and 1200 *Braſilians*, were ſtill in the ſame place, buſied for the moſt part in Cultivating ſome Plantations, *Kamaron* himſelf being then in the *Bahia*, to aſſiſt at the Solemnity of their *Eaſter*; from whence they conjectured, that the Rumour concerning his march was only a Fiction. But two days after the ſame Rumour was renewed by two Paſſengers coming from *Rio St. Franciſco*, and being landed by one *John Hoen*, a Maſter of a Veſſel, near *Kandelaria*; but upon a more ſtrict Enquiry made by the Council, the ſaid Maſter of the Veſſel declared, that on the eighth of the ſame month, when he left *Rio St. Franciſco*, there was no News of *Kamaron*'s march.

The 30th of *May* 1645. a Letter, without a Name was delivered to the Great Council, by one *Abraham Markado*, a Jew, ſubſcribed only *Plus Ultra*. This Letter being Tranſlated out of the *Low-Dutch* the ſame Night, the Contents thereof were, That three unknown Perſons, gave them notice, that a good Body of Troops were come from *Rio Reael* into *Paraiba*, with an Intention to join with a Diſcontented Party there, and to ſurprize the *Dutch* Forts; with Advice to Seize upon the Perſon of *John Fernandes Vieira*, their Chief Ringleader.

The Letter is as follows.

A Letter of Intelligence to the Council. 1643.

WE ſtand amazed you are ſo ſecure, when it is reported, That the Matta *of* Paraiba *is full of Soldiers, come thither lately from* Rio Reael; *who conſiſting in a good number of Negro's, Mulats, and* Portugueſes, *with* Kamaron *at the Head of them, began their march in the month of* March, *expecting now to be joyned by other Troops, which hitherto were ſtopt by the overflowing of the Rivers. Their aim is to encourage the Inhabitants to take up Arms, which done, they expect conſiderable Succours from the* Bahia, *both by Sea and Land, wherewith they pretend to block you up in the* Receif; *intending to fix their Camp either at* Olinda, *or in the* Vergea, *and Quarter the Soldiers in the* Fregeſies *thereabouts. They boaſt that their Forces are already conſiderably encreaſed by thoſe who are Indebted to the Company, and other Vagabonds; and threatned to Maſſacre all ſuch of your Subjects as refuſe to joyn with them. A certain Perſon of Note and Reputation belonging to the ſame Camp, has given us this Information, in order to Communicate it to your Lordſhips to be upon your Guard, which we do accordingly by theſe Preſents. The ſame Perſon told us, That* John Fernandes Vieira *was the Chief Ringleader of this Inſurrection, who maintains the Rebellious Crew in the* Matta, *as they meet together, till a certain day appointed for their Rendezvous, when they are with their joynt Forces to attack all the* Dutch *Forts and Out-Guards at once. We were alſo told, That the ſaid* Vieira *does not ſleep in his Houſe, and is always upon his Guard; to try which, you have no more to do than to ſend ſome to take him, with his Servants and Factors; which if you could do, they would be all amazed, and make an open Confeſſion; which may be done without the leaſt hazard; for if you miſcarry in the Attempt, it will nevertheleſs not redound to your Diſadvantage. We conjure your Lordſhips to take care of this poor Nation, for fear they ſhould be forced to join with the Rebels againſt you. We judge it therefore abſolutely neceſſary to undertake the Buſineſs without delay, with all imaginable Secreſie; for if they find themſelves diſcovered, they will begin the Game immediately; ſo, that ſtrong Guards ought to be put in the Out-works, and in the Harbours of* Kandelaria, *and the* Receif. *We Adviſe your Lordſhips, to oblige the Inhabitants forthwith to Surrender their Arms, to order all the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills, with their Planters, to appear in the* Receif; *eſpecially thoſe of the* Fregeſies *of* Vergea, Garaſſu.

1643. Garaſſu, St. Lorenzo, St. Amaro, Moribeca, de Cabo, Pojuka, *and* Serinhaim, *with Aſſurance that they ſhall not be moleſted for any Debts there; and when they are come, to detain them till they ſee what is further to be done, under pretence of ſecuring them againſt the Attempts of the Rebels in the Country; by which means you will both ſecure the Government, and oblige many private Perſons. The ſame Method ought to be uſed with thoſe of* Parayba, *where they may be detained in the Fort, as well as thoſe of* Porto Calvo *in that Place. Thus if you can get the Chiefeſt into your Hands, the Deſign will dwindle away to nothing. We beſeech you not to ſend away any more Soldiers, before you have made a full Diſcovery of the Rebellion, and provide your Forts with good Garriſons; whither we would alſo have all the* Dutch *Inhabitants to retire for fear of being Maſſacred. We Three, being faithful Subjects of your Lordſhips, have now ſatisfied our Conſciences in propoſing your Remedy, which conſiſts in the taking of* Vieira, *which muſt be undertaken with great Secrecy and Foreſight, he being as it is ſaid, continually upon his Guard. Your Lordſhips will be ſenſible without our Advice, how much it concerns them, not to divulge to any, from whom they have received this Information; And we aſſure you, that we will not fail to give further Intelligence of what we are able to learn, by way of Letters; and one time or other, we ſhall make no difficulty to let you know, who theſe Three Faithful Subjects are. If we had been preſent, we could have declared no more than we have done in this Letter. Your Lordſhips muſt take effectual Care againſt their Attempts without Delay; the approaching Feaſt being the time appointed for the putting it in Execution. We have ſent you immediate notice after it came to our knowledge: We Adviſe you likewiſe to Seize upon* Franciſco Beringel, Vieira's *Father-in-Law, and* Antonio Kavalkanti; *and in ſhort, all the Chiefeſt of the* Vergeas, *and other Places.*

Signed,

A. Verdade.
Plus Ultra.

Hereupon the Great Council called *Paul de Lunge*, Preſident of the Council of Juſtice, Vice-Admiral *Cornelius Lichthart*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Garſman*, into their Aſſembly, to Conſult unanimouſly, what were beſt to be done at this Juncture for the Preſervation of the *Dutch Braſil*; when by this, as well as ſeveral other Letters and Intelligences, they were forewarned of the approaching Danger; and notwithſtanding they were much in doubt, whether they ought to make any certain Account upon a Letter written without a Name; yet conſidering all the Circumſtances of this as well as ſeveral other Informations, it was judged abſolutely neceſſary to provide for the Safety of the *Dutch Braſil*, againſt any Attempts of an Enemy. 1643.

I. By providing all the Forts with Meal for Two Months.

II. By giving immediate Notice to all Commanders of Forts, to be conſtantly upon their Guard.

III. To write to *John Liſtry*, Chief Commander of the *Braſilians*, to keep his People in readineſs with their Arms in the Villages, to be ready to march upon the firſt Orders from the Council, we being not in a Condition to take the Field without them.

IV. To ſend abroad their Spies, in all Corners, even into the Woods, to get Intelligence whereabouts the Enemies Troops are; and to give timely notice of what they are able to learn, to the Council.

V. It was agreed, to Summon *John Fernandes Vieira*, the Chief Ringleader of the intended Rebellion, and his Securities, *Franciſco Beringel*, *Vieira*'s Father-in-Law, and *Bernardin Karvalho*, unto the *Receif*, under pretence of making a ſecond Agreement with him, which he earneſtly deſired; by which means they ſhould ſecure his Perſon, know the whole bottom of the *Portugueſe* Deſign, and conſequently be the better able to prevent it. A certain Broker called *Koin*, who ſollicited this Agreement for *Vieira*, was prevailed upon to undertake this Task, which he might do without the leaſt Suſpicion; but the *Whitſontide* Holidays put ſome ſtop to it for the preſent. With the ſame Care the Great Council employed all poſſible Means to get the other Perſons of the *Vergea*, ſuſpected to have a Hand in this Rebellious Deſign, into their Hands, under ſome pretence or other, they being not likely to be taken by force, becauſe they did not lodge in their Mills and Houſes in the Night time, and by Day were ſo ſtrictly upon their guard, that they could not poſſibly be ſurprized.

The

1643. The 31ſt of *May*, Vice-Admiral *Lichthart*, and *Henry Haus* a Lieutenant, offered to undertake the delivering of *John Fernandes Vieira* to the Council, which they intended to Effect, under pretence of giving him a Viſit, and going a Fiſhing with him in the Lake *Lewis Bras Biſerra*.

Further Advice concerning the Inſurrection. The 9th of *July*, the Great Council received Advice by a Letter from Mr. *Koin*, Governour of *Rio St. Franciſco*, dated the 1ſt of *June*, That *Kamaron*, with a ſmall Body was paſſed the River *St. Francis*; therefore he deſired ſome Aſſiſtance of Men, with ſuitable Ammunition.

The ſame was confirmed by another Letter, dated the 27th of *June*, with Advice, That as yet no Enemy had appeared within ſight of the Fort.

Frequent Intelligence being likewiſe ſent to the Council, That in the *Matta* of *St. Lawrence*, and ſome other diſtant Places, conſiderable numbers of Soldiers from the *Bahia*, of Mulats and Negro's, were gathering in a Body, they ſent ſeveral ſmall Bodies thither, under Command of ſuch as were well acquainted with that Country, who all unanimouſly reported, That they could meet with no Soldiers, Mulats, or any other Vagabonds thereabouts.

The 12th of *June*, the Director *Moucheron* ſent further Advice, that he had been credibly informed by Letters dated the 8th of the ſame month, from *Rio St. Franciſco*, That *Kamaron* and *Henrico Dias*, with ſix Companies of *Braſilians*, Mulats, and Negro's, were paſs'd the ſaid River; and that juſt as he was concluding his Letter, two Inhabitants of the *Algoas* had given him to underſtand, that ſome of them had been at their Houſes for ſome Meal; the Copies of which Letters he ſent to the Council, who did now not in the leaſt queſtion, but that their Aim was upon the *Dutch Braſil*; eſpecially ſince they were forewarned by ſeveral Letters from *St. Antonio*, That the Inhabitants thereabouts ſeem'd to prepare for a Revolt.

The Reſolution of the Council thereupon. The Council finding their Project of taking *Vieira* by Craft, not to ſucceed, becauſe he and the Securities of his Father-in-Law, *Franciſco Beringel*, and *Bernardino Karvalho*, could not be Cajoled into the *Receif*, under pretence of Renewing their former Contract; and looking upon him as the Chief Ringleader of this Revolt, they ordered *Joachim Denniger*, a Lieutenant, with a good number of Soldiers, to the Mill and Houſe of the ſaid *John Fernandes Vieira*, to bring his Perſon from thence to the *Receif*. Accordingly *Denniger* advanced with his Soldiers towards the Evening near the Mills, which he ſurrounded, and about Midnight unexpectedly entred both the Houſe and Mills, making a moſt ſtrict ſearch throughout all the Rooms and Corners, but to no purpoſe. In the Morning he withdrew at ſome diſtance, but return'd the next Night, when after having made another ſearch, but in vain, he was informed by one of his *Turkiſh* Slaves, and ſome Negro's, That neither *Vieira*, nor his Father-in-Law *Beringel* had ſlept in their Houſes theſe laſt Three Weeks; that ſometimes they came thither on Horſeback, but after a very ſhort ſtay, went their ways again. *Denninger* likewiſe ſearch'd the Houſes of *Antonio Kavalkanti* and *Antonio Biſerra*, but to as little purpoſe as thoſe of the former, being informed by their Negro's, that they had abſconded for ſome Weeks before.

1643. In the mean while, the Council ſent divers Parties abroad, under the Command of *Hans Kaiſer*, *Slodinski*, and *Conrad Hilt*, all which, after their return, agreed in this, That there were no Enemies there as yet, eſpecially not in the *Matta*, where they met with no Body but thoſe that were employed in Manuring the Grounds.

The Great Council finding themſelves altogether diſappointed in their hopes of taking *Vieira*, reſolved to ſecure immediately the Perſons of *Franciſco Beringel*, *Vieira*'s Father in Law; *Bernardino Karvalho*, and his Brother *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, *Lewis Bas*, *Amaro Lopes*, and *John Peſſoa*, being Perſons ſuſpected to have a hand in the Conſpiracy, inhabiting the *Vergea*. In the more diſtant Provinces were ordered to be ſeized

In *St. Amaro*, *Antonio de Bulhous*.

In *St. Antonio*; *Amador d'Aronja*; *Pedro Marinho Falcao*; *Antonio del Raſto*.

In *Pojuka*; *Kornero de Morais*; Father *Frey Lewis*; and *Franciſco Dias del Gado*.

In *Serinhaim*; *John Albuquerq*, Son-in-Law of *Pero Lopes de Vera*.

In *Porto Calvo*; *Rodrigues de Barros Pimentel*.

In *Iguaraka*; *John Pimenta*.

In *Itamaraka*; Father *Lawrence d'Alkunha*.

And in *Rio Grande*; *John Leſtan Navarro*.

But it being moſt of all to be feared that the Inhabitants of *Parayba*, who were much indebted, would Revolt before

1643.

Parayba *secured.*

fore all the reſt, Mr. *Paul de Linge* was ſent thither immediately in the quality of Director, with full power to act both in that and the *Captainſhip* of *Rio Grande*, as he ſhould find it moſt expedient for the Company, with expreſs orders to Preſs 100 Men out of the Ships, with proportionable Proviſions, immediately after his arrival there, which were to be diſpoſed in the Fort of St. *Margaret*, both for its defence, and to keep the Inhabitants in due Obedience.

And conſidering that the ſcarcity of Proviſions was one of the main obſtacles to be ſurmounted on our ſide, which as the caſe then ſtood, would more and more increaſe, unleſs we could remain Maſters of the Field, from whence we drew moſt of our Proviſions, and to over-awe the diſcontented Inhabitants, it was judged requiſite, to form a ſmall Camp, near St. *Lawrence*; and accordingly the two Lieutenants *Huykſueſloot* and *Hamel* were order'd thither with 35 Men each, the firſt from *Iguaraka*, the laſt from *Moribeka*, as likewiſe Captain *Wiltſchut*, with 50 Men more from the *Receif*; *John Liſtry* Commander in Chief of the *Braſilians* was likewiſe ordered to join with them with all poſſible ſpeed, 300 *Braſilians* under their own Commanders.

A ſmall Camp near St. Lawrence.

The ſame Day (being the 12th) after a view was taken of the Fortifications of *Moribeka* Town, the ſame were ordered to be repaired, and News being brought, that *John Fernandes Vieira* had been ſeen in his Mill the ſame Night, the Council endeavoured with all poſſible care to have ſecured his Perſon, but in vain; it being certain, that (according to the Depoſitions made by his Steward of the Mill, called St. *John*, before the publick Notary *Indik*, in the *Receif*, 21. *Jan.* 1647.) near ſix Months before the breaking out of this Inſurrection, he had never ſlept one Night in his Houſe: and whenever he happned to be there in the Day-time, he remained for the moſt part in a Turret on the top of the Houſe, from whence he could have a proſpect at a great diſtance; if his buſineſs called him below, he put ſome body elſe there, to keep the watch; who, if they ſaw but two or three Perſons come that way, gave immediately notice thereof to him; and if any *Dutch* in a body were diſcovered, he retired inſtantly into the adjacent Woods. He had likewiſe placed ſome Negro's at certain diſtances from the Houſe, who were to give notice of the approach of any unknown Perſons that way.

1643.

Sebaſtian Karvalho, *brought in Priſoners.*

The 13th *Sebaſtian Karvalho* and *Antonio de Bulhous*, were brought in Priſoners to the *Receif*, the reſt who were ſenſible of their guilt, having eſcaped their Hands; the firſt being examined the ſame Night by the Aſſeſſor of the Court of Juſtice, Mr. *Walbeek*, concerning the intended Conſpiracy, gave him the following Account, by word of Mouth.

His CONFESSION.

His Confeſſion.

THAT he was one of thoſe three, who a few Days ago had by way of Letter given an Account of an intended Conſpiracy in the Vergea, *to the great Council, the Ringleader thereof being* John Fernandes Vieira, *who, with the reſt of his* Portugueſe *accomplices relied upon the Succours promiſed them from the* Bahia; *with what he had judged moſt proper for obviating the ſame. That the whole deſign of this Conſpiracy was laid open to him by means of a certain writing in form of an Aſſociation, which was delivered to him by a* Portugueſe *Servant of the ſaid* Vieira, *together with a Letter, in which he deſired him to Subſcribe the ſame, there being no more than two, who had ſigned it at that time,* viz. John Fernandes Vieira, *and* Lewis da Coſta Sepulpeda. *The Contents of this Aſſociation were, That they promiſed to riſe in Arms againſt this State, and to Sacrifice their Lives and Eſtates, for the recovery of the* Dutch Braſil, *under the Obedience of the King of* Portugal. *That indeed he had ſigned the ſaid Aſſociation, but given immediate notice thereof to* Fernando Vale *and a third Perſon beſides; and that he together with Mr.* Vale, *had cauſed the beforementioned Letter, directed to the Great Council to be delivered to* Merkado *the Phyſician. That the Inſurrection was intended to extend all over* Dutch Braſil, *but that the Inhabitants of the* Captainſhip *of* Parayba, *were moſt to be feared, as being moſt indebted, and conſequently bearing an ill will to our Government. That their main deſign was to ſurpriſe one of our Forts, on or near the Sea-ſide, whereby they might ſecure themſelves a place, to receive Succours from the* Bahia; *from whence they expected to be aſſiſted with two Men of War, and three or four Frigats. That he had ſigned this Aſſociation barely out of fear of* Vieira, *who had threatned thoſe that ſhould refuſe, with no leſs than death, and had cauſed ſeveral to be murthered upon that account.*

1643. His Confeſſion agreeing in all points with what *Fernando Vale* had depoſed before, and being all that time ſorely afflicted with the Gravel, he was diſpenſed with from any further Examination.

The Council being by this Depoſition of *Karvalho* fully convinced of the Treachery of *Vieira* and his adherents, it was reſolved to attempt once more the taking of the ſaid *Vieira*, if perhaps he might as yet lurk ſomewhere or other near the *Receif*, and of his Factor *Mor Mannel de Souſa* engaged in the ſame Deſign; as likewiſe of *Antonio Bezerra* and *Amaro Lopes*, both Inhabitants of the *Vergea*. But in vain, thoſe who were ſent upon that Errant, bringing back no other ſatisfaction, than that they were not to be met with thereabouts, and that beſides that, *Antonio* and *Manuel Kavalkanti*, *Antonio Bezerra*, *John Peſſoa* and *Coſmo de Kraſto* were the ſame Day retired out of the *Vergea* to the *Matta*. The ſame Day Captain *Wilſchut* was ordered to ſeize the publick Notary, *Caſpar Pereira*, dwelling in St. *Lawrence*, who was ſuppoſed to have drawn the before-mentioned Aſſociation; and it was reſolved to ſend a Pardon to *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *John Pais Kaeral*, who having a great Family at home, might thereby be prevailed upon to quit the Party of the Rebels, whereby we ſhould both weaken that of the Enemy, and get a further inſight into their Deſigns, *Antonio de Bulhous* being Examined at the ſame time, ingenuouſly confeſſed that he had not the leaſt knowledge of the Conſpiracy; *Sebaſtian Karvalho* being notwithſtanding his former Confeſſion, detained Priſoner upon Suſpicion till the 4th of *Auguſt*, was at his requeſt diſmiſſed by the *Great Council*, after having given ſufficient proof that he was one of the three who writ the Letter concerning the intended Conſpiracy, to the Council.

Karvalho diſcharged.

The Receif ſtrengthened with Palliſado's.

The 14th of *June*, Orders were given to all the Inhabitants of the *Receif*, and thoſe living upon the back of the River, to ſurround their dwelling places with Palliſado's, under Forfeiture of 200 Gilders. And to render the Companies the more compleat, and expoſe our Men to as little danger as might be of being ſurpriſed by the Enemy; all the Safe-Guards were commanded to be withdrawn, by M. *Haus*, near the *Receif*, and in *Serinhaim* by Captain *Fallo*, who was likewiſe ordered to remove the Garriſon of *Huna*, to another place, of more ſtrength. The better to ſupply the ſcarcity of Proviſions in the Forts, which for want thereof might be in danger of falling into the Enemy's hands, Orders were diſpatch'd to the Chief Commanders, to ſeize upon what quantity of *Favinha* (or Meal) they ſtood in need of for the uſe of their reſpective Garriſons, among the Inhabitants of the Country, which they were to be paid for by the Commiſſaries of the Company. It was alſo thought neceſſary that for the greater ſecurity of *Maurice's Town*, the Ditches of the Fort *Erneſtus* ſhould be made larger, as likewiſe the *Quinque-regular* Fort, which was put in execution by *Haus*, as Vice Admiral *Lichthart* took care to have two Spy-Ships poſted, one betwixt the *Quinque-angular* Fort and the Fort *Bruin*, the other beyond *Baretta*, to prevent any ſurpriſe on that ſide, at low Tide; it was alſo reſolved not to let any Ships or Boats go out of the *Receif*, without a Paſs from the Great Council. The Major of the City Militia was ordered to keep the reſt of his Officers with the Soldiery in readineſs againſt the 17th to paſs the Review, the ſame Day being alſo appointed to the Garriſon for that purpoſe; ſeveral new Commanders were alſo choſen for the Militia, inſtead of thoſe that were ready to return into *Holland*. The ſame Day *Paul Lange* ſet out on his Journey into *Paraiba*, being furniſhed with 1500 Soldiers for neceſſary occaſions; and *Bernardino Karvalho*, who had abſconded for ſome time, had, at his requeſt, leave granted him, to come to the *Receif*, to anſwer for himſelf.

The Fort of Maurice enlarged.

The 15th *John Peſſoa* Maſter of the Sugar-Mill *Pantelo*, one of thoſe that were ordered to be ſecured, deſired alſo leave in a Letter to the Council, to appear before them, his flight being occaſioned not by his guilt, but only fear, which was granted him, as well as the requeſt of Father *Lawrence Alkanha*, upon the ſame account.

On the 16th early in the Morning we received ſecret Intelligence, that *Andrew Vidal* at the Head of 1000 *Portugueſes*, and *Kamaron* with *d' Indeos Rondelas*, and *Henry Dias* with a Body of armed Negro's had poſted themſelves above St. *Anthony*, near the Sugar-Mill *Topekura*. The ſame Day *John Karnero de Mariz*, and *Franciſco Dias del Gado* both Maſters of Sugar-Mills in the diſtrict of *Pojuka*, ordered to be apprehended, were brought Priſoners to the *Receif*, and *Amador da Roujs*, and *Pero Marinha Falkao*, Inhabitants

1643. bitants of St. *Anthony*, who had hitherto abſconded, did ask permiſſion to come to the *Receif*, to anſwer for themſelves, which was eaſily granted.

Our Camp removed to Moribeka.

It was then taken into Deliberation, by the Great Council, whether, according to the laſt Intelligences received of the Enemies Deſigns, it were not moſt Expedient to remove our ſmall Camp from *St. Lawrence* to *Moribeka*, which after ſome Debates, was Agreed upon accordingly, thereby to ſecure the Paſſage of the River *Sangea*, and conſequently to remain Maſters of the Country as far as the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, from whence, both the Camp and the *Receif* might conveniently be ſupplied both with *Farinha* and Cattle; whereas on the contrary, if the Enemy ſhould be poſſeſſed of it, he might (as had been done in their former Wars) cut off all Supplies coming from the South to the *Receif*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, Orders were ſent to Captain *Wilſchut*, to march immediately to *Moribeka*, to expect there the coming of the *Braſilians*, and ſome further Succours: In the mean while to Poſt himſelf in the Church, and to fortifie the ſame againſt any ſudden Attack: And the Aldermen of *Maurice*'s Town were ordered to Buy up the neceſſary Proviſions, both of *Farinha* and Cattle, about *Moribeka*, for their Uſe. A Proclamation was alſo iſſued, Commanding all the Inhabitants of *Serinhaim*, *Pojuka*, *St. Antonio*, and *Moribeka*, without any Exception, to repair well-armed, both Horſe and Foot, with all poſſible ſpeed, to *St. Antonio*; there to Liſt themſelves for the Defence of the open Country, under the Command of Colonel *Gaſpar Vander Ley*, and Lieutenant Colonel *John Heck*: Thoſe that were not able to maintain themſelves at their own Charge, being to receive their Proviſion from the Company, like other Soldiers: The ſaid Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel offering at the ſame time, to furniſh 1500 *Alquera*'s or Meaſures of *Farinha*, for the uſe of our Garriſons, ready Money.

The ſame day the Great Council received a Letter from *Antonio Kavalkanti*, (unto whom they had lately ſent his Pardon) in which he proteſted, That neither he, nor the reſt of the Inhabitants of the *Vergea*, were concerned in any Cabals againſt the State, their flight being occaſioned only by Fear, of being Impriſoned upon Suſpicion, raiſed againſt them by their Enemies. The Anſwer of the Council was to this Effect, That if he knew himſelf Innocent, he ſhould return to his Mill, this being the only means, to recover his former Reputation. 1643

The Great Council having great reaſon to ſuſpect, That *Kamaron* would endeavour to bring the *Braſilians* under their Juriſdiction over to his Party, reſolved, in order to ſecure them in their Intereſt, to Treat with *Liſtry*, their Commander in Chief, to perſwade them, to ſend their Wives and Children into the Iſle of *Tamarika*, under pretence of ſecuring them againſt any Attempts of the Enemy; to which they might in all probability be expoſed in the open Villages; but in effect, to keep them as Pledges of their Fidelity.

Number of thoſe ſent from the Bahia to the Rebels.

The ſame day the Council received ſecret Intelligence from *Antonio d'Olivera*, That the Succours ſent to the Rebels from the *Bahia*, conſiſted in a conſiderable number of *Portugueſes*, under the Command of the Brother of *Kavalkanti*; of 400 *Braſilians*, under the Command of *Kamaron*; 300 *Indeos Rondelas* from *Sertoa*; and 50 Negro's, under Command of *Henry Dias*.

Enſign Slotenisky ſent abroad, and his Accounts.

On the ſame 16th of *June*, Mr. *Slotenisky*, Enſign of the Guards, was ſent abroad to be at the Campagne, with a 11 Firelocks, and 12 *Braſilians*, who returning the 24th of *June*, gave the following Account to the Great Council. That he took his way from the *Receif* directly to *St. Lawrence*, and from thence directly to the Village of *St. Michael*; where being joined by his *Braſilians*, he marched through *St. Franciſco* to *Kaſura*, from thence to *Geyta*, and ſo further through the *Matta*, to *St. Sebaſtian*, where all the Inhabitants had left their Houſes. At *St. Sebaſtian* he paſſed the River *Topikura*, and coming to *John Fernandes Vieira*'s Park, met there with good able Horſes. The Negro's told him, They had Orders from their Maſter, to fly from before the *Dutch*, but to furniſh the *Portugueſes* with what they deſired. From thence he marched to *St. Antonio*, and in his way thither did light upon a Houſe belonging likewiſe to *John Fernandes Vieira*, where he found about 50 or 60 Sheep, with good Store of Poultry, intended for the uſe of the Sick, belonging to thoſe Rebels, or thoſe come to their Aſſiſtance from the *Bahia*. They forewarned him not to Advance too far, he being likely to meet with ſome Troops in the Park belonging to the Fathers of *St. Bento*; but coming thither found both the *Portugueſes* and Negro's fled. From thence he marched to a Houſe belonging to

to *Michael Fernandes*, who above three Months before had been ordered by *John Fernandes Vieira*, to provide a ſufficient quantity of *Farinha* for the uſe of the Succours expected from the *Bahia*; which he lately had tranſported from thence to *Pedro de Alkunha*; where was the Rendezvous of two Companies of the Rebellious Inhabitants, where the ſaid *Michael* expected a good ſtore of Cattel, bought up by *Vieira* for their Uſe, according to the Information of a Negro, brought by *Slotenisky* to the *Receif*. Near the Park of Don *Pedro d'Alkunha*, he met with the ſame Mulat who had ſhot Captain *Waldeck*, and with two *Hollanders* who had committed Murther, and were never Pardoned. *John Fernandes Vieira* had promiſed to be with them againſt *Midſummer*-Day. From thence *Slotenisky* marched directly to *Una*, and ſo further to *St. Luce*, but met with no Body there except one Monk, and ſo returned to the *Receif*.

1643.

On the 17th of *June* it was reſolved by the Great Council, with Conſent of the Council of Juſtice, to Iſſue a Proclamation for a general Pardon, except ſome few of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion.

The Proclamation was as follows.

A Proclamation for a General Pardon.

THe Great Council of Braſil *makes known to every Body, whom it may Concern, That they being ſenſible, to their Grief, how many of their Subiects, having been miſled by ſome of the Ringleaders of the Rebellion, have left their Mills, Wives, and Children, for fear, as has been inſinuated to them, of being diſturbed, plundered, and killed by our ſtraggling Parties: We being willing to provide againſt it, and to contribute as much as in Us lies, to the Proſperity of Our Subjects, and their Eſtates, have thought fit to publiſh their Intention, to be, to Defend and Protect the Inhabitants of the open Country, againſt all evil Intention'd Perſons to the utmoſt of their Power. And to Reduce thoſe who have left their Habitations, to Obedience, and prevent their utter Deſtruction, We promiſe our Pardon to all ſuch as ſhall within Five Days after ſight of this our Proclamation, make their Perſonal Appearance in the* Receif, *not excepting thoſe who have been actually engaged in the ſaid Rebellion (unleſs they are among the number of the Chief Ringleaders) provided they leave the Rebellious Party, and return to their former Obedience; and that they ſhall Enjoy the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Mills and Lands as before under our Protection; under Condition however, that they ſhall be obliged to take a new Oath of Allegiance to the State. Thoſe on the contrary, who ſhall perſiſt in their Rebellion, or ſhall aſſiſt the Rebels under what pretence ſoever, are hereby declared Enemies of the State, who have forfeited their Lives and Eſtates, whoſe Perſons and Eſtates ſhall be liable to be proſecuted with Fire and Sword*, &c.

1643.

This Proclamation being immediately Tranſlated into the *Portugueſe* Tongue, was ſent the next morning to *St. Antonio* and the *Vergea* to be publiſhed there; Several Copies were alſo diſtributed among the Friars, in order to publiſh them from the Pulpits, and cauſe them to be affixed to the Church-Doors.

The 18th, good Store of Proviſion and Ammunition was ſent to the Fort *Keulen*, and *Rio Grande*, and the Garriſons of both theſe Places forewarned to keep upon their Guard. At the ſame time the Proclamation of Pardon was ſent thither to be publiſhed; And *Antonio Paraiba*, Chief of the *Braſilians* in thoſe Parts, was Summon'd to keep his *Braſilians* in readineſs with their Arms, whenever they ſhould be Commanded to give Proofs of their Fidelity to the Company.

The 19th of *June*, two Inhabitants of *Porto Calvo*, that were landed but the ſame Morning in a ſmall Boat on the *Receif*, brought News to the Great Council, That *Kamaron* at the Head of the *Braſilians*, and *Henry Dias*, with his armed Negroes, conſiſting in 7 Companies, had poſted themſelves in the *Alegoas* near the Sugar-Mill *Velho*; that their number was increaſed ſince to 4 or 5000 Men, by the Conjunction of thoſe who were paſſed the River *St. Francisco* through the *Marta*, and that they had begun to commit open Hoſtilities, ſo that now the Council had not the leaſt reaſon to doubt any further of the Deſign of the *Portugueſes*. The Commander of *Porto Calvo* ſent word much to the ſame purpoſe, and that he prepared for a vigorous Defence. The firſt Effects of this Inſurrection broke out in the Diſtrict of *Pojuka*, and conſidering that our whole Force there conſiſted only in 30 Men, under *Jacob Hemming* a Lieutenant, Orders were ſent him to Retreat to *St. Antonio*, there to defend themſelves with their Joint-Forces. The firſt beginning of Hoſtilities was made by thoſe of the *Pojuka*, by ſeizing upon two Boats, all

all the Paſſengers of which they took Priſoners, and ſlew them afterwards, except one Seaman who had the good Fortune to eſcape. This done, The Inhabitants both of the Village and the open Country, choſe for their Head, *Tabatinga Amador d'Arravio*, whereby they cut off our Communication with the Cape *Auſtin* by Land, and all about to the South, beſides that the Fort on the ſaid Cape, could not, but with great difficulty be ſupplied with Water from the River. 1643.

The 20th of *June*, a *Braſilian* arrived very early in the morning in the *Receif*; his Errand to the Council was, That he being ſent by *John Blaar*, from *Porto Calvo*, with Letters to the Great Council, was ſet upon by thoſe of *Poj ka*, near *Kamboa*, who took from him the ſaid Letters, and kill'd his Companion. For the reſt he told them, That *Kamaron* was poſted in the Diſtrict of *Porto Calvo*, and that Captain *John Blaar* was in the Fort. A Council being call'd to conſider of the beſt means to ſecure the *Dutch Braſil* againſt any Attempts of the Enemy, the firſt thing that fell under Debate, was, Whether, according to the general Advice of thoſe of the Inhabitants, who wiſhed well to our Government, it were not moſt Expedient for our Defence, to form a Camp to make Head againſt the Enemy in the Field; who, if once Maſter of the open Country, would force the Inhabitants to join with him, and cut off our Proviſions, without which we could not ſubſiſt long. The next thing to be taken into Conſideration, was, Where to find Forces for this Camp, the Garriſons being ſo weakly Mann'd, as not to be able to ſpare any, and the body under Captain *Wiltſchut* conſiſting only of 120 Men, beſides the 300 *Braſilians*, to be joined with him. Conſidering therefore that the whole Force in the *Allegoas* conſiſted only of two Companies under the Command of *Mucheron*, a number not any ways proportionable to the Extent of ſo large a Tract of Ground; it was judged moſt convenient to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and to draw them from thence to the *Receif*, as indeed they had been ordered before. But their way by Land being cut off by the Rebels of *Pojuka*, a Veſſel, which lay ready to go out a Cruiſing, was ordered to *Porto Franciſco*, with Orders to *Mucheron*, to Embark forthwith thoſe Forces aboard her, without having any regard to the Baggage; but the reſt, which could not be put aboard the Veſſel, ſhould be ſent by Land to *Porto Franciſco*, to Reinforce Captain *Koin*, for the better Defence of that Place. Captain *Fallo* was likewiſe ordered to march with the Garriſon of *Serinhaim* to *St. Antonio*; it being not likely that the Troops in *Serinhaim* ſhould be able to make Head there, after the coming of *Kamaron* into *Porto Calvo*, it being an Inland Country. 1643.

The ſame day, 40 new-liſted Soldiers were ſent to *Tamarika*, under Command of Captain *Peter Seulair*, Maſter of the Sugar-Mill *Harlem*; becauſe this Iſland was of the greateſt Conſequence to us; and the Garriſons of the Fort *Orange*, and the Town of *Schop*, conſiſting each of one Company, were very weak, and the armed Inhabitants did not amount to above one Company more. *A Reinforcement ſent to Tamarika.*

The ſame day, Mr. *Bas*, and Mr. *Van de Voorde*, Counſellors of the Court of Juſtice, were ordered to examine *Gaſpar Pereira* the Publick Notary, concerning his Drawing of the Inſtrument of Aſſociation; as likewiſe *John Kariero*, *de Maris*, *Franciſco Dias Delgado* Maſters of Sugar-Mills, in the Diſtrict of *Pojuka*, and *Sebaſtian Karvalho*, concerning what they knew of the intended Conſpiracy.

Karvalho declared a ſecond time, at the Houſe of Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, That ſome days ago, (he could not remember exactly which) a certain *Portugueſe* Servant, whom he knew not, did come to him in the Name of *John Fernandes Vieira*, with a Letter, in which the ſaid *Vieira* deſired him to Sign the enclоſed Writing drawn in Form of an Aſſociation, to take up Arms againſt the Government, as ſoon as they ſhould receive any Succours from the *Bahia*; which at that time was Subſcribed only by *John Fernandes Vieira*, and *Lewis da Coſta Sepulpeda*; but, as he ſuppoſed, was to be carried to moſt of the Inhabitants. He further declared, That he refuſed to Sign the ſaid Writing upon the bare Letter of *John Fernandes Vieira*, and the Hand-Writing being unknown to him, he ſent both the Letter and Inſtrument of Aſſociation back by the ſame Lad that brought it, with his Anſwer by way of Mouth, That he could not Subſcribe it. Having more maturely weighed the matter, he ſent the ſame Evening to his Friend *Fernando Vale*, to deſire him to give him a meeting the next morning upon the Hills of *Garapes*, which being done accordingly, it was agreed among them to give Notice of this Conſpiracy to the Great Council in a Letter without a Name. This Letter, with the Subſcription, of *Second Confeſſion of Karvalho.*

Plus Ultra, was writ by *Vale*, and about 1643. Ten Days after given him to Read in a Bakers Houſe in the *Pontſtreet*, and afterwards given to *Abraham Merkado* the Phyſician, who delivered it to the Great Council.

The ſame day, the 20th of *June*, the Great Council received a Letter from Mr. *Ley* and *Hoek*, dated at *St. Antonio*, importing, That the whole *Fregeſie* had taken up Arms, and made 16 or 18 *Dutch* Inhabitants Priſoners; That they had fortified the Church againſt thoſe of *Pojuka*, whom they did not queſtion to force from thence, provided they received any Succours from the *Receif*. The Council having taken the whole matter into ſerious Deliberation, and conſidering with themſelves, that, as the Caſe then ſtood, they had no great reaſon to fear any Rebellion in the North, in *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*, as long as our Fleet remained near the *Red-Land*, and judging it highly neceſſary to bring the Rebels in *Pojuka* to Reaſon, and by their Puniſhment to deter the reſt from attempting the like; they ordered Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, with a Detachment of 100 Men, to march the next Morning to *Moribeka*, there to joyn with Captain *Wilſchut*, and the *Braſilians*, and ſo continue their march to *St. Antonio*; from whence they were with their joint Forces to go directly againſt the Rebels of *Pojuka*, to reduce them to Obedience; it being otherwiſe to be feared that they would cut off all Communication betwixt the *Receif* and the Garriſons to the South. This Expedition proved ſo ſucceſsful, that the Rebels were put to flight, and Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* made himſelf Maſter both of the Town and Convent, forcing them to quit all the Paſſes thereabouts; and 40 Priſoners were releaſed, whom they had loaded with Irons in the ſaid Monaſtery. But having received Intelligence of the approach of *Kamaron* with his whole Body, againſt him, he deſired further Succours from the Great Council, to keep the Field; but the Garriſon of the *Receif* being too much weakened already, they could ſend him no other Reinforcement till the expected Succours ſhould arrive from *Holland*.

The 21ſt, It was reſolved by the Great Council, to proclaim a General Faſt all over *Dutch Braſil*, to be kept the 28th of *June*, to return Thanks to God Almighty for the great Mercy ſhewn to them on ſeveral Occaſions, but eſpecially of late in the timely diſcovery of the treacherous Deſigns of their Enemies, who intended to have ſurpriſed them when they were leaſt aware of them. 1643.

The Deſign of this Conſpiracy was laid thus by the *Portugueſes*: They intended in the *Whitſuntide* Holidays to make Solemn Rejoycings, with Feaſting, Tournaments, and ſuch like, on occaſion of ſeveral Weddings appointed for that purpoſe, unto which were to be Invited all the Chief Men of *Dutch Braſil*, both Civil and Military; whom, after they were flush'd with Wine, they intended to Murther, in Imitation of the *Sicilian Veſpers*, or the noted *Pariſian Wedding*; not queſtioning, but that, when the Heads of the *Dutch Braſil* were cut off, the reſt, when attack'd at once in divers Places, would fall an eaſie Prey into their Hands. But being prevented in this bloody Deſign for that time, *Midſummer-Day* was pitcht upon, as moſt proper for the Execution of it, when the Ships were departed out of the Harbour of the *Receif*. For the *Portugueſes* were not ignorant, that we having received no freſh Supplies, eſpecially of Gun-Powder, for a conſiderable time out of *Holland*, our Magazines were but very indifferently ſupplied both with Ammunition and Proviſions; and that conſequently we muſt ſoon be reduced to great Extremity, if they were Maſters of the Field: They knew alſo, That all our Ships, except two, were ready to ſail with the firſt fair Wind, being already fallen down to the *Red-Land*; Thus being ſenſible of our Weakneſs, the *Portugueſes* propoſed to themſelves no leſs than the Conqueſt of the whole *Dutch Braſil* at one ſtroke. But the whole Deſign being diſcovered before *Midſummer-Day*, it vaniſh'd into Smoak, both ſides betaking themſelves to Decide the Matter by Arms.

The *Portugueſes* pretended not ſo much the Allegiance due to their King, as Liberty of Conſcience; notwithſtanding which, we have all the Reaſon in the World to imagine, That this Inſurrection was undertaken not only with the Knowledge, but alſo at the Inſtigation of the Court of *Portugal*, and of thoſe of the *Bahia*; it being very improbable, That *Kamaron*, *Henry Dias*, and the reſt of the Ring-leaders, ſhould without the Approbation of the King of *Portugal*, have attempted to attack us by open Force. Beſides this, *Mocheron* declares to have Read in a *Portugueſe* Commiſſion theſe Words: *This Revolt and War undertaken*

1643. *taken for the Honour of God, the propagating of the Roman Catholick Faith, for the service of the King and common Liberty*: He further adds, that he has heard ſeveral *Portugueſes* ſay, That if they miſcarried in their Deſign of chaſing us out of *Braſil*, to deſtroy all with Fire and Sword, thereby to bereave us of all future proſpect of receiving any benefit from thoſe Lands; which done, they would retire with their Wives and Children to the *Bahia*, or ſettle in ſome more remote place, where they might be ſecure againſt any attempts of the *Dutch*. There have indeed been ſome, who, conſidering the unſettled Eſtate of the King of *Portugal*, and the odd fancy of his Reign, have thought it very improbable, he ſhould involve himſelf in a War with us, or have given his conſent to this inſinuation, but the Event has ſufficiently contradicted that Opinion.

A Letter from the heads of the Rebels to the Council.

The 22d of *June* a Letter was delivered to the *Great Council*, Signed by *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, *John Peſcoa*, *Manuel Kavalkanti*, *Antonio Bezerra* and *Coſmo de Craſto Paſos*; in which they complained, That they being a conſiderable time ago accuſed by the *Jews* of a treacherous Deſign againſt the Government, had been great ſufferers upon that ſcore; That now they being informed by the ſame *Jews* that they were in danger of loſing all their Mills and Lands, to be given to certain *Hollanders*, who were ſent for, for that purpoſe, they deſired that the time of five Days appointed in the laſt Pardon might be prolonged, as being too ſhort for a buſineſs of ſuch moment, and that the ſaid Pardon might be granted without exception; which they refuſing to grant, they did hereby proteſt before God and all the *Roman* Catholick Princes, that they thought themſelves Innocent and not in the leaſt guilty of all thoſe miſeries, which might enſue from this refuſal hereafter.

The Council debate the matter.

The 23d in the Morning the Council was aſſembled, to conſider of the ſaid Letter; where after ſeveral harangues upon the preſent State of our Affairs and the Enemy's Deſign againſt us, they were divided in their Opinions, ſome being for granting a general Pardon, without the leaſt exception, as the caſe ſtood with us at preſent, when we were deſtitute of ſufficient Proviſion, Ammunition and Men; others maintained, that a Letter which contained ſo many notorious untruths deſerved not the leaſt Anſwer; others were of another opinion. Whilſt they were thus debating the matter, Letters were brought 1643. to the Council, written by Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* from St. *Antonio*, that he was ready to attack the Rebels of *Pojuka* the next Day, not without hopes of good ſucceſs, ſo that the Council conſidering of what moment the Event of this Action was to their Affairs, reſolved to adjourn the ſaid debate till the next Day, when they hoped to know the iſſue of the whole Enterpriſe.

The 28th of *June*, *Mucheron* arrived with his two Companies in the *Receif* from the *Allegoas*; where it was reſolved to diſpoſe his own Company in the *Quinqueregular* Fort, of which, as a place of great conſequence, he was made Commander in Chief; the other of Captain *Will. Lambert* was put in the Fort *Erneſtus*.

Good news out of Parayba.

By Letters from *Paul Linge*, Governour of *Parayba*, Dated the 25th of *June*, we received Advice, that the Inhabitants thereabouts offered to give him freſh aſſurance of their Fidelity, by taking a new Oath of Allegiance, and that he did not obſerve the leaſt motion towards an Inſurrection.

Jacob Daſſine Maſter of the Sugar-Mill *Supapema*, who had been abroad with a good Party, made his report to the Council, that he had been at ſeveral Sugar-Mills, where he had met with about 200 of the Enemies Troops divided into divers ſmall bodies, compoſed of *Portugueſes*, Mulats and Negro's, under the Command of *Amador de Araonje*, *Antonio de Craſto*, one *Taborda* and *Henry Dias*.

The 29th of *June*, by ſpecial Commiſſion from the Council, *Balthaſar Vander Voerden* examined *Antonio d' Oliveira*, concerning the Deſign of the *Portugueſes* formed againſt our Government. He declared, That about the beginning of this preſent *June*, being then at the Houſe of *Sebaſtian de Karvalho*, together with *Franciſco d' Oliveira*, *Bernardin Karvalho*, and the before-named *Sebaſtian de Karvalho*, a certain *Portugueſe* very well known to them all, delivered to him a Letter, directed to all the Perſons there preſent, with another piece of Writing unſealed, which he began to read; but finding the Contents to be, that the underwritten Perſons promiſed to be and declare themſelves faithful Subjects of the King of *Portugal*, and that *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Franciſco Beringel*, *Antonio de Sylva*, and ſeveral more,

Before-named Examination and Confeſſion of Antonio Oliveira.

1643. more, whose Names he would not look upon, had signed the same, he returned the said Writing, and refused to subscribe the same, telling his Son at the same time, *You ought rather to suffer your Hand to be cut off, than Sign this Paper*; and so went his way immediately, not any one of all there present having Subscribed their Names at that time: He protested he knew not the Hand-Writing. After a more serious consideration, he thought it requisite to make a discovery of it, which he did accordingly within two Days after, to *Matthew Keex*, desiring him, to give an account of it to the Great Council; He declared further that the said writing was signed by above 100 of the Inhabitants.

Diego Lopez Leyte examined.

The 30th of *June* one *Diego Lopez Leyte*, who was not long ago taken Prisoner by the *Brasilians*, was examined by Mr. *Ballestrate*, *Doutzom* and some other Military Officers. His Confession was, that at the first beginning of the Design of the *Portuguese* against this State, they had sent a Letter to the Governour of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Silva*, to crave assistance from him, which if he refused, they would seek for aid in *Spain*, and if they did not succeed there, they would rather surrender themselves to the *Turks*, than endure any longer the ill treatment they met with from the *Hollanders*. That nevertheless he had heard many dire imprecations made against *John Fernandes Vieira*, that he deserved no less than the Gallows, he having raised this Rebellion for no other end, than thereby to free himself from the vast Debts he owed to the Company.

The same Day it was agreed to send abroad a Party of Twelve Soldiers and Eight *Brasilians*, to fetch a good quantity of *Farinha* from St. *Laurence*, who were put to the rout near that place, so that very few escaped. At the same time the Council received the unwelcome news, that some of the Inhabitants of *Iguarassi* had taken up Arms against them.

In the beginning of *July* it was resolved to draw the Fortifications of *Maurice's Town* into a narrower compass, and to add a new Line with a Breast-work. This task was performed by the Negro's belonging to the Inhabitants of *Maurice's Town* and the *Receif*; under the Conduct of Vice Admiral *Lichthart*, who took care to have the same perfected, according to the Model drawn by the Engineer.

The same Day Advice was brought, That *John Laurence Frances*, and *John Dias Leyte*, Inhabitants of *Iguarassi*, made it their business to incite the Inhabitants to an Insurrection. Captain *Slayter* sent also word from *Tamarika*, that about 80 Men, and 110 Women and Children, all *Brasilians* of the Villages of St. *Michael* and *Nassau*, were come into that Island for shelter, and that the *Brasilians* of *Ora* intended to do the like. The Magistrates and chief *Portuguese* of *Goyana*, gave the Council fresh assurances of their Fidelity, provided they might in case of necessity be allowed to retire into the said Island, which was granted, and thanks given them for their Loyalty. The Magistrates of *Iguarassi* advised, that *Vieira* had caused a Declaration to be affixed in the Sugar-Mills of *Gonsalvo Novo de Lira*, which they had ordered to be torn down, and sent a Copy of it to the Council; assuring them, that they would take all possible care to keep the Inhabitants thereabouts under Obedience, tho' they found some of them much inclined to a Revolt.

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Fernandes Vale examined.

At the same time *Fernandes Vale* was examined by Mr. *Vander Voorde* and Mr. *Bas*; He declar'd, That having received a Letter from *Sebastian de Karvalho*, to meet him the next Morning upon the Hills *Guarapes*, because he had something to communicate to him, concerning no less than their Estates, Lives and Honour; he without mentioning any thing of it to his Wife, or Brother, went thither on Horse-back, accompanied only by a Boy; notwithstanding he hapned at that time to be afflicted with the Gravel; There he met *Sebastian Karvalho*, with one Boy only, who told him, That he having received a Letter, with another writing, containing a Project of an Insurrection to be undertaken against the Government, he thought it absolutely necessary, to give notice thereof to the Great Council; and that he desired him to write a Letter accordingly, to the Council, he being pretty well versed in the *Dutch* Tongue. That *Vale* ask'd him, whether any body besides himself knew of the matter, unto which he answered, That his Brother *Bernardin* did, whose Opinion was likewise to disclose it to the Council; Hereupon they returning each to their respective homes, *Vale* writ a Letter in *Portuguese*, pursuant to the Instructions he had received from *Karvalho*, for whom the said Letter was left to peruse in a Bakers House, on a publick Fair Day for the Sale of Negro's; after which

1643. which he had ſent the ſaid Letter incloſed in another, to Dr. *Markado*, deſiring him to ſee the ſame carefully diſpatcht to the Great Council, without mentioning the Contents thereof.

The Great Council receiving frequent Intelligence, That the *Portugueſes* from the *Bahia* intended to ſend a Fleet to the Aſſiſtance of the Rebels, it was reſolved to ſend Orders to the four Ships, the *Amſterdam*, the *Blackmore*, the *North-Holland*, and *Groningen*, then at Anchor near the *Red-Land*, in order to their return to *Holland*, to return forthwith to the *Receif*; the Government ſtanding in great need of their Aſſiſtance, to prevent the Conjunction of the Forces from the *Bahia* with the Rebels. They received alſo Letters from Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, dated at *Pojuka* the 26th of *June*, aſſuring them, That he had granted Paſſes to above 200 Perſons that were returned to their Duty; That two or three of the Ringleaders, excepted in the laſt Pardon, ſued for the ſame favour; and that he had cauſed one *Francko Godinho*, one of the Chief of the Rebels, taken by his People, to be hanged on the Gallows he had erected himſelf; That *Amador d'Araouje* being gone from thence with 150 Men, to the *Vergea* to join with *Vieira*, he expected their Orders whether he ſhould follow him, he looking upon it as a faint to draw him from thence. He further told them, That with the *Braſilians*, and their Wives and Children, he was above 500 ſtrong, and that unleſs they were ſoon ſupplied with Proviſions from the *Receif*, they ſhould conſume all the Cattle thereabouts.

The Council recal their Ships from the Red-Land.

The Great Council ſent an Anſwer the ſame Night to Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, requiring him, to Grant free Pardon to all who ſhould deſire it, not excepting the Ringleaders themſelves, thereby to weaken *Amador d'Araouje*, and his Party. That with what Forces he could ſpare in *Pojuka*, (after ſufficient Proviſion made for the Defence of the Garriſons, according to their own Diſcretion) he ſhould march to the *Receif*, in order to attack *Vieira*, where they need not fear but to be able to ſubſiſt, upon what the ſaid *Vieira* had laid up for the uſe of the expected Succours from the *Bahia*, and the Cattle belonging to the Rebels.

But whilſt Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* was employed in ſecuring *Pojuka* againſt their Attempts, thoſe of the *Vergea* ſtrengthned themſelves with all poſſible diligence; to further which, *John Fernandes Vieira*, and *Antonio Kavalkanti*, who ſtiled themſelves the Heads of this War, did not only affix their Declarations round about *Maurice*'s Town, and in *Iguarafu*, inciting the Inhabitants to Rebellion, by promiſing them conſiderable Succours from the *Bahia*; but their Parties alſo, which they ſent frequently abroad, forced thoſe of the open Country to take up Arms, killing ſuch as refuſed. The ſame was practiſed by *Amador d'Araouje* in *Pojuka*; ſo, that what with Proviſions, what with Threats and Force, they got together a conſiderable Body in the *Vergea*, we being not in a capacity to prevent it, becauſe what Forces we had were in *Pojuka*.

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But judging it abſolutely for our Intereſt to ſtop as much as poſſible theſe Proceedings, it was reſolved to arm ſome of the luſty young Fellows with Firelocks, which they were furniſhed withal by the Citizens, (there being none in Magazines) and to join with them a Detachment of the Garriſon, beſides 10 *Braſilians*, that were lately arrived under *Peter Potti*.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, Captain *John Blaar* received Orders to put himſelf at the head of 300 Men, with whom he was to march with all imaginable Secreſie from the *Receif*; and by lying in Ambuſh near the Paſſes, to endeavour to intercept ſome of the Enemies Troops, not queſtioning, but that out of the Priſoners, they ſhould be able to learn where *Vieira* was poſted with his main Body, and of what Strength, both he, and the Succours from the *Bahia* was reputed to be among them. He had ſtrict Orders not to moleſt any of the Inhabitants, who were not in Arms, but to protect them and their Eſtates; and to receive thoſe who ſought for Mercy, and bring them into the *Receif*. Orders were alſo ſent to Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* to march with what Forces could poſſibly be ſpared out of the Garriſons to the South, to the *Vergea*, in order to joyn with Captain *Blaar*, and endeavour to attack the Heads of the Rebels, which if they could once put to the rout, might be a means to ſquench the whole fire of Rebellion, and to reſtore Peace to the *Dutch Braſil*.

Captain Blaar ſent abroad with ſome Troops.

The firſt of *July*, it was debated in Council, Whether all ſuch Perſons as were ſuſpected to have a hand in the Conſpiracy, ought not to be granted to all that deſired it, without Exception. The laſt was reſolved upon as conducing

...noff to the quieting of the Subjects
1643. Minds.

The 2d in the Evening, the Council received Advice from Captain *Blair*, That he was posted at *Mongoppe*, with an Intention to Attack the Enemy, wherever he met them.

The 3d he marched to *Iguassu*.

The 4th they received Letters from Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, from *St. An...* importing, That after having left a Garrison in *Tocka* under Lieutenant ... at *Brantians* in *St. An...*, he was ready to march to the Su... *Farros*, and from thence to *Mo...* where he would expect their ... Orders.

... time the Inhabitants of ... fortified themselves in a ... House, belonging to *Lisbon* their ... Magistrate, they desired the Coun... to furnish them with 40 Muskets, ... of Ammunition them as were ... Arms. Their Request ... ; ... tive Orders sent at ... to ... Governour, to ... endeavour to disarm all the ... by fair or foul means; ..., He should keep the *Dutch* ... a Body as much as possibly ... ; his Answer was, *He would* ... *to Disarm the* Portugueses *by* ..., *we want power to do it by*. Besides which, he gave notice in ... dated the 11th of *July*, That ... remained quiet hitherto in ..., but that the *Brasilians*, contrary ... express Orders claiming a ... to be Commanded by none ... own Officers, pursuant to a ... of the Council of XIX. had in ... Passage to *Tamaraka*, plundered se... the *Portugese* Inhabitants.

... the Rebellious *Portugueses* had ... Wives and Children in their ... Mills, which as it tended to ... Inconvenience, so some of the faithful *Portugese* Inhabitants did propose on the 3d of *July* to the Great Council, Whether it would not be for their Interest to oblige those Wives and Children to quit their Houses and Mills, and to send them after their Husbands. Several Reasons were alledged for it.

I. Because the Rebels being encumbered with their Families, must of necessity make greater Consumption of *Victuals*, and other Provisions; which would oblige them the sooner to alter their Measures, and to change their Places.

II. That thereby they would be much disheartned, for fear of a vigorous Attack. 1643.

III. That they would not be able to march or to change their Camp so conveniently as before, or to lurk in unhabitable Places.

IV. That by the removal of these Women, who served them as Spies by the help of their Negro's, we should take away all opportunity from them, to be informed of our Designs.

All which Reasons being well weighed, the following Proclamation was published.

A Proclamation for the Removal of the Rebels Wives and Children.

THE *Great Council of* Brasil, *by the Authority of the States General of the* United Provinces, *his Highness the Prince of* Orange, *and the* West-India *Company, make known unto every Body, that whereas many of those, who have fled to the Three Head Rebels,* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *against this State, have left behind them their Wives, Children, and Families, which hitherto continue in their former dwelling Places; We do by these Presents strictly Command all the Wives and Children, whether Male or Female, whose Husbands and Fathers are engaged with the Rebel, to leave their respective Houses within six Days after the publication of this Proclamation; and to repair to their respective Husbands and Fathers, or else to incur the Penalties due to Rebels; it being Our Resolution to take the same into Our Protection; nay, to take away Our Safe-Guards from all such of Our Subjects as shall be found to Harbour or Conceal these before said Wives, Children, and their Effects; unless the Husbands and Fathers of these Wives and Children shall within the limited time of six days, return to their Dwelling Places, and Sue for Pardon to the Council.*

Thus Decreed in the Assembly of the Great Council of *Brasil*.

About this time, near 1000 *Brasilians*, among whom were 369 Men, the rest Women and Children, being retired to the Isle *Tamaraka*, to shelter themselves against the Rebellious *Portugueses*, Mr. *Dormont* Counsellor of the Finances, was sent thither in the beginning of *July*, as Supream

1643. Supream Director of the Territory of *Iguarassu*, to secure that Iſland, which was of ſo great conſequence to the State, in our Intereſt.

The 5th of *July*, a Proclamation was iſſued againſt the Three Chief Rebels, *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, declaring their Lives and Eſtates to be Forfeited, offering a Reward for the Apprehending of them, as follows.

A Proclamation for Apprehending the Three Head Rebels.

THE *Great Council of* Braſil, *by Authority of the States General of the* United Provinces, *his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange, *and the* Weſt-India *Company, ſend Greeting: Be it known by all, That whereas we are fully ſatisfied, That* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *ſetting aſide their Allegiance, have a conſiderable time ago entred into a Conſpiracy againſt the State, ſending their Letters throughout ſeveral Pregeſies of our Juriſdiction, to Excite our Subjects to a Revolt; That they have gathered and ſtill are gathering Forces to maintain their treacherous Deſigns againſt this State, forcing our faithful Subjects to joyn with them, threatning with Death ſuch as refuſed to enter into this Rebellion; nay, having cauſed ſeveral, as well* Hollanders, *as* Brazilians, *to be Murthered upon that ſcore. That they have affixed and publiſhed Declarations in ſeveral Places, tending to the Diſquieting and Diſturbing the Minds of the Subjects of this State, with the Name and Title of Governours of this War, (whereas they ought to have ſtiled themſelves faithleſs Traitors) covering their villanous Deſigns under the Name of the Divine Majeſty, beſides many other Miſdemeanors, whereby they have rendred themſelves guilty of High Treaſon. It is for theſe Reaſons, that we thought it our Duty to Declare, the abovenamed* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje, *and by theſe Preſents do Declare them Enemies of this State, Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and Our good Subjects, Rebels and Traitors againſt their Lawful Magiſtrates; and to have Forfeited all their Privileges, Rights, Lives and Eſtates; and as ſuch, We grant not only free leave to every one to Apprehend or to Kill the ſaid* John Fernandes Vieira, Antonio Kavalkanti, *and* Amador d'Araouje; *but alſo promiſe a Reward of* 1000 Charles's *Gilders, to ſuch or ſuch Perſons as ſhall do ſo ſignal a piece of Service to the Company, as to Apprehend either of thoſe Perſons, ſo as they may be brought to Juſtice; And the like Reward to any Perſon who ſhall Kill either of the ſaid Traitors, beſides his Pardon for any Offence he may have committed before; and if he be a Slave, his Liberty, together with the Reward. We alſo ſtrictly Command by theſe Preſents, all the Inhabitants of this State, of what Quality, Degree, or Nation ſoever, That they ſhall not preſume to Aſſiſt the ſaid Rebels with Arms, Proviſions, Money, Men, and Ammunition, or Harbour, Conceal, or Adviſe them in any Reſpect, or keep the leaſt Correſpondence with them; under pain of being declared Traitors, and to be puniſhed as ſuch with the utmoſt rigour*, &c. 1643.

Whilſt the Great Council were thus endeavouring to quench the Flame of Rebellion, they received frequent Intelligence, That beſides the Succours already come to the Rebels from the *Bahia* by Land, by way of *Rio St. Franciſco*, they expected a conſiderable Fleet from thence; it was reſolved to ſend once more ſome Deputies, to the Governour *Antonio Telles da Silva*, to repreſent to him, That *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* being under his Juriſdiction, their entring in an Hoſtile manner into the *Dutch Braſil*, could not be interpreted otherwiſe than a Breach of the Truce concluded betwixt the King of *Portugal* and their High and Mightineſſes the States General.

Deputies ſent to the Governor of the Bahia.

The Perſons pitch'd upon for this purpoſe were *Balthaſar Vander Voerde*, Counſellor of the Court of Juſtice, and *Dirk Van Hoogſtrate*, then Commander in Chief to the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, who, being look'd upon at that time as a very Loyal Perſon, was ſent for the 4th of *July*, leaving *Baron Van Tichlenborgh* to Command in his abſence. *Francis Krynen Springapple* was appointed their Secretary, and *Gerrard Dirk Laet*, *Alexander Sylve*, and *Jacob Swarts*, to attend them as Gentlemen.

Their Inſtructions.

Their Inſtructions were: To lay open to the Governour the true Reaſon and Occaſion of this Inſurrection, and the Ringleaders thereof, who would never have dared to attempt it without the Hopes of Succours, which was ſent them by Land through *Rio St. Franciſco*: They were to ſearch into his Intentions as near as poſſibly they could, and to deſire him to recal *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their Troops out of the *Dutch Braſil*, and to punish them according to their Deſerts. If they found the Governor not

1643. not inclined to give them due Satisfaction, by recalling thoſe Troops either by publick Proclamation, or ſending ſome Perſon of Authority to bring them back, or by giving them ſome other real Demonſtrations of his ſincere Intention before their Departure, they were to proteſt to, and to Declare themſelves innocent of all the Damages, Murthers, and Rapines, committed as well againſt the *Hollanders*, as *Portugueſes* and *Braſilians*, already committed or to be committed by thoſe Forces. They were to Declare to the Governour, That they would look upon it as an open Breach of Peace, and Act of Hoſtility, of which they muſt give an Account to their Maſters, who, without queſtion would know how to make themſelves amends for the Damages ſuſtained; and to Proteſt once more, That the *Dutch* declared themſelves Innocent of all the Miſeries which muſt enſue from their taking up Arms for their own Defence, after their ſo reaſonable Requeſt had been rejected.

Accordingly they ſet Sail the 9th of *July* 1645. from the *Recif*, in the Ship called the *Forbuck*, and coming to an Anchor the 17th in the *Bahia*, were in the Name of the Governour *Antonio Telles da Silva*, Complimented aboard their Ships, by ſeveral *Portugueſe* Gentlemen, from whom they asked leave to come aſhore, having ſeveral Matters of moment to propoſe to him, in the Name of the Great Council of *Braſil*.

The next day being the 18th of *July*, about Noon, Lieutenant Colonel *Andrew Vidal*, and Captain *Pedro Kavalkanti*, with ſome other Officers, came in a Brigantine to fetch them to the Palace; where, after the firſt Compliments, they delivered their Credentials, telling the Governour, That out of thoſe he would underſtand, that they were ſent to Treat with him of certain Points; which they were ready to propoſe, either now, or whenever he ſhould be diſpoſed to receive them. The Governour, after the uſual return of Compliments, and peruſal of the Credentials, told them, That he was ready to hear them whenever they pleaſed; whereupon they propoſed,

That ſome *Portugueſes* Subjects of their High and Mightineſſes the States General of the *United Provinces*, have entred into a Cabal, in order to take up Arms, and Attack *Pernambuka*; to effect which, they have by certain Letters, ſolicited their Fellow Subjects, to enter into a Rebellion, and provided themſelves with Arms in hopes of Succours from abroad. That in the beginning of *May*, *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* with their *Braſilians* and Negro's, and ſome *Portugueſes*, being on their march in an Hoſtile manner to *Pernambuko*, *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and *Amador d'Araouje*, with other *Portugueſes* their Accomplices had no ſooner notice of their coming, but they abſconded from their Houſes, gathered what Forces they could, ſome by force, ſome otherwiſe, publiſh'd their Declarations, ſtiling themſelves, Governors of this War for the publick Liberty; all which they undertook upon hopes of being backt by Foreign Troops That through God's Mercy, their Maſters did not want Power to protect their faithful Subjects, and to puniſh the Rebels according to their Deſerts: But as they could not comprehend, what it was that could induce theſe Foreign Troops to enter their Territories in time of Peace, in order to Aid their Rebellious Subjects againſt them, ſo they were at a ſtand, how to deal with them. That the Great Council, as well as all the reſt of the Inhabitants, being too well acquainted with his Excellencies Extraction, exquiſite Knowledge in State Affairs, and the good Neighbourly Correſpondency he had always cultivated with our Government, than to harbour the leaſt thought, that he ſhould give the leaſt Encouragement to any of his Subjects, to Aid Rebellious Subjects againſt their Soveraigns: That they were ſenſible he would uſe all poſſible means to prevent it. It was for this Reaſon, that they were ſent by the GreatCouncil, to give his Excellency notice of the Hoſtilities committed by *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias*, deſiring that he would be pleaſed not only to Command them not to aſſiſt the Rebels with their Troops, but alſo to retire out of *Pernambuko* and the other *Captainſhips* under the *Dutch* Juriſdiction; that ſo the Rebels being diſappointed of their Aſſiſtance, might be ſooner reduced to their former Obedience, and our Subjects enjoy the benefit of the Truces ſtipulated betwixt his preſent Majeſty of *Portugal*, Don *John* IV. and their High and Mightineſſes the States General. All which, the Great Council of *Braſil*, highly recommended to his Excellencies Conſideration, in a Letter which was then delivered by the Deputies to the Governour, which is as follows:

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1643.

A Letter from the Great Council to the Governour of the BAHIA.

IT is sufficiently known to your Excellency with what strictness the Truce betwixt his Majesty of Portugal, *and the High and Mighty the States General of the United Provinces, has been observed in all its circumstances by the Inhabitants of the* Dutch Brasil; *even according to the constitution of those of the* Bahia, *and other places, who have of late passed through our Captainships; neither have we ever received the least complaints upon that account, either from the King your Master, or from your Excellency, all which gave us sufficient reason to believe, that you would not in the least consent, that your Subjects should attempt any thing contrary to the said Truce. And, tho' some of the* Portuguese *Inhabitants, Subjects of the States, laying aside their Allegiance, have taken up Arms, and are risen in Rebellion against this State, as soon as* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias *at the head of their* Brasilians *and Negro's, besides some* Portugueses, *did, without Licence, or the least encouragement from us, enter our Territories, contrary to the Law of Nations, and joining with the Re[illegible], exercised open Hostilities against our Subjects, not like Soldiers, but Robbers and Thieves; yet can we not be perswaded, that those Troops should have made this attempt by Order or Consent of his Majesty of* Portugal, *or your Excellency, against us your Confederate.*

Thanks be to God we don't want means to [illegible] revolted Subjects to reason, and [illegible] those Foreign Troops; but to shew to all the World, how ready we are to fulfill [illegible] Command of our Masters, to [illegible] inviolately the Truce betwixt his Majesty and them; and to remove all sinister Interpretations, which might be made in Foreign Courts upon this head, as also to give sufficient opportunity to his Majesty of Portugal *and your Excellency to convince the World, that you have neither consented to, neither abetted this Conspiracy; We in the Name of their High and Mightinesses the States General, his Highness the Prince of* Orange, *and the Governours of the* West-India *Company, have sent Mr.* Balthasar Van Voerden, *Councellor of the Court of Justice, and* Dirk Van Hoogstrate, *Commander in chief on the Cape of St.* Austin, *as our Deputies to you, with full power to propose these Points to you; and, to desire you forthwith to recall the said* Kamaron, Henry Dias *and other Leaders, with their Troops, within a limited time out of our Territories, either by publick Proclamation or such other means, as your Excellency shall think most forcible or expedient; and to punish them according to their deserts; and if they refuse to obey, to declare them open Enemies of his Majesty; it being impossible for us to conceive, how due satisfaction can be given without it, to their High and Mightinesses, to the Prince of* Orange, *and the* West-India *Company, which nevertheless we ought and do expect from your Excellency.*

Subscribed, Your Excellencies,

Well meaning Friends,

On the side stood, Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bulleſtraten,
From the *Receif,* P. J. P[illegible],
July 7. 1642. J. Van Walbeck, *and*
Henry de Macheron

The Governour gave immediate Answer to the Deputies Propositions, That he was so far from sending any Succours to the Rebels, that he had not had the least knowledge of it. That the *Brasilians* and Negro's were disbanded by his Majesty's Order, and that these as well as the *Portugueses* among them that were come to the assistance of the Rebels, could be in no great numbers (consisting) as he supposed in some Vagabonds, or others, who having committed misdemeanours in the *Bahia*, had taken this opportunity to shelter themselves and flee from punishment; as it frequently happened that such like Persons did come to the *Bahia* from *Pernambuko*, which nevertheless had given him not the least suspicion of the Councils sincerity. He told them that he was extreamly glad to understand the good Confidence, their Masters reposed in him, of maintaining the Truce concluded betwixt his Majesty of *Portugal* and their High and Mightinesses the States General, assuring them, that he never should be prevailed upon, to act contrary to it; for fear of hazarding his Life. And, that if he had any such intention, he did not want means to attempt it, by the assistance of the *Brasilians*. But that he had never had any thoughts that way, notwitstanding he had been provoked to it by the *Dutch*, who since the Truce had taken a *Portuguese* Ship, and carried it to the *Receif*; which by the bravery of the *Portugueses* was delivered from the *Hollanders*, and they and the Ship brought

to the *Rabia*; the *Dutch* Mariners being 1643. dismissed without any punishment. He told them further, That he was not insensible what an opinion their Masters entertained of his Sincerity; and that he had reason to believe, that they had at this time, as they had done before, sent their Deputies chiefly to feel his Pulse, to enquire into his Strength, and to dive into his Designs. That however he would communicate the Letter to his Council, and give them a speedy Answer, in order to their return home, pursuant to the request of their Masters. Then the Governour arising from his Seat, the Deputy's took their leave and returned aboard.

Their second Audience. The 19th in the Morning they were sent for a shoar by a Lieutenant, and brought to the House of Lieutenant Colonel *Pedro Korea de Gama*, where they dined in Company of *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo de Kunha*. Towards the Evening they were again conducted to the Palace, where the Secretary desired them to tarry a Minute, because his Excellency was busie with closing his Letters; After some stay they were introduced to the Governour, who told them: That he had understood the Contents of the Letter, which he found altogether agreeable to the Propositions made to him the Day before, by way of Mouth, by them; which consisted chiefly in two Points.

The Governours second answer. First, The good Opinion their Masters had of his sincere intention, in maintaining a good correspondency with them; in order to maintain the Truce betwixt his Majesty and the States General; and the confidence they had, of his not being concerned in the Rebellion, either by encouraging or assisting the same. Wherefore he desired, they would continue in the same Sentiments, because he never had made the least infraction of the said Truce, neither ever thought of any thing like it, nor suffered any of his Subjects, to act contrary to it; notwithstanding said he, the *Hollanders* have broke the same in several respects, viz. in their Expeditions against *Angola*, St. *Thomas*, and *Maribo*; by the plundering of *Pedro Celar Mines*, who had been basely used during his Imprisonment, not like a Man of Quality, being forced to shelter himself among the Woods, after his escape. They had also taken a *Portuguese* Ship in his own Harbour. Neither did the Inhabitants of *Pernambuko* want reasons of complaint as well as the other *Captainships*; He had understood out of several Letters from thence, how the *Jews* were always busie in forging Accusations against them, which were taken for truth, and when the *Portugueses* had thereupon absconded themselves out of fear, the *Tapoyers* or Mountaineers were armed against them; among the rest they had caused a poor Hermit to be Hanged. The Great Council had always given him sufficient proofs of their Suspicion, in the last Ambassy, being intended to no other purpose, (as Captain *Hoogstrate* could testifie) than to dive into his Designs and Strength. Thus it was reported and believed, that *Andrew Vidal* and *Paulo Kunha*, with several other Officers were sent by him into *Pernambuko*, tho' they saw them here before their Eyes.

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Upon the Second Point, concerning the Troops, said to be sent to *Pernambuko*, he gave for Answer, That they must be some *Brasilians* and Negro's, lately disbanded; who were of little account, as we were sensible our selves: That if a few *Portugueses* were among them, they must be supposed to be Criminals who were fled from Justice; That he was not unwilling to call them back by Proclamation, but feared that he should be but slenderly obeyed by a sort of People, who could not be kept in obedience within his own Jurisdiction. That to satisfie our request, and to remove all reasons of complaint, he intended to send his Deputies shortly to *Pernambuko*; all which he had more clearly expresst in his Letter to the Great Council, wherewith he would, according to the request of our Masters, dispatch us with all imaginable speed.

The Deputies replied, That their Masters had never entertained any suspicion of his Excellency, neither had they given any Orders to dive into his Designs; but always had a favourable Opinion of his firm adherence to the Truce; as might be evidenced by Mr. *Andrew Vidal*, who during his stay with them, had liberty to go where he pleased, without any attendance but his own. That what he objected concerning the Accusations of the *Jews* was of no moment, the same being never hearkned to, the intended insurrection being discovered by Persons of unquestionable Credit. That *John Fernandes Vieira*, *Antonio Kavalkanti*, and others their adherents, had always been protected against

1643. against any false Accusations, and had free access to all the Councellors of the Court of Justice, and those of other Colonies, as well as the Chiefest among the *Dutch*; so that they had no reason to abscond out of fear for the *Tapoyers*, who never were intended to be employed against them. That they did not know of any Hermit that was Hanged by them, but remembred that in an Engagement with *Amador d' Araouje*, such a one was Shot by the *Brasilians* as he was Ringing the Bell to give the Alarum.

They further told him, That tho' they had no orders to treat with his Excellency upon any other Points, than those that concern the Rebellion, they could easily make it out before all the World that *Angola*, and the other places, were conquered according to the Rules of War, without the least infraction of the Truce, it having been expresly stipulated, that the War should continue in those Parts, till the same was published there. The *Brasilians*, Negro's and *Portugueses* were come in considerable numbers into our Territories, not like disbanded Soldiers, but well armed, and their coming was not unexpected, but well known to the Rebels; But the Council was not so much concerned for their number, as to be satisfied, under whose Authority they had taken up Arms against them, that they might deal with them accordingly But however it was, they desired his Excellency to believe, that their Masters would be extreamly glad to understand his good Inclinations, that thereby the effusion of humane Blood might be saved; intreating him, to send his Deputies forthwith with the necessary Instructions.

The Governour promised to send his Deputies soon after their return to *Pernambuko*, telling them, that, as he thought himself secure of the good Neighbourly correspondency of their Masters, so he was resolved to continue in the same on his side. What he had proposed for the rest, had been only by way of Discourse, not with an intention to enter into a dispute concerning the legality or illegality of it; tho' it appear'd very odd to him, that they should assist his Master at home, and at the same time wage War with him in other Parts, under pretence, that the Peace was not published there; and what had passed with *Pedro Cesar de Mines* was a thing not justifiable in his understanding.

After the usual Compliments he arose from his Seat, telling them, That he would send the Letter directed to the Council, to them aboard the next Day; and so our Deputies returned aboard their Ship. The 20th in the Morning the Secretary of the Governour came aboard our Vessel, with the Governours Letter to the Council, which he delivered to the Deputies, requesting in his Masters Name, to send him a Translation of the Letter from the Council to the Governour out of the *Dutch* into *Portuguese*, Subscribed with their own Hands; which they did, and having delivered the same to the Secretary, he took his leave and returned a Shoar.

[illegible]

Our People set Sail the same Day about Noon from the *Bahia* to *Pernambuko*, where they arrived the 28th in the Afternoon before the *Receif*, and gave an account the same Day of their Negotiation to the Great Council, unto whom they also delivered the Letter Written by *Antonio Telles de Silva*, and directed to them. The Contents of which were as follows.

[illegible] Receif.

The Governours Letter to the Council.

The Governours Letter to the Council.

MR. Balthasar Vander Voerden *Councellor of Justice, and Captain* Dirk Van Hoogstrate *Commander in Chief on the Cape of St.* Austin, *your Lordships Deputies have delivered your Letter to me, in which you are pleased to give me notice of the revolt of some of your Subjects against you. I received this News as I ought to do, and should not have been able to receive it without the greatest surprise and discomposure of Mind, if I had not been assured in my Conscience, that your Lordships did not in the least imagine, that this Insurrection could derive its source from our Government; And, tho' I could upon this occasion enter upon a long recital, of the proceedings of my Government, tending from its beginning till now, to a sufficient Justification, in the Eyes of all the World, and of the greatest Kings and Princes of Christendom, that the said good correspondency has been maintained as strictly on our side, as the same is promised in your Lordships Letter: But rather than give the least occasion of disgust or difference, by enlarging my self upon those Heads, in which your Subjects have expressly and manifestly violated the Truce concluded and ratified betwixt the King my Master, and the States General of the United Provinces, I will Sacrifice the same to the Interest of our common Neighbourhood, than to enter*

upon

1643. upon a particular account of those miscarriages, in the Expedition of Angola, at a time, when the States General did assist the Crown of Portugal with their Naval Force, when our Ambassadours residing in the Receit, were told, That these Troops were not intended to be employed against any of his Majesty's Harbours, but in the West-Indies; though at the same time they were Embarked for the Conquest of Angola. The same may be said of the taking of the Ile of St. Thomas, and the City Luy de Mapanha, and the Seizing of a Portuguese Ship upon our Coast, loaden with Sugar from Spiritu Sancto. The Commissary Greening was dispatch'd hither, under a pretext of buying of Farinha, but in effect to found my Inclinations, & he himself confess'd, as it plays in a certain Letter of his, I was sent thither with this Commission, but rather to feel his Pulse and try his Friendship, than that we were in want. The unfaithful Dealings of the Directors of Angola in the Capitulation with the Governour Pedro Cesar de Mines; the Razeing of our Fort Araval in Bengo; the base Treatment put upon the said Governour, being a Person of Quality, and a General of his Majesty's, are Matters altogether Inconsistent with the Rules of War, nay, with Humanity it self; and contrary to the practise not only of the more Civilized Nations of Europe, but also the Barbarians themselves. Of the same stamp was the Answer given your Council to our Ambassador, who urging a Cessation of Arms in the Kingdom of Angola, was answered, That the same had no Dependency on our Jurisdiction; quite contrary to the sincere Intentions always observed by me in all our Translations with you; for no sooner did your Lordships make Complaints to me against one Captain Augustino Condago, and one Domingo de Rocha, who having carried away a Barge with Sugar, had brought her into the Harbour of our City; I sent back the said Vessel immediately, and put the Captain in Prison till he was sent over to his Majesty. And that time being informed, That two Soldiers living under my Jurisdiction, whose Names were, John de Campos, and Domingo Velho Sigismundo, had committed some Insolencies in your Captainship of Pernambuko, I caused them to be hanged immediately, looking upon it as a Duty not to be dispensed with by me, for the maintaining of our mutual good Correspondency: All these before-mentioned Invasions having never been able to make me forgetful of the reiterated Orders of his Majesty, viz. To Improve the Effects of the Peace and Alliances made betwixt him and the States General, to our both sides Satisfaction: I must at the same time confess, That looking upon my self as a Soldier, (abstracted from the Consideration of the Interest of the State, and the Duty of a Subject) I thought I ought not to take tamely so many Affronts, and to let slip so many fair Opportunities of doing my self Justice; much beyond what can be supposed to arise from the Commotion of a few inarmed Portugueses, a discontented Negro, and some Rebels, whose Protection cannot, as I said before, come in any Competition, with the several Opportunities and Provocations given by on our side, for the common Interest [illegible] as what more pressing Occasion can [illegible] den Case of this Infraction, as your Lordships then Offices are pleased to confess; neither would I have entred upon a Recital of those Particularities, if I had not thought my self obliged both in Duty and Affection, to give this Satisfaction to you. To give you the true Account of the Absence of Henry Dias, you must know, That one Night he left his Guard in Rio Reael, and passed over to your side; Don Antonio Philippo Kamaron, Captain of the Brasilians, being sent after him, and not returning, I judged, that they were gone towards Mocambo, to Attack the Palmairas of Rio St. Francisco; which made me (to avoid all Suspicion of being concerned in any thing that might tend to the Breach of Peace) send two Jesuits, to perswade them to return, but in vain, they refusing to Obey, either for fear of Punishment, or that they were already engaged with the Rebels, (as I am apt to believe they were) for that I have heard nothing from them since, except what I have understood out of your Lordships Letter. The Portugueses under your Jurisdiction have sent to me the Reasons that moved them to their Insurrection, implying my Assistance, as Subjects to their Master; they told me, That they [illegible] fear of being Sacrificed to the fury of the Tapoyers, [illegible] purpose from Rio Grande; to avoid which, and drawing your Lordships Anger, awakened and stirr'd up by the false Accusations of the Jesuits, [illegible] Christendom [illegible] themselves to a miserable flight, leaving behind them their Wives and Children, to endure the Barbarous and Tedious Imprisonment. I could never have imagined, that you could be so far imposed upon by the Factions of a People so much despised by all other Nations, as to be perswaded by them, that certain Persons were sent from hence into your Territories, who have been sent over by your Deputies. And to end, I am apt to perswade

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1643. *my self, that some of the* Portugueses *would, as the case now stands, be glad to Embrace our Protection, it being much more Natural to be Oppressed by ones own King or Prince, than by Forreigners: Yet when I seriously reflect upon your Lordsh ps Propositions, made by your Deputies, viz. To Oblige Captain* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias, *to return to the* Bahia, *and to use all other proper means to bring the Revolted* Portugueses *to Reason; when I say, I seriously reflect upon the publick Calamities on one side, and how destitute I am of suitable means at present, to satisfie your Desires, I cannot but be infinitely concerned thereat; being sensible that these Captains will not be brought over by Perswasions; and wanting means to Reduce them to Obedience, who have now settled themselves at so great a distance among the Woods and Forests. But, as I am ready to convince by self in all Respects to your Lordsh ps Desires, to convince you of the Sincerity of the* Portuguese *Nation, which is such, that no opportunity, tho' never so great of promoting their own Interest, does ever stand in Competition with what they think they owe to their Confederates: I am willing to take upon me the Office of a Mediator, in order to endeavour to Appease these Troubles by my Authority; for which end I intend to send to you with all possible speed, certain Persons of known Ability, with sufficient Instructions and Power, to the Rebellions to return to their Duty; which, if they Decline, such Measures may be taken as will force them to it; which, as I hope, may serve as the most effectual means to restore Tranquillity to your Dominions, and to Cultivate the good Opinion and Correspondency betwixt us; which I wish God Almighty will be pleased to continue betwixt these two Nations, by a perpetual tye of Amity.*

Bahia, July 19. 1645. Signed,

Antonio Telles da Silva.

Mr. *Hoogstrate* at the same time gave a secret verbal Account to the Great Council; That soon after their arrival there, *Andrew Vidal*, Captain *Paulo Kunha*, and *John de Sousa*, came to them, the last of whom sat himself down near him, (Mr. *Hoogstraten*) enquiring secretly after his Uncle *Philip Pays Barretto*, whether he was among the Mutineers; whom he gave for Answer, That he was still in his Mill. After which, the Table-Cloth being laid, *Sousa* was invited to stay at Dinner with them; which he refused, because as he said, he was upon the Guard: Before Dinner was ended *Sousa* came back, and after the Table-Cloth was taken away, invited Mr. *Hoogstrate* and *Kunha*, to Smoke a Pipe with him in a back Room; whither they went but were followed by the Secretary, Mr. *Springapple*. As they passed through a Gallery, *Paulo da Kunha* took *Springapple* a little on one side; and in the mean while, *Sousa* told *Hoogstrate* with a loud Voice, that he was surprised to hear, That his Uncle *Philip Pays* had not sided with the rest: Unto which *Hoogstrate* answered, *That he thought he did very wisely, to keep himself quiet, because it was likely to turn to no good Account. That is your Opinion*, repl'd *Sousa*, *But have a little Patience; and, Because I know you to have always been a Friend to the* Portugueses, *I can assure you it will turn to a considerable Account. And it is upon this Score, I advise you, like a Friend, to provide for your own Safety, and your Family. You may rest assured, That if you will Engage to do a piece of good Service to the King my Master, and to the Governour, you shall want neither Money, Sugar-Mills, Places, nor Preferments.* Mr. *Hoogstrate* appearing somewhat discomposed at this Discourse, told him, *That though he was not unwilling to do the King and Governour what Service he could, he did not know what sort of Service he meant:* Unto which, *Sousa* replied, *I am sure you are able to do good Service to the King; But then*, says *Hoogstrate*, *You must tell me how: That I will*, answered *Sousa*; *Are you not Governour on the Cape of St.* Auftin? Unto which Mr. *Hoogstrate* said, *Yes, I am; Then* replied *Sousa*, *All what is desired of you, is, To Surrender the said Fort, with all its Works, into the King's Hands, that we may Land our Men thereabouts: If you will promise to do it, you shall have a very ample Reward, and be made Commander in Chief of our Forces.* Mr. *Hoogstrate* gave for Answer, *That these were Things of such a Nature, as were not consistent with his Oath and Honour.* Their Discourse being interrupted at that time, by the coming of another Person into the Gallery, *John Sousa* and *Paulo Kunha*, went out another way. Mr. *Hoogstrate* told his Secretary Mr. *Springapple* with a discomposed look, *What is the meaning of these Dogs, do they take me for a Traytor?* He was going on to say more, when *Sousa* and *Kunha* returning into the Gallery, took him aside, and told him, That *he might be sure every thing should be performed, what had been promised him; that if he wanted any Money he should have it immediately; and for the rest, they would introduce him alone to the*

1643. Hoogstrate *is Tempted by the* Portugueele, Sousa.

1643. *the Governour, to receive the Confirmation of it from his own Mouth.* Mr. *Hoogſtrate* replied, *What you Deſire is not in my Power to perform, if I would never ſo fain; becauſe I am promiſed to have a Commiſſion of Major immediately after my return, and then I ſhall certainly be employed in another Place.* During this Parley, Mr. *Vander Voerde* entred the Gallery in Company with Mr. *Andrew Vidal*, who entertained him all the while the others were talking together, till *Hoogſtrate* taking his opportunity as they were walking together, whiſpered Mr. *Vander Voerde* in the Ear; *I wiſh I was well rid of them, to talk [illegible] with greater freedom; I know not their deſign in; I am afraid they will cauſe kill, or detain me here.* Mr. *Vander Voerde* would willingly have made a Reply, but could not, by reaſon *Souſa* and *Kunha*, and *Pedro Korre de Gama*, (the laſt of which underſtood *Dutch*) were ſo near them; ſo that he thought it the ſafeſt way to Diſſemble, and to pretend as if they had been talking about ſome indifferent Matter. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* then told *Souſa*, That he had a great mind to pay a Viſit to *Donna Katharine de Melo*, Mother-in-Law of *Philip Pays Souſa*, he anſwered him, That he would ask the Governour; who having given his Conſent, *Hoogſtrate* went thitherward with *Souſa*, and at his going out of the Gallery, whiſpered *Vander Voerde* again in the Ear, *They have catch'd a Mackrel, for I intend to Act the Hypocrite to the Life.* As they were walking along the Street to Madam *de Melo*'s Houſe, *Souſa* and *Kunha* repeated their former Diſcourſe, endeavouring to Encourage Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, by Hopes and Promiſes of great Reward, both from the King and Governor; with whom they ſaid he ſhould Confer in private, concerning the Point in Hand; and that in the following manner.

After their return from Madam *de Melo*'s, to the Houſe of *Pedro Korre de Gama*, where *Vander Voerde* expected their coming, *Kunha* was to go privately to the Governour, to agree with him, that when Mr. *Vander Voerde*, *Hoogſtrate*, *Souſa*, and *Kunha*, ſhould come to ſpeak with him, he ſhould by his Secretary, deſire them to ſtay a little while. In the mean while, *Souſa* was to ask Mr. *Hoogſtrate* to take a Glaſs of Wine with him, and under that pretence bring him to the Chamber of the Conſellor of the Governour, where they were to have this private Enterview. Accordingly *Paulo de Kunha* went to the Governour, whilſt *Hoogſtrate* and *Souſa* were returning to *Pedro Korre de Gama*'s Houſe; when *Souſa* entertained him with nothing elſe, but the probability of ſucceeding in their Enterpriſe againſt the *Dutch Braſil*, telling him, That the Governour ſtaid only for the coming of *Salvador Korrea de Sa* and *Benevide*, who were expected with four Gallcons from *Rio Janeiro*, beſides ſome other Ships; and that 2500 Men were deſigned for this Expedition, beſides thoſe already in Arms in *Pernambuko*, who were to be ſent from the *Bahia*, and to be landed on the Cape of St. *Auſtin*; *This is*, ſaid *Souſa*, *the Governour Ke neſt to you.*

Scarce were they returned to the Houſe of *Pedro Korrea de Gama*, when *Andrew Vidal* came and told them, That the Governour was ready to receive them; ſo they went to the Palace, where they were no ſooner come within the Anti-Chamber, but the Governour's Secretary came to deſire them to tarry a little, the Governour being buſie with cloſing ſome Letters. So, whilſt ſome *Portugueſes* were entertaining Mr. *Vander Voerde* near the Window, ſays *Souſa* to Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, *Come, Shall you and I take a Glaſs of Wine in the mean while?* which Mr. *Springapple* the Secretary of the Embaſſy underſtanding, told him, That he would go along with them; But *Paulo de Kunha*, and ſome other *Portugueſes* taking him aſide, kept him in Diſcourſe, whilſt Mr. *Hoogſtrate* was conducted by *Souſa* into the Conſellors Chamber.

1643. Within a few Minutes after, the Governour *Antonio Telles da Silva*, entring the Room, ſaluted Mr. *Hoogſtrate* very courteouſly; and ſetting himſelf in a Chair neat him, ordered the Chamber to be lock'd, no body being preſent beſides themſelves, but *Souſa*. The Governour then told Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, That he had always taken a particular notice of his Character, of his being a Friend to the *Portugueſes*, that he hoped he would continue in the ſame Opinion, and would not refuſe the Offer made him by *Don John de Souſa*, in the King's and his Name; their Intention being not to enter into a War with the *Dutch*, but only to Repoſſeſs themſelves of what of Right belonged to the preſent King of *Portugal*, *Don John* IV. and that if Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* had ſtaid any longer in this Country, he himſelf would have been inſtrumental in bringing this matter about. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* anſwered the Governour, That he ſhould be glad to underſtand, what it was he could ſerve him

Mr. H. ſtrate enterview with the

1643. him in; *You have*, says he, *understood that from Mr.* Souſa; *and I desire you, to turn absolute* Portugueſe. *Mr.* Hoogſtrate told him it was beyond his Power, becauſe immediately after his return, he ſhould be provided with a Majors Commiſſion, and conſequently not be employed in the ſame place: Unto which the Governour replied: *You need not queſtion any place of Honour or Profit among us; But it will perhaps not be convenient to diſcourſe together upon this point at preſent, for fear Mr.* Vander Voerde, *ſhould ſuſpect us: But I intend to ſend two Ambaſſadors, (of which Mr.* Paulo de Cunha *is to be one) to your Government, who ſhall be empowered to treat with you further upon this account. And*, ſays he, *giving his Hand to Mr.* Hoogſtrate, *reſt aſſured in the Name of the King my Maſter, that, whatever Mr.* Paulo de Cunha *ſhall promiſe you, will be punctually obſerved and performed.*

Then the Governour took his leave, telling him that he would not detain him any longer, for fear of creating a Suſpicion in his Collegue, and ſo retired into his own Appartment. But Mr. *Hoogſtrate* and *John de Souſa* were no ſooner return'd from thence, but the Governour ſent for the ſaid Mr. *Hoogſtrate* and his Collegue Mr. *Vander Voerden* to confer with them, concerning their Propoſals, made in the Name of the Council of the *Dutch Braſil*: As they were walking thither, Mr. *John de Souſa* told again to Mr. *Hoogſtrate*, with a low Voice, And, why are you obliged to accept of the Majors Commiſſion; it is an eaſie matter for you to tell them, that you would rather continue Governour of the place where you now are; and be ſatisfied that when you come among us, that you will not want any employment, fit for a good Soldier as you are. Mr. *Hoogſtrate* being not a little moved with this Diſcourſe, was more deſirous to get aboard their Veſſel, as ſoon as poſſible he might, to get an opportunity of Communicating the whole matter to Mr. *Vander Voerde*; which he did accordingly, as ſoon as they were entred the Cabin, the Door of which he ordered to be Lock'd immediately.

The Dutch *debate, Whether to employ the* Tapoyers.

In the mean while, *viz.* The 5th of *July*, it was debated in the Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, whether for the ſecurity of the Country, they ſhould not want the aſſiſtance of the *Tapoyers*, under their King *John Duvy*, dwelling in *Rio Grande*; who for that purpoſe had gathered a good Body near *Kunhau*, eſpecially ſince the *Portugueſe* committed all manner of Barbarities againſt the *Dutch*, and had ſummon'd the *Barbarians* call'd *Rondelas*, from the *Baſſin*. But conſidering the devaſtations which muſt needs enſue upon the March of thoſe Barbarous People in the Hot Country, it was thought convenient, not to come to any certain Reſolution upon this Point, till they had adviſed with Lieutenant Colonel *Haus*, to whom a Letter was diſpatched, immediately upon that account.

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On the 7th of *July*, the ſaid Mr. *Haus* ſent word to the Council, that he intended to March the four Day from *Mortheka*, and after being joined with Captain *John Blaar*, to attack the Enemy at St. *Lawrence*; But by another Letter of the 16th, written by Captain *Blaar*, they were informed that the Rebels continued very ſtrong at St. *Lawrence*, expecting a certain reinforcement from the *Matta*, where they had forced the People to take up Arms for them; deſiring a Succour of Fifty Men, to drive them from thence. Hereupon the Council diſpatched Meſſengers both to *Blaar* and *Haus*, ordering them to join their Troops, and to rout the Rebels near St. *Lawrence*, on which in a great meaſure depended the preſervation of the *Dutch Braſil*.

Haus and Blaar ordered to join.

The 7th of the ſame Month the Council received alſo a Letter from Lieutenant *Flemming*, dated at *Pojuka*, in which he advertiſed them, that he had received certain Intelligence, that *Kamaron* was marching againſt him, and that two Companies were already come to the Sugar-Mill of *Pikdera*. Hereupon Orders were ſent him, that if he found himſelf not in a Condition to keep the Monaſtery for want of Proviſions, he ſhould at the approach of *Kamaron*'s Troops retire to St *Antonio*, the better to make head againſt the Enemy. The ſame Day Enſign *Hartſtein* marched with a Detachment of 90 Soldiers and 30 *Braſilians*, of the Garriſons of the *Receif* and *Itamarika*, to *Ajama* and *Jegoaibi*, in queſt of the Rebels, but meeting with none returned about Noon, and the ſame Evening directed his March towards *Haus*.

Lieutenant Flemming ordered to retire to S. Antonio.

The 8th of *July* the Council having received Advice from *Haus* that they intended the ſame Day to March from the Sugar Mill of St. *John Ferdinando Vieira* to attack the Rebels at St. *Lawrence*, if they would abide his coming;

1643.

1643. it was resolved to send as many Forces as possibly they could spare to his Relief, considering that the preservation of the whole *Dutch Brasil* depended on the Success of this Expedition; and accordingly two Companies of Foot, of *Mi*[illegible] and *Blaar* were ordered to March thither, not questioning but that before their arrival *Haus* would be join'd by Captain *John Blaar*; and in effect the next following Day they received Advice from Mr. *Haus*, that he was ready to join with the said *Blaar*.

The 1[illegible]th of *July*, the Council gave an Account by Letters to *Haus*, what Intelligence they had received concerning the posture of Affairs in St. *Antonio* and *Pojuka*, with Orders to send as many Firelocks and *Brasilians* as he could possibly spare to their Relief, to keep the passage from St. *Antonio* to *Pojuka* and *Serenhaim* open; without which all communication betwixt them and the *Receif* would be cut off by the Enemy. Two Letters of [illegible] *Fernando Vieira* and *Antonio Ka*[illegible] were the same Day read in Council, in which they complained of the Severity of the two last Proclamations, but were not thought fit to be answered; especially since *Amador d' Araouje* had about the same time retired from the Pass of *Pinderama*.

Two Days before, *viz.* that the Council had received Letters from Mr. *Hock*, dated the 25th of *June*, at *Rio Grande*, intimating that, hitherto there had not happened any commotions in those parts, that however he had disarmed the *Portuguese*, and that the *Tapoyers* appear'd to be well inclined to the Government. Orders were sent him, to cultivate a good understanding with the *Tapoyers*, for which purpose they sent some Presents to *John Duvy*, their King, and that the Council approved his disarming of the *Portuguese*. On the same Day Father *Imanuel*, *Lewis Bras*, *Imanuel Ferdinand de Sa*, *Kaspar de Mendoza*, *Furtado* and *Jeronymo de Rocha*, all *Portuguese* Inhabitants of the *Dutch Brasil* delivered their Petition to the Council, requesting, that the time of six Days appointed by the last Proclamation, for the Wives and Children of the revolted *Portuguese*, to leave the Country, being expired, they might be allowed to stay in their Habitations at least, till the ways, which at that time were rendred unpassable, by the overflowing of the Rivers, were somewhat mended. But considering that the *Portuguese* Rebels forced the Inhabitants by threats and other unusual methods to take up Arms against the Government, their request was not granted.

The 1[illegible]th of *July* the Council were advertised by Letters from *Haus*, dated the 12th, that he had passed the River *Kapivaribi*, and marching thro' the *Matta* to the Sugar-Mills of *Arnao d' Ollanda*, had met with 400 Rebels, who, at the approach of his Troops were fled to *Moribeka*, with the loss of some of their Men; from whence they might without any opposition march to the *Matta* of *Brasil*, and that he was ready to march directly to St. *Lawrence*, where he would expect the further Orders of the Council. They immediately dispatched their Orders to him, to pursue and rout the flying Rebels with all possible speed, before they could make head again, which done, he should fix his head Quarters, in such a place where he was sure he might be supplied with Provisions out of the adjacent Country; their Magazines being so exhausted, as not to be in a condition to supply his Troops. *Haus* had already in some measure taken effectual care of this point, having in the mean while sent a Reinforcement of 100 Foot, and a Company of *Brasilians*, under the Command of Captain *Tallo*, to Mr. *Ley* Governor of *Moribeka* and St. *Antonio*. The Council also ordered the Governour of the Cape of St. *Austin* to strengthen the Fort with Pallisado's; and at the same time received Advice from Mr. *Ley* from St. *Antonio*, that the Rebels under *Amador d' Araouje*, and *Pedro Marinha Falkao*, had posted themselves within sight of them in the new Sugar-Mill, but as soon as he received the expected Succours, he did not question to chase them from thence, *Amador d' Araouje* having in vain attempted to force those of *Pojuka* to take up Arms against the Government.

He received also Intelligence from Mr. *Carpentier* out of *Goyana*, that things remained in quiet there as yet: But whilst *Haus* was busie in making head against the Rebels in the *Vergea*, *Pedro Marinho Falkao* having declared himself Head of the Rebels of *Pojuka*, had gathered a Body sufficient to block up the Garrison of St. *Antonio*, who had no other supplies of Provision, but what they received from the circumjacent Country; so that the Council being sensible of the Danger, sent immediately Orders to *Haus*, to hasten to the Relief of that place; who, accordingly

1643. cordingly directed his march the same Night to the Sugar-Mill of *Lewis Brat*, leaving Captain *Wilhelbut* with a Company of Soldiers, and all the Sick, behind, at *St. Laurence*.

The Council received also Advice by Letters from *Paul de Longe*, dated the 12th of *July* at *Paraiba*, That things were as yet quiet thereabouts, but that with much ado he had hitherto kept the *Brasilians*, inhabiting the Villages, from plundering the *Portugueses* Inhabitants; who were extreamly dissatisfied, because some of the *Brasilians* and *Tapoyers*, that had done them considerable mischief, were discharged out of Custody. They ordered him to take all possible Care to keep both the *Brasilians* and *Dutch* Inhabitants, who were both for plundering the *Portugueses*, from doing any mischief to them; for which reason the Council sent the following Proclamation to be published there.

A PROCLAMATION.

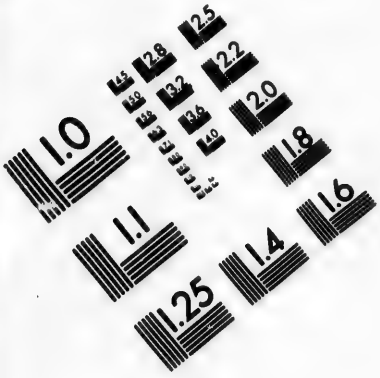
WE the Members of the Great Council, having received frequent Complaints, That many of the faithful Inhabitants of the Country, who lately have taken a new Oath of Allegiance to the Government, are plundred and robb'd by the Soldiers and Volunteers; and being resolved to maintain them in the Possession of their Estates and Goods, have for that reason granted them Safeguards, and taken them into Our peculiar Protection; Do hereby forbid all our Officers and Soldiers, as well as the other Inhabitants under our Jurisdiction, to attempt to plunder any of the Inhabitants, provided with such Safeguards, or to Endamage them any other ways, either in their Goods or Persons, upon pain of Corporal Punishment.

The 15th of *July* in the Evening the Council was advertised by Mr. *Ley*, That the Rebels had kill'd some Soldiers of the Garrison of St. *Antonio*, that were sent abroad to fetch some Cattle from the Sugar-Mill *Guarapu*, and had so closely blockt up the Place, that no Provision could be brought thither; and as they were not provided with Necessaries, for above a few days longer, they were in the utmost danger of being lost. Lieutenant Colonel *Haus* being expected the same Evening with his Troops at St *Laurence*, Orders were dispatcht thither for him to go either in Person, or at least to send as many able Soldiers as he could bring together, under the Command of Captain *John Blaar*, to the Relief of St. *Antonio*, the Council being of Opinion, That the Safety of the Cape of St. *Austin*, and of all the Southern Provinces, depended on the Preservation of this Place; for which reason, they also ordered Captain *Calis*, who was expected about the same time with a Company of Soldiers, and as many *Brasilians*, at *Moribeka*, to march directly to St. *Antonio*, and to stay there till further Orders; of all which they sent Advice to Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Heck*. *Haus*, having, pursuant to these Orders, directed his march to St. *Antonio*, (notwithstanding the weariness of his Soldiers tired by a tedious march) *Pedro Marinho Falkao* had no sooner notice of his approach, but he raised the Blockade of St. *Antonio*, and with his Body of Rebels gathered out of the Three Districts of St. *Antonio*, *Pojuka*, and *Moribeka*, to the number of 600, joined with the Rebels in the *Vergea* of *Moribeka*.

The 17th of *July* the Council were advertised by *Haus* in a Letter dated at *Moribeka*, that having received a Message from Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Heck* out of *St. Antonio*, with Advice, That in *Puerto de Gallinas*, two Boats with Ammunition were landed by *Pedro de Kunha*, he had sent thither Captain *John Blaar*, and Ensign *Hartstein*, with a good Body of his ablest Soldiers and *Brasilians*, he himself not being in a Condition to follow with the rest, disabled by their late marches; for which reason he had put them into Quarters of Refreshment in *Moribeka*, where he would expect their further Orders, as not judging his Presence necessary at the *Receif*, now the Enemies were fled before him.

Orders were thereupon Dispatcht to him by the Council the 19th of *July*, to keep his head quarters in *Moribeka*, the better to keep a watchful Eye over the Rebels that were retired into the Woods; and to be the nearer at hand to succour either *St. Antonio* or *Pojuka*, for which *Moribeka* lay very convenient; but if the Enemy should become too strong for him, he should retreat towards the *Receif*. Advice also was sent him, That *Amador d'Araouje*, *Pedro Marinho Falkao*, *John Pais*, and *Kabral*, were with the Rebels they had gathered in *St. Antonio* and *Pojuka*, marched the day before in the Morning from *d'Ingenio Moreno Garde*, to join their Troops with those of *John Fernand Vieira*.

The Council likewise received several Letters from *John Heck*, *Rudolph Baro*,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and *James Rabbi*, dated the 5th, 6th, 1643. and 7th of *July*, concerning the preſent State of Affairs in *Rio Grande*, and that they being threatned with an Invaſion by *Kamaron* on the Southſide, and by the *Braſilians* of *Siara* and *Maranhaon* from the North, they had diſarmed all the *Portugueſes* and laid up their Arms in the Fort of *Keulen*. They had alſo by the Advice of King *John Dumy*, taken into Cuſtody a certain *Portugueſe* call'd *Antonio Vetello*, with his Son, being accuſed by the ſaid King *Dumy* of having had a hand in the Murther committed upon the *Dutch* in *Siara*, and in the Conſpiracy of the Rebels. They further complained of the ill Practices of the *Portugueſes*, who ſought by all means poſſible to oppreſs the *Dutch* thereabouts; adding withal, That King *Dumy* was ready with his *Tapoyers* to fall upon the *Portugueſes*, as ſoon as he received Orders for that purpoſe, which had made many of the *Portugueſes* fly out of *Parayba*.

About the ſame time near 1000 *Braſilians*, *viz.* 369 Men, the reſt Women and Children, being fled for ſhelter into the Iſle of *Itamarika*, where they were maintained out of the Magazines, it was reſolved the 21ſt of *July* by the Council, to ſend thither Mr. *Liſtry*, to take effectual Care, to Eaſe the Company of that Burthen, they might be engaged to provide themſelves out of their reſpective *Aldeas*. Things were as yet quiet about that time in *Itamarika*, *Goyana*, and *Parayba*, by the good Conduct of Mr. *Paul Vander Linge*, Governour of the laſt. For as ſoon as the Fire of Rebellion began to break out in the *Vergea*, *Pojuka*, and in *Olinda*, the Council being advertiſed that they ought to keep a watchful Eye over thoſe of *Parayba*, where ſeveral were ſuſpected of being Conſcious of the Deſign, they ſent the 13th of *July*, *Paul de Linge*, one of the Aſſeſſors in the Court of Juſtice, thither, with an ample Commiſſion, to endeavour to keep the Inhabitants in Obedience, and to act for that purpoſe, as he ſhould find it moſt conducing to the publick Security. He was no ſooner arrived there, but he made it his chiefeſt Care to provide the Forts with ſufficient Garriſons, Ammunition and Proviſions, which he took from the Ships then lying in the Road, behind the *Red-Land*: He further took Care to ſecure all the ſuſpected Perſons, and ſummoned the reſt to take a new Oath of Allegiance to the Government, which they did accordingly.

The Council uſed the ſame Precaution in the Diſtrict of *Pojuka*, in the *Vergea*, 1643. *Garaſſu*, and *Goyana*, where they obliged ſuch of the Inhabitants as had not left their dwelling Places, to take a new Oath of Obedience. But the late Succours ſent thither from the *Bahia* fruſtrated all theſe Endeavours.

On the 24th of *July*, Mr. *Ley* came with Credentials from St. *Antonio* to the Council, unto whom he made the following Propoſitions. *Propoſitions made by Mr. Ley to the Council.*

I. That whereas ſeveral young and able Men, living near St. *Antonio*, had not liſted themſelves purſuant to the Proclamation iſſued for that purpoſe, they deſired Orders might be ſent for all thoſe living in the Juriſdiction of *Maurice*'s Town and *St. Antonio* in the open Country, to be obliged to take up Arms for the Defence of the Country.

II. To Oblige all ſuch young Men as were not able to ſerve as Volunteers, at their own Charge, to Liſt themſelves for Soldiers, and to inſtruct them in Martial Diſcipline.

III. That perhaps it might not be unadviſeable to draw the Garriſon out of *Porto Calvo*, to appear the more formidable in the Field.

IV. To divide our Land Forces into two Bodies, the better to maintain themſelves in the open Country; whereas now upon the leaſt motion of the Enemy, our whole Force was obliged to follow them; and that the Garriſon of *St. Antonio* ſhould be Reinforced with ſuch a number, as to be able to ſend abroad a good Party, for the conveniency of fetching the neceſſary Proviſions out of the Country.

After mature Deliberation, the Council was of Opinion as to the

I. That the young Inhabitants of St. *Antonio*, *Pojuka*, and *Moribeka*, ought not to be forced to ſerve in the Fort St. *Antonio*. *Their Reſolutions.*

II. That they would Empower Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Heck*, to take as many of the young Men as voluntarily offered themſelves into the Service for four Months, at Nine Gilders *per* Month, and one Months Advance Money.

III. They

1643. *III.* They were abſolutely againſt the leaving of the Fort *Porto Calvo*, but that it ought to be defended to the utmoſt.

IV. What concern'd the dividing of their Land Forces in two Bodies, they would Adviſe with Colonel *Haus*, but they approved of the propoſed Reinforcement of the Garriſon of *St. Antonio*, for Reaſons by them alledged.

Lieutenant *Hans Vogel* by his Letters dated the 18th, and 27th of *July*, at *Seregippo del Rey* adviſed the Council, That he had ſent a Detachment towards *Kamaron*, who could not get ſight either of any *Portugueſes* or *Braſilians*, but that they had taken a ſingle *Portugueſe*, who was charged with Letters to be carried to *Rio St. Franciſco*: He told them, That *Kamaron* with ſome Troops was marched through *Rio St. Franciſco* into the Captainſhip of *Seregippo del Rey*; and that three or four ſmall Veſſels, or *Caravans*, with ſome Troops under the Command of *Andrew Vidal*, were ſail'd from the *Bahia*, to *Maranhaon* and *Siara*. He likewiſe ſent the Letters found upon the ſaid *Portugueſe* to the Council, by which it appear'd, That the firſt Foundation of this Revolt had been laid among thoſe of the *Bahia*, or at leaſt that they had been made privy to it, and that they had provided theſe Succours. For among others, there was a Letter from the Biſhop of that Place, to a certain Friar of the *Receif*, in which he told him, That he hoped to be with him before long; whereupon the *Fiſcal* was ordered to Examine the matter, in order to find out the bottom of this Correſpondency betwixt theſe two Clergymen.

Certain Letters ſeized and communicated to the Council.

The Tapoyers Murther 35 Portugueſes.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers* of *Rio Grande* (according to Mr. *Linge*'s Letter of the 19th of *July*) had Murthered 35 *Portugueſes* in the Sugar-Mills of *Kunha*, who being of the number of thoſe that had Surrendred their Arms, purſuant to the Proclamation, this cauſed no ſmall Terror among the reſt of the *Portugueſes* thereabouts, and eſpecially in *Parayba*, where they left their Habitations, ſo that it being to be feared they would aſſociate with the Rebels, under pretence of Self-Defence, Mr. *Linge* deſired a Reinforcement of Soldiers to keep the *Tapoyers* in awe. The Council therefore commanded Mr. *Aſſelen* and Captain *William Lambert* with his Company of Foot, beſides 20 Fuſileers, and a Detachement of 50 Men out of the Garriſons of *Parayba* and *Rio Grande*, to take Care of the *Tapoyers*, and to Conduct them to the *Receif*; *Jacob Rabbi* their Commander was ordered to march along with them, and *Rudolph Baro* appointed to provide them Quarters upon the Road. 1643.

Haus having by this time ſufficiently refreſht his Troops, writ a Letter dated the firſt of *Auguſt* to the Council, in which he deſired their Orders to go in queſt of the Rebels, and to attack them before they could be reinforced with their expected Succours; which being granted him, he attackt them in *d'Ingenio* of *Balthaſar Moreno*, with ſuch Succeſs, that he beat them from Place to Place; till on the 3d of *Auguſt* they retired to their Entrenchment upon a high ſteep Hill, acceſſible only in one Place. Notwithſtanding which, he relying upon the Bravery of his Soldiers, and hopeing thereby to put an end to the War, attackt them vigorouſly in this advantageous Poſt; but the Rebels being Superiour to him both in number, and in the ſtrength of their Camp, his Forces were repulſed with the loſs of 100 men, (ſome ſay of 500) among whom was Captain *Lor*. After this Defeat, *Haus* being ſenſible that the Enemy expecting daily a freſh Reinforcement from the *Bahia*, retired to the *Receif*, where he knew his Troops were abſolutely neceſſary for the Defence of the Place.

Haus engages the Rebels.

Is worſted and retires to the Receif.

On the firſt of *Auguſt*, *Gonſalvo Kabral de Kaldos*, was by the Court of Juſtice Condemned to Death, having at the Inſtigation of *John Fernando Vieira*, undertaken to Head the Rebels in the Captainſhip of *Goyana*. The ſame Fate attended one *Thomas Pais* an Inhabitant of *Tienpio*, who had endeavoured to raiſe ſome Troops for the ſaid *John Fernand Vieira*. The ſame day the Great Council received Advice out of *Serinhaim*, (the Letters being ſent privately in the Night time in a ſmall Boat down the River to the Sea-ſide) That the Rebels began to be very numerous thereabouts, that they were Maſters of the River, had ſtaved all the Boats, and plundered *d'Ingenio Formoſa*, where they carried away the Negro's, and kill'd the Beaſts belonging to the *Dutch*, but ſpared thoſe of the *Portugueſes*. The Council being ſenſible that nothing but force would be able to reduce theſe Rebels to their Duty, and that they were from time to time Reinforced from the *Bahia*, whereas the *Dutch* Troops diminiſh'd daily, they reſolved the firſt of *Auguſt*, to ſend Mr. *Balthaſar*

Two Portugueſes condemned to Death.

Rebellion in Serinhaim.

1643. thaſar *Vander Voerden* Councellor of Juſtice to *Holland*, to repreſent to the Council of XIX. there the true ſtate of Affairs of the *Dutch Braſil*, and to ſollicit prompt Succours. Accordingly the ſaid Mr. *Van der Voerden* having taken his leave of the Council, ſet Sail the next Day, with the reſt of the Ships that lay ready to Sail for *Holland*, being inſtructed with ſufficient Power and Credentials from the Council; as follows.

Mr. Vander Voerden *ſent with a Credential into* HOLLAND.

TO the Noble, Honourable, and moſt Prudent Lords.

NOtwithſtanding the Rebels make not the leaſt uſe of the Royal Authority, but cover their Revolt with the cloak of Godly Liberty, we were always of Opinion, that this Rebellion of our Portugueſe Inhabitants has not only been undertaken with the conſent of the King of Portugal, or at leaſt of his Governour of the Bahia, but alſo encouraged and fomented by his Authority and Conduct. For how can it be ſuppoſed that Kamaron, Henry Dias, and the other Ringleaders, ſhould have dared to attempt to attack us by force of Arms without his approbation? It was likewiſe our conſtant Opinion, (conſidering the preſent unſettled ſtate of Portugal, and the Alliance betwixt that King and the States of Holland againſt Spain) that he would be ſure never to acknowledge the tranſactions of the heads of the Rebellion, and the Succours ſent them, to have been done by his Authority, leſt the breach of faith and all its ill conſequences might be one time or other laid at his door, till he thought himſelf ſure in the entire Conqueſt of the Dutch Braſil. Our gueſs has ſince proved more than too true, for Antonio Telles de la Sylva, Governour of the Bahia (as is evident from his Anſwer to our Letters here incloſed) denies to have had the leaſt knowledge, much leſs any hand in the contrivance or conduct of this Conſpiracy; laying the blame of this Inſurrection upon their Ringleaders, who refuſed to obey his Orders; and offering to ſend certain Commiſſioners, to appeaſe the fury of the Rebels; and in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply, to force them by the Kings Authority to lay down their Arms. But how little agreeable this offer of putting an end to this Rebellion, is to his real Intention, is apparent out of the report made by Mr. Vander Voerden and Captain Dieterick Hoogſtrate, underwritten by their own hands; in which you will find theſe expreſs Words of the Governour: That the *Braſilians* and Negro's were disbanded by his Majeſty of Portugal's particular Order. *The Abſtract of the ſeveral incloſed Letters ſent from the* Bahia *and taken from the Meſſenger by our Forces in* Seregippo, *will put it beyond all doubt, that ſeveral Inhabitants of the* Bahia, *and among them the Biſhop himſelf, had already in* May *laſt ſome knowledge of the Intentions of* John Fernando Vieira, *and his Accomplices; Add to this the Depoſitions of Captain* Dieterick Hoogſtrate *Subſcribed by himſelf, concerning the Propoſitions made to him in private, whilſt he was managing the Company's buſineſs there, in the quality of one of our Deputies; which as it directly contradicts the Governours Anſwer to us, ſo it unravels the whole ſecret of his real Intentions. And for as much as all theſe things are ſufficient forewarnings to us, that the Rebels will be conſtantly ſupplied from the* Bahia, *whereas we on the contrary muſt expect to be weakned more and more in every reſpect, we judged it abſolutely neceſſary and requiſite for the Service of our State, to ſend to you the Members of the Council of XIX. Mr.* Balthaſar Vander Voerden, *Councellor in our Court of Juſtice, to give you a verbal Account of the deplorable State of our Affairs here, in a more ample manner, than the ſame may be expreſs'd in Writing, not queſtioning, but your Lordſhips will thereby be encouraged to ſend us a ſpeedy and ſufficient Succour, to Re-eſtabliſh our Affairs here, and to deliver your faithful Subjects from the imminent Danger, that threatens no leſs than the ruin and loſs of their Lives and Eſtates; and deſiring you to give a favourable reception to the ſaid Mr.* Balthaſar Vander Voerden.

Receif, *the* 2*d of* Aug. 1645.

1643. Immediately after the departure of the two before-mentioned Envoys, Mr. *Vander Voerden* and Captain *Hoogſtrate*, out of the *Bahia*, being the 20th of *July*, the Governour *Antonio Telles de Silva*, ordered all the Sea and Land Men that could be got together in haſte, to be Embark'd in twelve Ships ready fitted out for that purpoſe; with neceſſary Ammunition, Arms and Proviſion, for the intended Invaſion. *Hieronymo Serrao de Payva* had the Supream Command over the Fleet, as tho' Colonel *Martin Soarez*, *Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros* had over the Land Forces, both Officers in the Service of the King of *Portugal*. The Orders given to the Admiral by the Governour, dated the 20th

The Portugueſes prepare for the Invaſion of the Dutch Braſil.

1643. dated the 20 *July*, contained in substance, That the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil* having notified to him the Insurrection of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants of *Pernambuko*, he had judged it expedient, to Equip this Fleet, in order to put a speedy stop to those disorders; because he was willing to comply with the said Councils request, in respect of the sincere Friendship and Correspondency betwixt the Crown of *Portugal* and them, which he had strict Orders from his Majesty to observe; whereas it is evident, that the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil* in their Letter to *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, of the 13th of *August* expressly declare, never to have desired any assistance from the Governour of the *Bahia*, against the Rebellious *Portuguese* Inhabitants.

Pretences for this Invasion.

Instructions of the Portuguese Admiral.

The further Instructions given to the said Admiral *Payva* were, That he should directly Steer his Course from the *Bahia* to *Pernambuko*, keeping about 20 or 30 Leagues distance at Sea, from the Shoar; that coming to the 10th Degree he should approach the Shoar, and if he found the Wind to blow hard from the South, before he came to the before mentioned height, he should be very careful not to pass beyond the Lands point in the Night time. After having taken a view of the Country, he should with the advice of his best Pilots, endeavour to Land his Men, in the most secure place he could meet with thereabouts, either at *Una*, *Lagamar* or *Tamandare*; being three Leagues to the South of the Isle of *Alexo*. But if they could not make any of these Harbours, they should enter at *Porto Dosser*, *Nambous* or *Lagamar* of *Marakaye*, lying two Leagues to the North of *Alexo*. But if notwithstanding all their endeavours, they also should miss their aim in those places, to make themselves Masters of *Porto de Gallinhas*, and to land their Men betwixt that place and *Barra Grande*. After they had landed their Men, with the necessary Ammunition and Provisions, he should set Sail to the Bay of *Pernambuko*, in order to deliver with his own Hands the Governours Letter to the Lords of the Great Council.

The Portuguese set Sail from the Bahia.

Accordingly the said Fleet set Sail towards the latter end of *July*, from the *Bahia*, and in few Days after arrived in the Bay of *Tamandare*, betwixt the Rivers *Olna* and *Formosa*, about four or five Leagues beyond *Alevo* and *Serinhaim*. They were no sooner come to an anchor there, but the Colonel *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros* landed the 28th of *July*, 1800 or 2000 Land-Men, among whom were many reformed Officers well appointed, and great store of Arms, Ammunition, and other necessaries.

Land their Men.

The 1st of *August*, towards Evening, three Ships with five small Vessels appeared in sight of the *Receif*, Steering their course to the North, whereupon the Council dispatch'd their immediate Orders to the two Ships, the *Zoutlandia* and the *Zealandia*, to make all the Sail they could after them, to observe what course they Steered, and to prevent their Landing of Men. About the same time an Advice-Boat arrived from Admiral *Lichthart*, with Letters to the Council, intimating, that he had seen the said Ships, and that he supposed their intent to be, to land some Men on the South of the Cape of St. *Austin*, for which reason he desired them to send him some Ships, and grant him leave to take as many of the Garrison of St. *Antonio* as he should judge necessary to attack the Enemy; of all which immediate notice was given to the Northern parts, to be upon their guard against any suddain surprise.

A false Alarum upon the Receif.

But the next following Day those Ships being got out of sight, several Masters of small Vessels, that had been near them at Sea, reported, that they were heavy freighted Ships, which by the strong North-Winds were forced near the Shoar, so that it was concluded that they had Steered their course towards *Portugal*.

The Portuguese Fleet Sail to Pernambuko.

Immediately after Admiral *Payva* set Sail from the Bay of *Tamandare*, and meeting with the Fleet under the Command of Admiral *Salvad*, or *Korrea de Saa de Benavides*, which was latterly sailed out of the Port of *Rio Janeiro*, he returned with him into the said Harbour, and on St. *Lawrence*'s Day with their joint Forces sailed from thence towards the Bay of *Pernambuko*.

The first News the Council received of it was on the 11th of *August*, by a Master of a small Vessel, call'd *John Hoen*, bound for *Seregippo del Rey*, and by Commissary *John Barentz*; with Advice that they had seen a Fleet of 28 or 30 Ships, off of *Una*, or *Rio Formosa*, and that three of them, had pursued them, and discharged some of their Guns upon them. Much about the same time they received Letters from Major *Hoogstrate*, from the Cape of St. *Austin*, and the

1643. *The Council alarm'd the Receif.*

the Fort *Vander Duſſen*, intimating, That *Andrew Vidal*, *Henry Dias* and *Paul de Kanha* were landed at *Una*, and marching to *Serinhaim*, had made themſelves Maſters of the place, where they had given Quarter to the *Dutch*, but cut to pieces all the *Braſilians*. The Council hereupon took immediate care to ſend ſome Ammunition and Proviſions to the ſaid Cape, having already for the better Security of that place ordered Mr. *Ley* and Mr. *Hoek*, two Days before, to leave the Fort of St. *Antonio*, and to retire with the Garriſon to the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, before they were encloſed by the Enemy. That two Ships, the *Deventer* and the *Elias*, which were in the Harbour unlading their Goods, and Proviſions brought along with them for the Service of the Company, were ordered to be Equipp'd immediately, in order to join with the other five Ships that lay at Anchor in the Road, *viz.* the *Utrecht*, the *Zealandia*, *Ser Veer*, the *Zuntlandia*, and the *Golaen Doe*. The ſame Night, Advice of all what paſs'd was ſent to Colonel *Haus*, with Orders to be upon his guard, and to retire with his Troops to the Sugar-Mill belonging to Mr. *Hoek*, or any other convenient place, from whence he might be able to maintain a communication with the *Receif*. Letters were alſo diſpatch'd to Mr. *Dortmont* in *Itamarika*, to Mr. *Carpentier* in *Goyana*, and Mr. *de Linge* in *Parayba*, to advertiſe them of the Enemies arrival.

They equip five Ships.

To ſupply the want of Sea Men, many Labourers were Impreſt aboard the Ships, as were likewiſe 35 Land Soldiers of *Meuchenon*'s Company, who had ſpoil'd their Feet, by their laſt long March; and out of the Ship *Elias* were 1000 Pounds of Gunpowder, and out of the *Dolphin* 600, ſent a ſhoar for the uſe of the Garriſon.

Not long after dinner time the Enemies Fleet, conſiſting of 28 or 30 Ships, appear'd in ſight of the *Receif*, where they caſt Anchor to the North of four of our Ships and a Yacht, which lay in that Road; ſo that the next following Night was ſpent in ballaſting the two Ships, the *Elias* and *Deventer*, and in fitting them for the Sea. The next Morning with break of Day the *Portugueſe* Admiral, who carried the white Flag, ſent *Martinho de Rebeira* and *Balthaſar de Caſtillo*, as his Deputy's aboard the *Dutch* Admiral *Cornelius Lichthart*, who brought four Letters, *viz.* two from the Governour of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles de Sylva*, the firſt Dated the 21ſt, and the ſecond the 22d of *July*; the third from the *Portugueſe* Admiral, *Salvador Correa de Saa Benavides*, and the fourth from *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*, Dated the 12th of *Auguſt*; beſides another Letter from the before-mentioned Governour, directed to *John Fernando Vieira*, *Anthony Kavalkanti*, and the other Heads of the *Portugueſe* Rebels.

1643. *Letters ſent to the Council.*

Admiral *Lichthart* carried the ſaid Deputy's aſhoar, in order to deliver the Letters to the Council; which being tranſlated, were read at the meeting of the Council, the 14th of *Auguſt*, as well thoſe of the Governour, from the 21ſt, 22d, and 24th of *July*; as from *Salvador Correa de Saa Benavides*, Commodore of the *Portugueſe* Fleets, and *Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia*, who had landed *Andrew Vidal* with his Men near *Rio Formoſa*.

The Firſt Letter was as follows.

The Firſt Letter.

PUrſuant to your Lordſhips Letter, and the Propoſitions made in your behalf by your Deputies, Mr. Balthaſar Vander Voerden *Councellor of Juſtice, and* Dieterick Hoogſtrate *Governour of the Cape of St.* Auſtin, *in which you requeſted, the recalling of the Troops under* Henry Dias; *I being deſirous to fulfill my Promiſe, ſent to you in my Anſwer, by the moſt effectual mean that I could poſſibly think of; have ſent the two Colonels,* Martin Soares Moreno, *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros *(both Perſons of unqueſtionable Conduct and Prudence) to the* Captainſhip *of* Pernambuko, *with full Power and Inſtructions, to reduce the revolted* Portugueſes *to their due Obedience, for which reaſon alſo I have ſent a Letter to the ſaid Rebels, to exhort them to the remembrance of their Duty, and to lay down their Arms. Which that it might prove the more effectual, I have ſent thither ſufficient Force, which may be Serviceable to your Lordſhips, to reduce thoſe that remain obſtinate, to Reaſon, and to chaſe the Rebellious Troops out of your Dominions. I hope that with God's aſſiſtance this may prove an effectual means to ſquench the Fire of Rebellion, to reſtore the Peace of* Braſil, *and to encreaſe the good underſtanding and Friendſhip which has been eſtabliſhed betwixt both theſe Nations. We recommend you to God's Protection, Remaining*

Bahia, 21. *July*, 1645.

Your Lordſhips Affectionate Servant, *Antonio Telles de Sylva.*

The

1643. The Second Letter of the ſaid Governour to the Council, runs thus:

The Second Letter.

I Have Diſpatcht my Orders to Colonel Jeronymo Sarrao de Pavia, *Captain-Major of our Fleet, (which I have ſent to your Aſſiſtance) to deliver theſe Preſents to you, immediately after the landing of the Forces aboard the ſaid Fleet, and to Offer in my Name, all the Aſſiſtance he is able to give you, purſuant to my Command, and your Lordſhips Requeſt. I am very ready to Embrace this opportunity, to give you theſe Marks of my Zeal for your Welfare, eſpecially in Contributing what in me lies to the Reducing of your Revolted Subjects to their Obedience. Neither do I in the leaſt queſtion, But that by this Expedient, the Flames of an inteſtine War will be quencht, beyond all hopes of being ever Rekindled hereafter; and that I ſhall have the Satisfaction of having been Inſtrumental to Anſwer the Expectation of your Lordſhips, purſuant to the Propoſals made to me upon that Account in your behalf. So recommending you to God's Protection, I reſt,*

Your Lordſhips,

Bahia, July 22. 1645. *Affectionate Servant,*

Antonio Telles de Sylva.

Beſides theſe, he ſent another Letter by *Don Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, Admiral of the *Portugueſe* Fleet, directed to the Council of *Dutch Braſil*, as follows:

The Third Letter.

WHilſt I was endeavouring to ſatisfie the Requeſt made to me by your Ambaſſadours, and buſied in Embarking the Forces deſign'd for your Service, under the Command of the two Colonels Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros, *together with Colonel* Jeronymo de Payva, *Captain-Major of the ſaid Forces,* Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides *Admiral of this State, and a Member of the Council of Tranſmarine Affairs, eſtabliſhed by Authority of the King my Maſter, happened to arrive by God's peculiar Direction, with his Fleet from* Rio de Janeiro, *in the* Bahia, *in order to conduct them to* Portugal. *But being deſirous to redouble my Efforts, as well in the Conduct of his Perſon as in the Strength of his Fleet, to render the whole the more ſerviceable to your Lordſhips, I thought convenient to ſend the ſaid Admiral with the Fleet under his Command, in Conjunction with the reſt to the Revolted Captainſhip, not queſtioning, but that by his prudent Conduct and Authority, he will be very Inſtrumental in reſtoring the Peace in your Dominions, according to our utmoſt Wiſhes; and I live in hopes, that this may ſerve as real Demonſtrations of the good Underſtanding and Friendſhip, I am willing to Cultivate betwixt theſe two States, both as a juſt Friend and good Neighbour. I recommend you to God's Protection.*

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Your Affectionate Servant,

Bahia, July 25. 1645. *Antonio Telles de Silva.*

The chief Contents of theſe Letters tended to perſwade the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, That the Governour of the *Bahia* had purſuant to the Requeſt made by the Deputies of the ſaid Council, to him, ſent certain Land Forces under the Command of the two Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal de Nigreiros*, aboard the Fleet, Commanded by *Jeronymo Sarrao de Payva*, in Conjunction with the whole Fleet of *Rio de Janeiro*, under the Conduct of Admiral *Korrea*, to aſſiſt them both by Sea and Land, as is Evident from the Words of the preceding Letters: He alſo requeſted by his Deputies, *viz.* Captain *Martinho de Rebeira*, and Auditor General *Balthaſar de Caſtilho*, That the Great Council would be pleaſed to acquaint the King his Maſter with it, in a particular Letter from them to his Majeſty. *The Contents of theſe Letters.*

What deſerves our particular Obſervation in his Letter to *John Fernand Vieira*, and the reſt of the Rebels, is, that he calls them, *The King's Subjects, unto whom he has ſent this Succour for their Defence*; yet with this Reſtriction, in order to reduce them by all gentle means to their former Obedience to the *Dutch* Government. It being Evident, That the Propoſitions made by our Deputies to the Governour *Telles*, tended to no other purpoſe, than to Engage him to recall *Kamaron* and *Dias*, and ſuch others as were come to join with the Rebellious *Portugueſes*, out of the *Dutch Braſil*, and in caſe of refuſal, to declare them Rebels and Enemies of the King of *Portugal*; But he, directly contrary to the Intention and Requeſt of the ſaid Council, had inſtead of recalling them, ſent theſe Forces to their Succours; and inſtead of leaving them to the Diſpoſal of the

1643. the Council, had cauſed them to be landed in a remote Place, where the ſaid *Kamaron* and *Dias* were with their Forces at that time. Neither was the Council ignorant of their Intention, in ſending a Fleet into the Road of the *Receif* at this juncture; tending to no other end than to back the Revolted Rebels in their Deſign, and to Encourage the reſt to take up Arms againſt them.

Diſcourſe upon the ſame.

The Council was fully ſatisfied as to this Point, when they received Advice from the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, That the Garriſon of *Serinhaim* had been forced to Surrender to *Andrew Vidal* after his landing thereabouts. Their chief Debate then turn'd upon this Point, By what means this Fleet might be removed from the Road of the *Receif* and our Coaſts; conſidering that the whole Naval Force of the *Dutch*, then ready to Sail, conſiſted only in Five Ships, *viz.* the *Utrecht*, *Zelandia*, *Ter Veere*, *Zoutlandia*, and the *Golden Doe*, not very well Mann'd, and but indifferently provided with Ammunition, eſpecially with Gunpowder, and few Soldiers could be drawn out of the Neighbouring Garriſons; whereas the *Portugueſe* Fleet conſiſted at leaſt in 8 or 10 ſtout Ships; the Admiral being a two-deckt Ship, reſembling at a diſtance one of their large Galeons; ſo that the Attacking of them appear'd to be a hazardous Enterpriſe. After mature Deliberation, it was unanimouſly reſolved in the ſaid Council, to return Thanks to the Admiral *Salvador Korrea de Saa Benavides*, for the offered Succours againſt the Rebels; and to tell him the Reaſons that obliged us to Deſire him to retire with his Fleet out of our Road, as will more at large appear out of the following Letter: It was thought convenient to Diſpatch the ſaid Letter immediately, and whilſt we ſtaid for his Anſwer, to uſe all poſſible diligence in Equipping the two before-mentioned Ships, the *Deventer* and *Elias*; that if the *Portugueſes* refuſed to comply with the Councils Requeſt, we might be in a Condition to Attack them, and to drive their Fleet from our Coaſt, without which we ſaw but little probability to make our Party good againſt the Rebels, as long as they were back'd by conſtant Supplies from the *Bahia*. It was alſo taken into Conſideration, Whether it were not Expedient to Detain one of the *Portugueſe* Deputies, till ſuch time that *Jeronymo Sarrao de Payva*, ſhould, according to the Requeſt of the Council, come aſhore in the *Receif*; but this Propoſition was rejected, for fear of furniſhing the *Portugueſe* with a new pretence of ſtaying in our Road: Mr. *Gilbert de Wit* and *Henry Moucheron*, both Members of the Council of Juſtice, being ordered to carry the ſaid Letter, they went aboard the *Portugueſe* Admiral the ſame Evening, unto whom they delivered the following Letter to *Salvador Korrea de ſau Benavides*.

1643.

A Letter from the Council to the Portugueſe *Admiral.*

WE underſtand both out of your Lordſhips Letter, and thoſe of the Governour Antonio Telles de Sylva, *delivered to us by Captain* Martin de Rebeira, *and the Auditor-General* Balthaſar de Caſtilho, *as alſo by the verbal Aſſurances given to us by them in your behalf, that your coming with the Fleet into our Road is with no other Deſign, than to aſſiſt us with your Authority and Council in bringing the Rebels to Reaſon; for all which we return our hearty Thanks to your Lordſhip. But at the ſame time we cannot forbear to repreſent to you, That the coming with ſo conſiderable a Fleet in this juncture, gives us no ſmall Cauſe of Jealouſie, not only, becauſe we never Requeſted any ſuch Aſſiſtance; but alſo, by reaſon, That inſtead of Recalling* Kamaron *and* Henry Dias *with their Troops, the two Colonels* Andrew Vidal *and* Martin Soares Moreno, *have under pretence of Reducing the Rebels to Obedience, landed their Men and Ammunition without our Knowledge, in a far diſtant Place, and conſequently for the Defence of the Revolted* Portugueſes; *whereas, (purſuant to his Excellency the Governours promiſe to us) this Reduction might have been much better obtained by a ſevere Proclamation, to oblige them to return to the* Bahia; *or at leaſt, the before-mentioned Colonels ought to have made their firſt Addreſſes to us. Theſe Proceedings, have contrary to your Lordſhips Intention, drawn this ill Conſequence after them, that many of the Inhabitants, imagining no otherwiſe than this Fleet was intended for the Aſſiſtance of the Revolted* Portugueſes, *have alſo begun to take up Arms, in order to joyn with them; which obliges us to return our Thanks to your Lordſhip for the offered Succours, deſiring you will be pleaſed with all poſſible Speed to retire with the Fleet out of the Road; which, as it will undeceive the Inhabitants concerning the ſiniſter Interpretations of your Lordſhips Intentions; ſo it will ſerve as an effectual means to keep them in quiet, which at this Juncture will work upon us a ſingular Obligation. What relates to your Lordſhips Requeſt, to take in freſh Water and Fuel here, being*

1643.

The Portugueſe *Fleet leave the Road.*

1643. *being ill provided with both by reaſon of your ſudden departure from the* Bahia, *we ſhould be very ready to comply with it, were it not for the before alledged Reaſons, and the badneſs of the Seaſon, which would make it very tedious; which obliges us to beg your Excuſe for this time upon that Account. His Excellency* Antonio Telles de Silva *having told us in his Letter, that he had ordered* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva, *immediately after the Landing of the Infantry, under* Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal, *to give us in Perſon a full Account, with what Power he was inſtructed by his Excellency, we deſire your Lordſhip to ſend the ſaid* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva *without delay to us, to Confer with him concerning the Inſtruction he has received from his Excellency in relation to the ſending, and landing of theſe Officers and Land Forces. For the reſt, we refer our ſelves to our Deputies, Counſellors in our Court of Juſtice here, unto whom, we deſire your Lordſhip to give full Credit, proportionable to their own Merits, and the truſt we have repoſed in them.* God Protect your Lordſhip.

Signed by,

Henry Hamel,
A. Van Bulleſtrate,
P. J. Bas,
J. Van Walbeck,
G. de Wit,
J. Albrecht,
Henry de Moncheron,
J. Van Raeſvelt, *and*
J. C. Lichthart.

Receif, *Aug.* 13. 1645.

This Letter was pitcht upon by the before-mentioned Great Council, as the beſt Expedient at this Juncture, till, by the Conjunction of the *Deventer* and *Elias*, we might be put in a probability of Diſlodging them by Force, if they refuſed to retire, at the Council's Requeſt.

The Portuguese Fleet leave the Road.

The 14th by break of Day we ſaw the whole *Portugueſe* Fleet under Sail, and for the moſt part out of ſight; and conſidering that the two Boats, which carried both ours, and the two *Portugueſe* Deputies, would ſcarce be able to overtake them, and that our Deputies in their return were to give an Account to our Admiral on Board his Ship, whether, purſuant to the Council's Letter, the *Portugueſe* Admiral had conſented to ſend *Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva* to the *Receif*, in order to open his Inſtructions to the Great Council; which they had now all the reaſon to believe he would not, they diſpatcht immediate Orders to our Admiral *Lichthart*, to make all the Sail he could with the Ships under his Command after the *Portugueſes*, to obſerve their Motions, and to endeavour to come up with the Flag-Ship, on Board of which was the ſaid *Jeronymo Sarrao*, to deſire him to return with his Ships to the Road of the *Receif*, in order to Confer with the Council in Perſon, concerning his Inſtructions. But after mature Deliberation, the whole Proceedings of the *Portugueſes*, and the Letters of the Governour of the *Bahia*, concerning the pretended Reduction of the Rebels, being look'd upon as meer Amuſements, Orders were ſent to our Admiral *Lichthart*, to oblige all the *Portugueſe* Ships he could meet with to Strike, and to Treat them for the future like Enemies. 1643.

A Letter from the Governour of Rio Grande.

The 28th of *Auguſt*, the Council was advertiſed by Letters dated the 20th, at the Fort of St. *Margaret* in *Rio Grande*, from the Governour *de Linge*, That 12 of the Enemies Ships, after having landed ſome Forces near *Tamandare*, were come into the Bay of *Trankona*; and that according to the Depoſition of a certain *Portugueſe* Priſoner, from on Board the ſaid Fleet, they intended to Land likewiſe ſome Men thereabouts, provided they might be join'd by the Rebels from the *Matta*; but if they fail'd to come, they would return to the *Bahia*. Whereupon Orders were ſent to Mr. *de Linge*, to bring what Forces he was able together, either of Soldiers, *Tapoyers*, or *Braſilians*, to prevent their Landing, and their Conjunction with the Rebels in that Captainſhip.

The next thing under Debate, was, Whether it were not convenient to ſend ſome Ships under the Command of Admiral *Lichthart* that way, to attack the *Portugueſes*; after various Conſultations, it was agreed, To ſtay till all the Ships might be got ready for that Service, to ſupply the want of Seamen by good able Labourers from the *Receif*, and ſo to render our ſelves as formidable at Sea as poſſible could be.

The Dutch Admiral ſets Sail from the Receif.

In the mean while, the ſaid Admiral *Lichthart* ſet Sail the firſt of *September* with four Ships and a Yacht only; he himſelf being in the *Utrecht*, but was forced by ſtreſs of weather, (in which the *Zealandia* loſt a Maſt) and for fear of the Rocks, to come to an Anchor not far from the *Portugueſes*, who endeavoured to gain the Wind of him. Mr. *de Wit* and *Moncheron* return'd alſo with their Boat, having not been able,

1643. by reaſon of the violent Winds, to overtake the *Portugueſes*; but had put their Deputies on Board a ſmall Veſſel, to Sail after their Fleet.

The ſame Day, the Council received Letters from Mr. *Hoogſtraat*, *Ley*, and *Heck*, from the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, That the Enemies had poſted themſelves in the Sugar-Mills *Salgado*, *Surbagne*, and other Places thereabouts; and becauſe the *Portugueſe* Fleet, which had been ſeen off of the Bay of *Traikona*, appear'd again in ſight of the *Receif* the ſame Evening, it was thought Expedient to order Admiral *Lichthart* immediately to go on Board the *Utrecht*, and with that and the Ship *Ter Veere*, and two ſmaller Veſſels, to keep a watchful Eye over the *Portugueſes*: Care was alſo taken to get the Ship the *Oxeryſſel* ready againſt next day, not queſtioning, that when join'd by this, and the *Zeelandia*, and *Golden Doe*, which were ſent abroad for Intelligence, they ſhould be able to cope with the *Portugueſes*, or at leaſt to force them out of the Road. The next Morning early, the *Portugueſe* Fleet might be plainly diſcovered from the *Receif*, but our Admiral was not able to ſtir, by reaſon of the contrary Winds; nevertheleſs, the *Zeelandia*, and the *Ter Veere*, which came from the South, a Cruiſing, made all the Sail they could to eſcape the *Portugueſes*, which they did, being much the nimbler Sailors, and join'd our Fleet.

The 4th of *September*, Major *Bayer* and Mr. *Volbergen*, complained to the Council, That Mr. *Vierbergen*, Count *Maurice*'s Steward, had made it his Buſineſs to give it out, that they being empowered to cut down certain Trees, and ſome part of the Stabling and Gardens, for the better fortifying of the Fort *Erneſtus*, had tranſgreſs'd their Commiſſion, in cutting down many of the great Trees, with an Intention, as he ſaid, to Ruin the whole Plantation; whereas they declared, That they had been very careful in preſerving as much as poſſibly could be all the largeſt *Cocoe*-Trees that ſtood not in their way; That by theſe Rumours, the Rage of the populace had been raiſed to that pitch, that they had much ado to appeaſe them, they being for the cutting down not only of all the Trees, but alſo for the pulling down of the whole Palace of Count *Maurice*; All which they deſired to be Regiſtred in the publick Records, to ſerve them for a legal Defence in due Time and Place.

In the mean time, our Admiral *Lichthart* being gone out in purſuit of the *Portugueſe* Fleet, met with them in the Bay of *Tamandare*, conſiſting of ſeven Ships, three ſmaller Veſſels, and four Barks, the reſt being ſent loaden with Sugar, to *Portugal*. He was not as yet join'd by all the Ships from the *Receif*; but being reſolved not to let ſlip this opportunity of Attacking the Enemy, ſent the 7th of *September* Advice to the Great Council, That being come in ſight of the Enemies Fleet, near the Bay of *Tamandare*, conſiſting in all of Eleven Veſſels, he was reſolved to Attack them there, deſiring them to ſend as many Ships as poſſible they could immediately. Hereupon it was reſolved to join the two Ships the *Deventer* and *Elias*, with the *Unicorn* and *Leyden*, then lying ready in the Road, and bound for *Holland*, and ſuch Tenders as were at hand, and to ſend them forthwith to the Admiral *Lichthart*. Purſuant to theſe Reſolutions, the whole next following night was ſpent in Manning the ſaid Ships, but were the next morning detained for ſome time by the contrary Winds. 1643.

The ſame day Orders were given to all the Soldiers and Inhabitants of the Iſle called *Antonio Vaez*, to provide themſelves with Baskets fill'd with Earth; and Palliſadoes were planted from the Point of the *Receif* next to the River, to the utmoſt Point near the Sea-ſide; and five great Guns were planted upon a certain Wreck, from whence they could Command the Seaſhore as far as to the Fort of five Baſtions.

The Dutch fight and worſt the Portugueſe Fleet.

The 8th of *September*, the *Dutch* Admiral having ordered the red Flag to be put up, boarded the *Portugueſe* Admiral carrying 60 Guns and 300 Men: He behaved himſelf very valiantly, having poſted himſelf at the Entrance of his Cabin with a flaming Sword in his hand, wherewith he kill'd three or four, but having received ſeveral Wounds, was at laſt forced to yield. The reſt of the Ships following the Example of their Admiral, had likewiſe Boarded the *Portugueſe* Ships; but theſe ſeeing the Flag taken down from the Admiral, (a dilmal ſignal of her Misfortune) they loſt all hopes, and threw themſelves headlong into the Sea, to eſcape the fury of the Fire and Sword; whither being purſued by the *Dutch* in their Boats, many periſhed before they could reach the Shore. Above 700 *Portugueſes* were kill'd in this Action, beſides a great number of Priſoners, among whom was the Admiral

1643. Admiral himſelf: Three Ships were taken and ſent to the *Receif*, the reſt were ſet on Fire; being not in a Condition to be carried off, becauſe they had cut their Cables, and were run aſhore, where the *Portugueſes* had planted ſome Cannon upon Batteries, which ſo annoyed our People, that fearing they might run aground within the reach of the Enemies Cannon, they ſet Fire to them, and with much ado got their Ships clear from among the Shelves. After this Engagement, I return'd to the *Receif* to take care of my Affairs there; and the Admiral ſent an Expreſs in a Fiſher-Boat, with the following Letter to the Council of the *Dutch Braſil*.

A Letter from the Dutch *Admiral to the Council.*

NO ſooner were the Ships Leyden, *the Yacht, and the* Doe *arrived laſt Night, near the Point of* Tamandare, *but purſuant to the reſult of a Council of War it was reſolved to enter the next Morning within the Bay, which was performed in the following order. Firſt the Ship,* Utrecht *Admiral, Second the* Ter Veere, *Third the* Zealandia, *Fourth the* Overyſſel, *and Fifth the* Zoutlandia, *followed by the* Doe *and* Leyden, *and the Yacht, the* Unicorn, *the Tenders being ordered to be at hand, as occaſion ſhould require. Being come within the Bar, we found the Enemy ſeven Sail-ſtrong; beſides three ſmall Veſſels and four Barks; and that they had planted ſeveral pieces of Cannon upon two Batteries on the Sea-ſhoar. We received a very warm ſalute both from their Ships and Batteries, and ſeveral Volleys of ſmall Shot; notwithſtanding which the Ship the* Utrecht *couragiouſly laid the* Portugueſe *Admiral on board, after a ſhort but ſharp diſpute took the Ship and the Admirals Flag; To be ſhort, the reſt of our Ships behaved themſelves ſo well, that ſoon after they forced the* Portugueſes *to quit their Ships; God be praiſed for this Victory.* Jeronymo Sarrao de Paiva *the* Portugueſe *Admiral is our Priſoner; and at preſent in my Ship, being ſorely wounded; whom I intend to deliver up to your Lordſhips, ſo ſoon as I ſhall come to the* Receif; *in the mean while I intend to ſend back the* Leyden *and the* Unicorn *to morrow Morning, according to your Lordſhips directions. And, foraſmuch as there is likely to be no more action hereabouts, the Enemy having ſtrengthned themſelves near the Sea-ſhoar, I will with the firſt opportunity return to the* Receif, *where I hope to give in Perſon a more ample account of the whole Action; I recommend your Lordſhips to God's Protection.* In haſte,

From the Ship, *the* Utrecht, *within the Bay of* Tamandare, Sept. 9. 1645.

Your Lordſhips Servant,

Cornelius Lichthart

1643.

The *Portugueſe* Admiral *Sarrao de Paiva* in his Letter, Dated the 18th of *Septemb.* gave the following Account of his Engagement, to the two Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal Negreiros.*

The Portugueſe *Admiral's Letter to* Andrew Vidal.

IT being the general Diſcourſe here in the Receif, *which is likewiſe come to my Ears, that it is reported by you there, how the* Dutch *Admiral* John Cornelius Lichthart, *did before the beginning of the laſt Engagement, enter the Bay with a white Flag, thus ſurpriſing our People, killed many of them in cool Blood. I thought my ſelf obliged to acquaint you, that indeed two Days before the ſaid Engagement a Yacht and a Bark with white Flaggs appear'd at the Entrance of the Bay, at which one of our ſmall Veſſels and a Bark ſhot three Cannon ſhot. But that Day when the Admiral entred the ſaid Bay, he had put up both the* Dutch *and red Flaggs. Neither is it true what had been ſaid of their killing our Men in cool Blood, there being not one Man ſlain aboard my Ship, but during the heat of the Engagement, five or ſix that had hid themſelves below deck having received quarter, and a Soldier ſorely wounded ordered immediately to be look'd after with all care imaginable. Neither was there a ſtroke given after the yielding of the Ship, but every body treated and provided for according to his quality and preſent neceſſity. The reaſon why ſo few had quarter given them, was, becauſe moſt leapt over-board, the Sea-Men firſt, and then the Soldiers; I being not able with Sword in Hand to keep them from chuſing rather to periſh in the Sea than to ſtand it out aboard the Ship. Two or three Perſons of Note ſeeing me ſorely wounded, freely gave me quarter, without knowing either my Perſon, or being asked it by me; a convincing Argument, that they would not have refuſed the ſame to all the reſt, that would have begg'd quarter. I muſt confeſs my ſelf ſo much obliged to the humanity and generoſity of the Admiral, that it is not to be expreſt in Writing. Beſides that it is unqueſtionable, That we firſt Shot at them, back*

1643. *both from our Ships and Batteries, near the Sea-ſhoar. I have given you a true Account of the whole matter, of which as I have been an Eye-witneſs my ſelf, ſo I don't queſtion you will give an entire Credit to what I have Written to you upon this Account.* God protect you for many Years.

Receif, Sept. 18. 1645. *Jeronymo Sarrao da Paiva.*

Andrew Vidal ſent a Letter in Anſwer to this by one of our Drummers (ſent to the Enemy upon ſome Errant) Dated the 20th of *September* as follows:

His Anſwer to the Admiral's Letter.

WE are ſufficiently ſatisfied by your Lordſhips Letter, that, inſtead of being entertained according to your Merits, you receive the ſame ill Treatment with the reſt of our Countrymen; tho' conſidering, that your Caſe is different from the reſt, you ought to have been treated in another manner, your Lordſhip, being come thither without the leaſt Intention of waging War againſt them, (which they ought to have made due Reflection upon) but only as you were going to Convoy ſome Ships homeward, did at their own Requeſt, land our Forces in that Captainſhip; Conſidering the ill Uſage and Tyrannies our Subjects have received at their Hands, we are afraid, we cannot promiſe your Lordſhip a much better Entertainment; of all which Murthers committed in cool Blood, we have taken ſo Circumſtantial an Account, that we are ſure, we ſhall be able to juſtifie our Cauſe, and our ſelves, both to the States of the United Netherlands, *and the reſt of our Allies; for we have Eſht up many of our* Portugueſes *with Bullets and Stones tied to their Legs and Necks; ſome have the good fortune to be ſaved, as they were ſwimming aſhore, but many were burnt alive in the Wrecks of the Ships; the intention of theſe Gentlemen, being without queſtion, by making ſo general a Slaughter among their Fellow-Chriſtians, to cut off from us all hopes of returning home; of all which they will be obliged to give one day a ſevere Account, both to God Almighty, and thoſe who ſhall require Satisfaction for it at their Hands, it being our conſtant Opinion, that they never will be able to juſtifie their Cruelties, and the Miſchief done to our People, either before God, or the King our Maſter: We hope your Lordſhip will reſt ſatisfied in this preſent Condition, and put your truſt in God and our King, who are ſtill alive to Demand a ſevere Satisfaction from them.* 1643. God protect your Lordſhip.

From our Quarters at St. John *in the* Vergen, *Sept.* 29. 1645.

Signed,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

A certain Lieutenant belonging to the Enemy, called *Franciſco Guomes*, came along with the ſame Drummer, with a Letter from the ſaid *Andrew Vidal*, directed to the Great Council, the Contents of which were as follows:

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros's *Letter to the* Great Council.

I Received your Lordſhips Letter at Iguaracu, *wherein you ſeem to be extreamly Diſguſted, at the killing of ſome* Braſilians, *with their Wives, by our Soldiers; under pretence that the abſolute Command over them belongs only to you, which I cannot but be much ſurpriſed at, when I conſider, that your Lordſhips in your Proclamation, wherein you Command not to give Quarter to any* Portugueſe *Inhabitants, (tho' natural Subjects of the King my Maſter) you alledge among other Reaſons, Becauſe they had received their Birth and Education in this Captainſhip, (which however was firſt conquered by the* Portugueſe *Kings, at the Expence of many of their Subjects) whereas now you would Impoſe this Hardſhip upon the ſame Inhabitants, to give Quarter to thoſe* Braſilians, *who not long ago have been maintain'd and inſtructed in the Catholick Faith, as being their Vaſſals, and conſequently not yours, but the King my Maſter's Subjects. Your Lordſhips ought to remember, That you are not in Poſſeſſion of this Country by Right of Succeſſion, or any other legal Pretenſion, but baſely by force of Arms. We Deſire your Lordſhips to take effectual Meaſures concerning the Methods to be obſerved in the carrying on of this War, which we hope will be managed ſo by your Prudence, as that Quarter may be allowed to the Inhabitants of our Nation; if not, I ſhall be obliged to act, as I find it moſt conſiſtent with my Honour, to take Satisfaction for theſe Injuries. We deſire alſo to put a ſtop to the Murthering of the Women, Children, and Antient People in Cool Blood, as has been done lately at* Tihicupapo, Rio Grande, *and* Parayba. God protect your Lordſhips.

From our Quarters at St. John, Sept. 29. 1645.

Signed,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The

1645. The Great Council returned with the Conſent of the Members of the Court of Juſtice, and Colonel *Garſman*, an immediate Anſwer to the ſaid Letter, wherewith they ſent the ſaid Lieutenant, in Company of the Drummer, back, the ſame Evening.

But we muſt look back to their Proceedings: After *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros* and *Martin Soares Moreno* had landed their Men to the number of 1800 or 2000, the 28th of *July* 1645. with good Store of Arms and Ammunition, near *Tamaracare*, betwixt *Olna* and *Formoſa*, they were ſoon after join'd, not only by four Companies, which had taken their way by Land from the *Baha*, but alſo by the Troops under the Command of *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias*, who had hitherto kept *Porto Calvo* blockt up by their Forces. From thence they directed their march to the City of *Serinhaim*, and laid Siege to the Fort in which there was only a Garriſon of 80 *Dutch* Soldiers and 60 *Braſilians*, Commanded by *Samuel Lambert* and *Coſmo de Moucheron*. Two days after their arrival near *Serinhaim*, the Enemy poſted themſelves in the *d'Ingemo* of *Daniel Hohn*; about which time *Henry Dias* was ſeen in *Serinhaim*, notwithſtanding the *Portugueſe* Commanders *Andrew Vidal* and *Moreno* diſown'd to have any Correſpondence with them at that time: The ſaid Commanders had alſo ſent the Captain Major *Paulo de Kunha* before to Summon the ſaid Fort, which he did accordingly by his Letter dated the 2d of *Auguſt*, at the Sugar-Mill of *James Peres*, and directed to *Samuel Lambert*.

The Summons ſent to the Fort of Serinhaim.

I Am come to this Sugar-Mill by ſpecial Orders from Martin Soares Moreno *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, *our Governors, they being very buſie at preſent in landing their Men; they have ſent me before, to prevent all Miſchief that otherwiſe might happen betwixt you and us; and, if in the mean while you will joyn your Forces with ours, or retire with them to ſome other Place, you may ſafely do it, I being ready to furniſh you with Paſſes for that purpoſe, the before-mentioned Governours being come with an Intention to put a ſtop to the preſent Inſurrection.* God Protect you.

From the Sugar-Mill in
St. *Antonio*, *Aug.* 2. 1645.

Paulo de Kunha.

Two days after the before-mentioned Commanders in Chief ſent another Letter to *Samuel Lambert*, very little different from this. 1645.

A Second Summons from the Portugueſe *Commanders.*

WE ſuppoſe you not to be acquainted with the Intention of our coming, which makes us to be the leſs ſurpriſed at your ſtanding upon your Defence. The Great Council of the Dutch Braſil, *have ſent an Embaſſy to our Governour General by Sea and Land,* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *to deſire his Excellency to make uſe of his Authority and Forces, to appeaſe the Inſurrection in this Captainſhip; which Requeſt being readily granted, in order to be Serviceable to the Council, and to free the* Portugueſes *from the Outrages they ſuffered in their Houſes and Families, we were ſent to Land our Forces near theſe Sugar-Mills of* Rio Formoſa; *which having been done accordingly, and ready to march further into the Country, we thought fit to acquaint you with our Intentions, which in all probability may have reach't your Ears, the ſame having been publiſh'd in ſeveral Places by our Proclamations, of which we ſend you one, deſiring it may be affixt on the Church of* Serinhaim. *We deſire you therefore to lay by your Arms, to remove all Suſpicion; not queſtioning, but that we ſhall meet with a favourable Reception, on your ſide, as we on the other hand ſhall make it our main Endeavours to reſtore Tranquillity among the Revolted* Portugueſes *by all gentle means that poſſibly may be uſed; aſſuring you, at the ſame time, that in caſe you refuſe to Concur with us in this Deſign, you will cauſe no ſmall Diſpleaſure to the Great Council of the* Dutch Braſil. *God Protect you.*

From the Sugar-Mill of
Formoſa, *Aug.* 4. 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno,
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The next following day, *Paulo da Kunha* came in Perſon before the Place with a Body of Soldiers and Boors, provided with Arms from on Board the Fleet; and after having Inveſted the Place, cut off the Water of the Fountains and Rivers from the Beſieged. In the mean while, *Rowland Carpenter* and *Daniel Hohn* had been ſent away with Paſſes by the Commanders of the *Portugueſe* Forces, who Embark'd their heavy Cannon on Board *Carpenter*'s Veſſel, in order to carry it up

1645. the River *Formoſa*. Within five days of the arrival of *Paulo da Kunha*, the whole Force of the Enemy appear'd in ſight of *Serinhaim*, in Battle Array, and cloſely blockt up the Fort: The *Dutch* Garriſon was inconſiderable in proportion of the Enemies Strength, who had ſo well guarded all the Avenues leading to the Place, that they were ſoon reduced to want all manner of Neceſſaries, eſpecially of Water. Beſides this, many of the circumjacent Inhabitants and Volunteers, went daily over to the Enemy, who gave them an Account of the Condition of the Fort; and notwithſtanding they had ſent ſeveral Meſſengers to the *Receif*, they had heard nothing from the Council for two Months laſt paſt; ſo that being without all Hopes of maintaining their Poſt, they judged it more for the Intereſt of the Company, to preſerve the Garriſon, which might be ſerviceable in other Places, where there was ſufficient want of good Soldiers, than raſhly to expoſe themſelves to the fury of the Enemies Sword: Accordingly *Samuel Lambert*, *Coſmo de Moncheron*, and *La Motteguey*, who commanded in the Fort, upon the ſecond Summons made by the Enemy, entred the 6th of *Auguſt* into a Capitulation with the *Portugueſes*, of which *Moncheron* gave an Account in Perſon the 15th of *Auguſt* to the Council, and delivered it the 20th of *Auguſt* to them in Writing.

The Fort of Serinhaim ſurrendred to the Portugueſes.

1. "WE the *Portugueſe* Commanders "make known to every "body, that we were ſent into this "Country at the requeſt of the *Great* "*Council* of the *Dutch Braſil*, to appeaſe "the Revolt and Troubles ariſen among "the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants. But at "our Landing here, being informed, "that notwithſtanding this requeſt, and "our good intention, the *Dutch* had "Murther'd many *Portugueſes* in cool "Blood, (it being evident that they had "cut to pieces ſeveral *Portugueſes*, who "were enticed into a Church for that "purpoſe) and that they had form'd a "Camp to oppoſe us, which ought to "be a caution to us, not to leave any "ſtrong holds behind us, whilſt we are "marching towards the *Receif*, we have "thought it neceſſary to enter into this "Capitulation, till ſuch time, that we "may have the opportunity of concert-"ing new meaſures with the *Great* "*Council*, of which the Articles are as "follows:

I. The Commanders *Samuel Lambert*, and *Coſmo de Moncheron* ſhall have leave to march out of the Fort and Caſtle, with the Garriſon, with Enſigns diſplay'd, all their Arms, Matches burning, &c. 1645.

II. They ſhall be permitted to march along the Road with their Enſigns, and Swords drawn, and ſhall be ſafely conducted by One or more Captains, who ſhall alſo be obliged to provide them Carriages and Boats, for the Tranſportation of their Perſons and Goods to the *Receif*.

III. The *Portugueſes* oblige themſelves to reſtore to *Moncheron* all what has been taken from him, and belonged to him before the Siege.

IV. They alſo oblige themſelves to engage the Inhabitants of the City as well as thoſe of *Kamara*, to paſs by all paſt injuries either by word or deed; and that ſuch of the *Dutch* as are willing to continue there, ſhall be maintain'd in their Poſſeſſions in the ſame manner as the *Portugueſes* are; and ſhall enjoy the ſame Privileges, and their own Religion, provided they don't Preach in publick, and pay due reverence to Conſecrated places. They ſhall be at liberty to Trafick with the *Portugueſes*, and call in their Debts, as before, neither ſhall they be obliged to take up Arms againſt the States of the United Provinces.

V. The *Dutch* Officers ſhall reſtore to the *Portugueſes* all their *Braſilians* with their Wives and Children, as being Subjects of King *John* IV. whom God preſerve; and what relates to their reception and Entertainment, is to be left to the diſcretion of the Chief Commanders of the *Portugueſes*.

Upon theſe Conditions they ſhall be obliged to ſurrender the Fort, with every thing thereunto belonging, this Afternoon, but are permitted to provide themſelves with neceſſaries for their Journey, which they ſhall have liberty to perform at their own leiſure.

Signed,

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros,
Alvaro Fregoſo d' Albuquerque,
Diogno de Silveira,
Lopes Laurenzo,
Ferreira Betenkor,
Suppoſito Abuko de Verkoſa, and
Sebaſtian de Guimarez.

Immedi-

1645.

Immediately after the surrender of the Fort, *Moucheron* entred into a long Discourse with the *Portuguese* Commanders, about their proceedings; which he told them, were far different, from what the Governour pretended in his Letters, to wit, the appeasing of the Revolt of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants, according to the request of the *Great Council.* They answered him with Tergiversations, telling him that they would be very careful not to act contrary to the Peace established betwixt the King his Master and the States General. But it was not long, before they began to Lord it over the Country, by taking, such as were in the least suspected to them into Custody, and taking an account of those of the *Dutch* that had Married *Portuguese* Women; nay they erected a Court of Justice of their own, and forced *Moucheron* to sell his Slaves for the Fourth part of what they were worth. They had so little regard to the late Articles, that they caused 30 *Brasilians*, part of that Garrison to be tied to the Palisado's, where they were strangled; The *Portuguese*s alledged in their behalf, that they had suffer'd Death for certain Crimes, they had confessed themselves, tho' it is more probable, they were made Sacrifices to the discontented *Portuguese* Inhabitants, that had made heavy Complaints at the *Brasilians.* However about Thirty of them were spared, and bestowed upon the Officers, to carry their Baggage, and their Wives given to the Inhabitants. The *Portuguese*s made *Alvaro Fregoso d' Albuquerque* Governor of the City and Fort, and made one *Francis de la Tour*, a *French* Deserter, Captain over 40 Deserters, who had taken service among them.

Evasions of the Portuguese*s.*

They also raised three Companies out of the *Portuguese* Boors, or Inhabitants, Commanded by *Pedro Fregoso*, *Ignatius Ferrere* and *Immanuel de Mello*, which were put into *Serinhaim* for the defence of that place, where they also caused two *Jews* to be Baptized, call'd *Jacquo Franco* and *Isaac Navare.* Most of the *Dutch* who had any Possessions or Sugar-Mills thereabouts had Safe-guards allow'd them, so that none, except two, who came to the *Receif*, left that Captainship, of which they had sufficient reason to repent afterwards, being very ill treated by the *Portuguese*s, as shall be shewn more at large hereafter.

The 15th of *August*, in the Afternoon, the Garrison of *Serinhaim* consisting only of 32 Men (the rest having staid behind) arrived in a Bark at the *Receif*; and their Commander in Chief appear'd the same Day before the Council, where he gave an account of the Reasons that moved him to surrender the Place, notwithstanding which he was ordered to be examined by a Court-Marschal to answer the same; The Ensign who had conducted the Garrison to the *Receif*, delivered the same Day a Letter to the said Council, from *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal*, Dated the 8th of *August*, intimating that they were come into the *Dutch Brasil*, by special Command from the Governour of the *Bahia*, and exasperating the outrages, they said were committed by the *Hollanders* against the *Portuguese*s. This Letter had another enclosed from the said Governour, Dated the 30th of *July*, with a Proclamation, to be published in the Captainship of *Pernambuko*, whereby all the Inhabitants were summon'd to appear Peremptorily before them, within the space of Eight Days, to receive their directions, for restoring tranquility among them. The Letter from *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal* was as follows.

A Letter from the Portuguese *Commanders to the Council.*

When your Lordships found your selves entangled by a dangerous Conspiracy among the Portuguese *Inhabitants of this Captainship, you made your applications to* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *Governour General of* Brasil, *desiring him, to make use of the most effectual means he could to appease this Rebellion. About the same time the Inhabitants of this Country by one unanimous Voice implored his aid and protection against those many Affronts, Plunderings, Murthers and Ravishments of Women, they groaned under; being resolved with joint consent to Arm themselves with Sticks (the use of Arms being taken away from them by their Tyrannical Governours) against those oppressions, and to defend their honour to the last gasp; not questioning but that God Almighty would take vengeance for the Blood of so many innocent People. They represented to his Excellency, that he was obliged by his Station to assist them in this extremity, as they were his Countrymen; but, if that should not be prevailing enough; Reasons of State would induce him, not to force them to Despair by denying them his aid; which if he did it should be at the peril of his Head, and that he must give a severe account of it, before God Almighty, and others;*

if

1645. *if they ſhould be conſtrained to beg that from a Foreign Power, which they could not obtain from their Countrymen. The Governour having taken all theſe preſſing reaſons into mature conſideration, and in reſpect both of your Lordſhips requeſt, and the heavy complaints of the* Portugueſes, *made it his chief care, to find out the moſt effectual means (which your Lordſhips ſeem'd to leave to his diſcretion) to appeaſe this Revolt. Being ſenſible that the Revolt of the* Portugueſe *Inhabitants had taken deep root among them, and was likely to prove more univerſal againſt your Government, he judged it moſt expedient, to ſend hither certain Perſons with ſuch Forces, as he thought might either by their Prudence, and, if that fail'd, by force of Arms, reſtore the ſo much deſired tranquility. It is upon this account, my Lords, we are come to this place, in order to employ all our force and aſſiſtance, according to your requeſt, purſuant to the Peace eſtabliſhed betwixt theſe two Nations, in regard of which we value not the expences we have been put to upon this occaſion. But we ſcarce had ſet foot aſhoar, when our Ears and Hearts were ſtruck with the doleful outcries of 40 Innocent Catholick* Portugueſes, *murthered in the Church of* Rio Formoſo, *whither they were enticed for that purpoſe, by thoſe that were in your Service; without the leaſt reſpect of Age or Sex, the very Babes being by the Natives barbarouſly murthered, as they were lying on their Mothers Breaſts. Neither have the Sighs and Groans of many noble Maids eſcaped our Ears, that were raviſh'd in the* Vargea *and St.* Lawrence *by the* Braſilians, *not to mention here, what barbarities have been committed in* Pojuka, *where is the ſight of many a Hermit and innocent Babe who were ſlaughter'd in a Cave. Neither have they abſtain'd from Holy and Conſecrated places; they have cut to pieces the Images of the Saints, and ſtripp'd the Queen of Heavens, the Virgin* Mary *our bleſſed Lady, of all her Apparel; Things ſo enormous, and never heard of before, enough to create horror and aſtoniſhment in a generous Heart. And notwithſtanding your Lordſhips had deſired the Governour General to interpoſe his Authority, you did form a Camp, which continues in the Field to this Day; and we being obliged by our Orders to come to you upon the* Receit, *we judged it not convenient to leave any armed power behind us, which in time might prove the occaſion of great inconveniences to us; we ſhall endeavour to ſhew all due reſpect and kindneſs to your Subjects, and carry the Garriſon of* Serinhaim *along with us, till matters may be concerted betwixt your Lordſhips and us, for the Service of God and the State. In the mean while, we moſt earneſtly deſire a ſtop may* 1645. *be put to the outrages committed by your Soldiers hitherto, to avoid all occaſion of a Rupture on your ſide; We proteſt on the other hand, in the Name of God, and* John IV. *the King our Maſter, whom God preſerve, as alſo in the name of the States General, whoſe Power God encreaſe, that we deſire nothing ſo much, as the continuation of the late eſtabliſhed Peace, which ſhall be the guide of all our Actions; of which we have brought along with us an Authentick Copy, to ſerve us as a ſufficient juſtification by all the Princes of* Europe. *And that your Lordſhips may be ſatisfied in the reality of it, we have ſent you enclosed a Copy of the Proclamation, publiſhed by us, at our landing in this Captainſhip.*

God preſerve your Lordſhip.

Serinhaim, *Martin Soares Moreno,* and Aug. 8. 1645. *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.*

The before-mentioned Proclamation runs thus:

Their PROCLAMATION.

WE *the Commanders in Chief of the* Portugueſe *Forces,* Martin Soares Moreno, *and* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros, *make known to all Perſons, and Inhabitants of the Captainſhip of* Pernambuko; *That, the* Great Council *of the* Dutch Braſil, *having by a Letter ſent to the Governour and Captain General of* Braſil, *given advice of the Revolt ariſen among the* Portugueſes *of this Place; deſiring to endeavour the appeaſing of this Rebellion by his Aſſiſtance; For which purpoſe the ſaid Governour now having ſent us with a ſufficient Force into this Captainſhip, we command all the* Portugueſes, *of what condition and quality ſoever, to appear peremptorily within Eight Days after the publication of theſe preſents, before us, in order to reſtore tranquility among them, purſuant to the requeſt of the Lords of the Council of the* Dutch Braſil. *We alſo hereby intreat the ſaid Lords, in the moſt friendly manner that can be, purſuant to the Tenour of the ſtrict Alliance there is betwixt both theſe Nations, to ſtop the further perſecution of the* Portugueſes, *or any other Warlike Executions; and that if any of their Soldiers preſume to act contrary to it, they may upon complaint made thereof to them, be ſeverely puniſhed.*

I Alexes Antunes *have Penn'd this Proclamation, and I* Franco Bravo Deſembarquador *have approved it.*

Martin Soares Moreno.
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The

1645. The Great Council resolved to give a short Answer to the said Letter, and to Refute the Proclamation by another; and considering, that the Origin and Cause of all those Troubles and Misdemeanours were laid at the door of the Council, they ordered the two Councellours of the Court of Justice *De Witt* and *Moucheron*, in conjunction with Mr. *Walbeck* Assessor in the same Court, to answer the same, and thereby to represent to the Council of XIX in *Holland*, that they were occasioned by the Rebels and their adherents.

In the Month of *August* the Troops lately come from the *Bahia* marched from *Serinhaim* to *Pojuka*, and so to the Cape of St. *Austin*, where being join'd by the Forces under the Command of *Kameron* and *Dias*, and the Inhabitants, they resolved (after our Men had quited *Pojuka* and the City St. *Antonio de Cabo*) to attack the Fort *Vander Dussen* on the Cape of St. *Austin*, from the Landside; pursuant to which resolution, they posted their Troops all along both sides the River.

The Portuguese besiege the Cape of St. Austin.

The Council in the mean while being forewarned of the Enemies design, had ordered the 2d of *August*, Mr. *Adrian Bullestrate* one of their own Members, and Admiral *Lichthart*, to go thither with all speed, and to take effectual care that nothing might be wanting for the Defence of the Place. They were for that end to take a full view of the Fort *Vander Dussen* and all its Out-Works, and to consider whether the Redoubt upon the Hill call'd *Nazareth*, and the Battery at the entrance of the Harbour might be repaired for the better Defence of the Fort. Accordingly Mr. *Bullestrate* and Admiral *Lichthart* left the *Receif*, the 5th of *August*, and arrived the same Evening in the Fort *Vander Dussen*, where having executed their Commission, Mr. *Bullestrate* returned the 9th of *August* to the *Receif*, where he gave the following Account to the Council.

Mr. Bullestrate and Admiral Lichthart sent to the [illegible] of St. Austin.

That he left the *Receif* the 5th of *August*, in the Morning about Nine a Clock, and came the same Evening to the Fort *Vander Dussen* on the Cape of St. *Austin*.

That the 6th of *August*, after Forenoon Sermon was ended he rid with the Admiral, and some other Officers, to the Hill of the Cape of St. *Austin*; where having taken a view of the Harbour, he found the Stone-Redoubt in a Condition to be repaired, without any great Charge, the Cannon upon the Batteries nail'd up, but the Works towards the Seaside in pretty good Order. 1645.

That he had ordered a Draught to be made, to surround the Redoubt with Pallisadoes, to raise a Battery within it, to build a Guard-House, and to widen the Ditches: He also had ordered a Stone Breast-Work, (for want of Wood) to be made on the backside of the Battery, with a row of Pallisadoes, and a Guard House; and that with the first fair weather, they should set on Fire all the Bushes and Brambles on the said Hill, and clear the Ground round about the Church *Nazareth*.

Upon View of the Fort *Vander Dussen*, he had Commanded the Major *Hoogstrate* with all possible speed, to put it in a good posture of Defence, the Admiral having already taken Care to have it surrounded with Pallisadoes: That on the 7th of *August*, having paid off the Garrison, and those belonging to the Artillery, he passed through very difficult Ways to *St. Antonio*, where he likewise paid off the Soldiery, visited the Retrenchment, and put every thing in the best order he could.

That he had Bargained with certain Persons to repair the said Redoubt on the Hill called *Nazareth*, and the Stone Breast-Work, the Building of two Guard-Houses, and surrounding both the Works with Pallisadoes, according to his Draught, for 900 Gilders, the whole to be compleated within three Weeks time. Here it was he had the first Notice of the Landing of some Forces from the *Bahia*, near *Rio Formosa*, by the same Fleet which the Week before was seen off of the *Receif*: But not being able to get any sure Intelligence, he had sent a Messenger to Lieutenant *Montangie*, then Commander in *Serinhaim*, to give him a true Account of the matter, and in what Condition he and his Garrison were at that time; encouraging him by fair Promises, all Communication by Land being already cut off betwixt them. Here he also Listed 38 Volunteers that offered their Service.

That the 8th of *August* he left the said Place, and notwithstanding the badness of the Weather, rid cross the Hills of *Hegendos*, to the Sea-shore, where meeting with the Admiral, they went together up the River *Sangado* with the Tide, as far as *Calendaria*, where they staid for some time, and received the News, that in the last Encounter betwixt Colonel *Haus* and the Rebels near that Hill, above 200 of the last, among whom were some

1645. ſome Officers, were ſlain, and about 40 or 50 on our ſide. One *Melchior Alvares* came on purpoſe to tell them, That about 300 of the Revolted Inhabitants were inclined to accept of a Pardon, which he referred to the Council.

That being ready to take Horſe in order to his return to the *Receif*, a certain Soldier of our Troops, that had been left behind, complain'd that he had been ſtript ſtark naked by the Servants of the Ferryman of the River *Sangada*, who had wounded and beat him miſerably. *Melchior Alvares* was ordered to take care of his Wounds, and Captain *Piſtor* to go with 20 of his Men in queſt of theſe Villains; who, coming to the Ferry, beſet the Houſe, took the Ferryman and his three Sons, Priſoners, but the *Mulat*, who had committed the Fact, eſcaped their Hands.

That he purſued his Journey on Horſeback towards the *Receif*, notwithſtanding the violent Rains, and not without great danger paſs'd the River the ſame night near the Fort *Æmilia*.

That on the 9th of *Auguſt*, he was advertiſed by ſome Negro's belonging to *Moſes Navarre*, whom he had ſent with Letters to *d'Ingenio Surſaque*, that an Ambuſh had been laid for them near *Candelaria*, but the Enemy durſt not attack them, their Negro's being all ſuch as were taken Priſoners, and afterwards made their eſcape to us.

Advice from the Cape St. Auſtin. Major *Hoogſtrate* ſent Advice by his Letters on the 13th of *Auguſt*, to the Council, That the Garriſon and Volunteers of *St. Antonio* being ſafely arrived on the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, they were now about 280 ſtrong, *viz.* 217 Soldiers and Gunners, and 63 Volunteers. That immediately after our Garriſon had left *St. Antonio*, *Kamaron* and *Henry Dias* had poſted themſelves with their Troops in the Sugar-Mill *Algodais*, near that place, where they expected to be join'd by *Martin Soares* and *Andrew Vidal*'s Forces ſafely arrived from the *Bahia*. That he expected every day to be Beſieged, and fear'd nothing ſo much as want of freſh Water, the Spring being cut off by the Enemy. Hereupon immediate Orders were given by the Council to ſend thither 30 Barrels of Water, ſome Ammunition and Proviſion, and what elſe ſhould be requiſite for a vigorous Defence of the Place, which was ſufficiently provided before with Soldiers. The next following Day they received Intelligence from Major *Hoogſtrate*, Mr. *Ley*, and Mr. *Hack*, That the Enemies Troops had taken Poſt in the Sugar-Mill *Salgado Zuvaſiaque* and other circumjacent Places. The Council rely'd much upon the Bravery and Fidelity of the Officers within the Fort, from whom they promiſed themſelves a very vigorous Defence, they being all Perſons who had advanced themſelves in their Services, and were in expectation of better Preferments, *viz.* Major *Hoogſtrate*, *Caſpar Vander Ley* formerly a Captain of Horſe, *John Hack*, and *Albert Gerritſon Wedda* an old Captain, belonging to the Company; But their unfaithfulneſs and covetous Temper over-balanced all theſe Conſiderations; for the ſaid Major *Hoogſtrate* Commander in Chief, with the Conſent of *Caſpar Vander Ley*, and *Albert Gerritſon Wedda*, treacherouſly and villanouſly Sold and Surrendred the ſaid Fort to the *Portugueſe*, the 23th of *Auguſt* for the Sum of 18000 Gilders, beſides ſome other Reward promiſed them upon that Account. They went over with the whole Garriſon to the Enemy, who made *Hoogſtrate* Colonel of a *Dutch* Regiment, raiſed out of theſe and other Soldiers of ſeveral Nations, that had Deſerted our Service. Thus this ſtrong hold was betray'd to the *Portugueſes*, by a Perſon who owed his whole Fortune to our Company.

Martin Soares Moreno gave the following Account of the Surrender of this Fort to the Governour *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, in his Letter dated from the Hill of *Nazareth*, *Aug.* 26. 1645.

A Letter to the Governour of the Bahia, *concerning the taking of the Cape of* Puntael.

SUnday the 23th of this month, God Almighty, through his Mercy, has put us into the Poſſeſſion of the Fort of the Cape of Puntael, *which was Beſieged by* Andrew Vidal de Negreiros: *The next day we were rejoyced with the Money ſent to us by your Lordſhip; and the Wine preſented to me in particular, part of which I have beſtowed upon Entertaining ſome of our Friends, who are merry with me at this time.*

We have made an excellent Bargain; for beſides the Importance of the Place, and its Artillery, we have got the very flower of their Soldiers; beſides, that this will be like a ſignal to the reſt to follow their Footſteps.

John Fernand Vieira *has raiſed on Saturday laſt the Sum of* 4000 *Ducats for our Uſe, though not without Force, but it was very welcome to us at this time, when we were upon ſtriking up the Bargain for the better*

1645. *better fortifying of this Place, the Harbour of which is not inferiour to that of the* Receif: *But I will not trouble your Lordſhip any longer with this point.*

Not long after the Surrender of the Fort, a Bark appeared in ſight ſent to its Relief from the Receif. *We ſent Captain* Barreiros *with a well-arm'd Bark out againſt her, who took her with* 35 *Men, and good Store of Gunpowder and Bullets, all which will prove very ſerviceable to us.*

I kindly deſire your Lordſhip, that in caſe you ſend a Meſſenger with this News to his Majeſty, Captain Damian de Lankois *may be employed upon that Errand, it being very probable, that the King, beſides a good Preſent, will Reward him with ſome honourable Employment.*

Laſt Night we received Advice, That the Fleet under Jeronymo de Paiva *was entred the Bay of* Tamandare; *I am ſorely afraid, they will be Attack'd by the Ships ſent thither from the* Receif, *notwithſtanding we have deſired him ſeveral times to come into our Road.*

Kapivara *is gone from that Place by Land to the* Bahia, *perhaps he has given him notice that we are Maſters of the Cape; if he thinks fit to bring his Fleet to this Place, he is ſafe, if not, it lies at his door. 'Tis diſcourſed here, that the Ship the* Biſhop *is miſſing, perhaps he has a fancy to Convoy* Salvador Korrea *ſome part of the way.*

I cannot forbear to let your Lordſhip know how much you ſtand Indebted to Major Dieterick Hoogſtrate, *and the reſt of the Commanders of the Fort. We have promiſed to the firſt a Commandery of Chriſt. I beg of your Lordſhip to make my Promiſe good to him in his Majeſty's Name, as ſoon as poſſible may be, he being a Perſon, who will be ready to do us all the further Service he can. We have for the preſent engaged him with ſome Preſents of leſs moment, of which we ſhall give an Account to you hereafter. Captain* Vander Ley *has likewiſe deſerved well of us, and ſo have all the reſt that had Married* Portugueſe *Women: It is reported here, That he is a Perſon of Note in his Country: We have likewiſe promiſed to him a Commandery of Chriſt, and a yearly Penſion for one of his Sons: We hope your Lordſhip will not refuſe to make good our Promiſe, becauſe his Sons are Born of a* Portugueſe *Woman: The name of the Eldeſt being* John, *and the Youngeſt* Caſpar Vander Ley. *The reſt are at preſent at their Habitations, as ſoon as they return, we muſt Engage them with ſome Promiſes, of which we will give an Account to your Lordſhip. They are all of Conſequence to us, having Married* Portugueſe *Women. I hope your Lordſhip will be well ſatisfied with this piece of Service; for* John Fernand Vieira 1645. *ſometimes brings us more Money in an hour, than the Conqueſt of the Cape coſts us. He is at preſent in the* Vargea *among the* Barbarians, *and we in the Fort on the Cape, till we have got every thing in readineſs.* Kapivara *is about three days ago, gone by Land, poſſibly he may be with you before the Bark which carries this Letter; I wiſh it may arrive in ſafety, and to your Lordſhip, a long Life for the Defence of this State.*

Signed,
Martin Soares Moreno.

Martin Soares Moreno, and *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros,* had in the mean while ſent 7 or 8 Letters from the Cape of *St. Auſtin,* dated the 23d, 30th, and 31ſt of *Auguſt,* and the 2d and 6th of *September,* in which they advertiſed the Admiral *Paiva,* That they were in poſſeſſion of that Cape, deſiring him, by all means to come with his Fleet into that Harbour. The firſt of the two laſt Letters was thus written.

Letter from the Portugueſe *Commanders to Admiral* Paiva.

My Lord,

WE are got now into the Poſſeſſion of the Harbour of Nazareth, *and that as the ſaying is, without caſting an Anchor; which is the reaſon we intreat you likewiſe to come with your Fleet hither; where you may Careen your Ships, and provide your ſelves with freſh Proviſions, Men, Ammunition, and all other Neceſſaries, till ſuch time we ſhall mutually Agree in what is further to be undertaken for the Service of God and his Majeſty. The Enemy has hitherto but one Ship of Strength at Sea, the reſt being of no Conſequence; neither are they for Engaging with you at this time, but Endeavour to cut off your Communication with the Sea-Coaſt. My Lord, You have given ſo many Proofs of your Courage before this time, that this Retreat will not abate any thing from the Fame of your Victories: On the other hand, You have to conſider, that you are anſwerable for ſo many thouſand Lives, of thoſe that are in your Fleet; wherefore we deſire you once more to come hither with the Fleet, and ſuch Officers as are under your Command, where you will meet with a very kind and comfortable Reception. But being ſenſible, that it would be a groſs Error in us, to urge a matter ſo Evident in it ſelf, any further, to ſo great a Commander as you,*

we

1645. *we live in hopes of your coming, where we intend in the Houſe of* Nazareth, *to receive the bleſſed Sacrament, which name we have given to the Fort, having among other things found a Maſs-Book here, which is of no ſmall ſervice to us.*

God preſerve your Lordſhip.

Puntael, *the 2d of* Sept. 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

The Contents of the Second Letter to the ſame Admiral are as follows:

YOur Lordſhip being already acquainted with our being Maſters of the Puntael (*Cape*) *we hope you will take the firſt opportunity of coming to us; The Enemies having two Squadrons of Ships at Sea, with one Fire-Ship, to force you from this Coaſt, which has been diſcovered to us, by a Letter writ at the* Receif, *and directed to the Governour, and taken by us in a Bark deſign'd for the relief of that place. Of which we thought fit to give you immediate notice, that you might take your meaſures according to your wonted Prudence. Theſe* Dutch *Gentlemen have by their treacherous dealings obliged us to have recourſe to open Force; and we deſire your Lordſhip to repay them in their own Coin, with Fire and Sword, as they do to us. If you deſign to come hither, it muſt be done ſpeedily, all delay being dangerous at this time. We have a true Copy of this Letter in our Journal, to ſerve for our juſtification hereafter.*

God preſerve your Lordſhip

Dated in the *Puntael* of the bleſſed Sacrament, *September* the 6th, 1645.

Martin Soares Moreno, and
Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

An account of the Surrender of the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, and of the further Tranſactions betwixt us and the *Portugueſes*, was ſent in a Letter by *Caſpar da Koſta D'Abreu*, from the ſaid Cape to his Friend *Domingos da Koſta*, an Inhabitant of the *Bahia*, which runs thus:

I Wiſh this Letter may find you in good Health, as I who am your faithful Comrade deſire; I am in a tolerable good condition in the Puntael *of* Nazareth, *which after a Siege of* 20 *Days was ſurrendered to us, at an eaſie rate, becauſe thoſe who commanded within the Fort, had* Portugueſe *Wives, and their Eſtates thereabouts. The Captain of Horſe, was the moſt forward of all in Surrendering the Place; They have obtained what Conditions they demanded, and a gratuity of* 4000 *Ducats beſides. We found in the Fort* 300 Dutch, *of their beſt Troops, and twelve Braſs Pieces of Cannon, four of which were four and twenty Pounders, and Proviſions for three Months, ſo that, if they had not come with us to a Compoſition, it would have coſt us abundance of Men, whereas now we have gain'd the place, with the loſs of one ſingle Man, who was kill'd by a random Cannon ſhot. We made our ſelves Maſters of a Bark, firing from the* Puntael, *before its Surrender, in which was a Gentleman with ſeveral* 100 *Men, that were going to the* Receif. *This Gentleman and another of* Serinhaim (*being both Magiſtrates in their reſpective places*) *we delivered up to the Inhabitants, who ſoon kill'd them, notwithſtanding one was Married with a* Portugueſe *Woman; for they having been heard to ſay, That they hoped to waſh their Hands in the Blood of the* Portugueſes, *the Women were ſo much exaſperated againſt them, that they ſoon diſpatch'd them, according to their deſires. The Priſoners are for the moſt part detained at St.* Anthony, *in order to be ſent to the* Bahia; *but many among them have taken Service with us. We ſuppoſe the number of the Dead and* Dutch *Priſoners amount to near* 1300; *We have not ſeen the Squadron under* Salvador Korrea de Saa; *we are afraid ſome misfortune has befallen him; ſome of our Ships were cruiſing hereabouts, but within theſe three or four Days, none of them have appear'd on this Coaſt. The* Dutch *have a Fleet of* 12 *Ships at Sea; it is well, if they don't venture a bruſh with us. The* Receif *with all its Forts are inveſted,* Lawrence Karneiro *is at* Porto Calvo; *The* Jews *report, that orders are come, to take all the* Dutch *Forces out of* Rio Grande, Paraiba *and St.* Francis, *in order to tranſport them to the* Receif. *There is no great harmony betwixt the* Jews *and* Dutch, *the firſt pretending that the others intend to ſell the Country. Four of their head Officers, which are our Priſoners, are ordered to be ſent to the* Bahia, *and among them their Maſter of the Artillery. The ſame Day that we were become Maſters of* Puntael, *a Bark arrived there from the* Receif, *with orders to keep it to the laſt extremity; we took the Bark with good ſtore of Ammunition and Proviſion, worth in all about* 1500 *Ducats.*

Sept. the 5th, 1645. *Caſpar da Koſta d'Abreu.*

From

1645. From this and the following Letters, it is apparent, that Major *Hooghſtraten* had laid the foundation of his Treacherous Deſign of betraying the Cape of St. *Auſtin* to the *Portugueſes*, long before; to wit, ever ſince he with Mr. *Balthaſar Vander Voorde* was ſent to the Governour of the *Bahia*, *Antonio Telles da Sylva*. Thus a certain Serjeant ſold a Redoubt near the City of *Olinda* to the Enemy for 300 Gilders.

At the beginning of the Siege of the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, *Andrew Vidal de Negreiros*, ſent two Letters to Major *Hoogſtrate*, *Ley* and *Hick*, by one *John Guomes de Mello*, Dated the 13th of *Auguſt*; in the firſt of which the ſaid *Vidal* complains of the ill treatment and Murthers committed upon the *Portugueſes* by the *Dutch*; in the ſecond he requeſts them, to declare, purſuant to the promiſes made by *Hoogſtrate* in the *Bahia*, for the King of *Portugal*, and to deliver the Fort into their hands.

Two Letters from Vidal *to* Hoogſtrate.

The Firſt was as follows:

I Am come this Morning to the Village of St. Antonio de Cabo, *in hopes of receiving news from you and Captain* Ley. *I give by theſe preſents notice to you, that we are ſent hither by order from the Governour* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *with no other intention than to appeaſe the Troubles lately ariſen in this Country, purſuant to the requeſt of the Council, of which you are a ſufficient Witneſs. No ſooner, were we arrived at* Tamandare, *but we received many Informations directly contrary to what we expected to meet with here*; viz. *That in* Rio Grande 37 *Inhabitants had been murthered, many Virgins deflower'd, and the Image of the Virgin* Mary *groſly miſuſed by the* Dutch; *things ſo abominable in themſelves, that it is ſcarce to be imagined ſo brave a Nation ſhould be guilty of ſuch enormities. Whilſt I am writing this Letter, news is brought me, that the* Dutch *have cauſed many of the Inhabitants of* Goyana *to be murthered*; *tho' I can ſcarce give Credit to it*; *for ſuppoſing this to be true, we could not avoid giving aſſiſtance to theſe miſerable People, tho' they were the moſt deſpiſeable of all Nations*; *conſidering they crave our help, and are not only Chriſtians, but alſo Subjects of the King our Maſter, whom God preſerve. Whilſt the Council was in expectation of the Iſſues of the intended accommodation, they have ſurpriſed and killed many of the Inhabitants, which obliges us, to require you in the name of God, of his Majeſty, his Highneſs and the States General, not to give any occaſion for a Rupture, but to maintain the late concluded Peace to the utmoſt of your Power, as we are ready on our ſide, to concert all poſſible meaſures with the Commander in chief of this place*; *Which may tend to the tranquility of both Parties. The Bearers hereof are Captain* John Guomes de Mello, *and Lieutenant* Francis Guomes; *who, we deſire, may be diſpatched back with all poſſible ſpeed.*

1645. God preſerve you for many Years.

Auguſt 13. 1645. *Andrew Vidal*

The Second Letter was written thus:

The Second Letter.

YOUR promiſe made to us in the Bahia, *and what has ſince been told by Captain* Ley *to* John Fernandes Vieira, *and Captain* John Guomes de Mello, *encourages us, to proceed in our former deſign, not queſtioning but that both you and Captain* Ley *will not in the leaſt recede from the engagement you have been pleaſed to oblige us with, and to tie us to your Service. We are come into this Country at the head of* 3000 *choſen Men, back'd by two Squadrons of Men of War, well Equip'd, one of which has not as yet appear'd on this Coaſt, the other you have ſeen your ſelf paſs by the other Day. I hope this may ſerve as a means to ſet the poor miſerable Inhabitants at liberty*; *and as both they and we wiſh for nothing more, than to ſee you embrace our ſide, that we may not want an opportunity to give you more evident proofs of our reſpect and affection towards you, ſo, we deſire you not to entertain the leaſt ſiniſter ſuſpicion of us*; *we being ready (for the performance of which we by theſe preſents give you our words) to accompliſh in every point, what has been promiſed to you, by* John Fernandes Vieira, *and* John Guomes de Mello. *And I for my part aſſure you that I will not fail to perform and agree to, whatever you ſhall further demand upon this occaſion.*

The Inhabitants of the place ſhall be provided with Paſs-Ports, and protected by us, in the ſame manner as the Commander of Serinhaim, Carpenter, *and ſome others were*; *and we expect the ſame at your hands. And that you may be ſure whom to treat with upon this account, we have ſent to you* John Guomes de Mello, *who is intruſted with the whole matter*; *which if you refuſe to do we*

1645. *we muſt take ſuch meaſures, as we ſhall judge moſt expedient for us.* In the mean while God preſerve you for many Years.

Your affectionate Friend

St Antonio de Cabo,
Aug. 13. 1645. and Servant,

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

Major *Hoogſtrate*, Mr. *Huck* and *Ley* ſent an Anſwer to this Letter immediately, containing in ſubſtance, that they were not in the leaſt concerned in the outrages committed by the *Tapoyers* againſt the *Portugueſes*, and ſeemingly refuſed to treat with *de Mello*.

It runs thus:

His Anſwer to them.

WE *have received your Letter ſent by* John Guomes de Mello, *out of which we underſtand, that you are come to St.* Antonio. *We are extreamly well ſatisfied, that the Governour* Antonio Telles da Sylva *has undertaken to appeaſe the tumults ariſen in theſe parts, and don't queſtion but that your preſence will contribute much towards the accompliſhment of it. The affronts and outrages you ſpeak of by the* Tapoyers *and* Dutch *Soldiers put upon the Inhabitants, as they were committed ſorely againſt our will, ſo I can aſſure you that no body not ſo much as the leaſt Child has been ſuffer'd to be miſuſed upon our accounts, ſo that theſe Complaints muſt not be made to us, but ought to be reſerr'd to the Council. The Treaty you propoſe with Captain* John Guomes de Mello, *and Lieutenant* Francis Guomes, *is beyond our Province and Power, ſo that we earneſtly deſire you, not to uſe any further ſollicitations to us, upon that account. So we kiſs your Hands, recommending you to God's protection.*

We reſt your Servants and good Friends,

Caſpar Vander Ley,
D. Van Hoogſtrate,
John Hick.

Major *Hoogſtrate* took care to ſend theſe two Letters together with their Anſwer to the Council, with repeated Aſſurances of their conſtant Fidelity; whereupon the Great Council confirm'd *Hoogſtrate* in his Government, and exhorted *Ley* and *Hick* to perſevere in their brave Reſolution, which they would in due time take care to reward with better preferments. This diſcovery of the Enemies Letters being look'd upon as an undeniable proof of Mr. *Hoogſtrate*'s ſincere Intentions, had ſuch an influence upon the generality of the People, that there was ſcarce any body but what thought himſelf ſecure of his Fidelity and Duty. Nevertheleſs as theſe Temptations could not but raiſe ſome jealouſie in the Minds of the Council, they thought fit to ſend Colonel *Haus* to the *Receif*, to order him to the Cape of St. *Auſtin*.

Hoogſtrate diſcovers theſe Letters.

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The Council in the mean while being by *Vidal*'s Letters to *Hoogſtrate* ſufficiently convinced, that the intended recalling of the Rebellious Troops were nothing but amuſements, ſent immediate orders to their Admiral *Lichthart*, that for the future he ſhould treat all the *Portugueſe* Ships he could meet with as Enemies.

Conſultations about drawing all the Forces to the Receif.

The 15th of *Aug.* Colonel *Haus* being come to the *Receif* propoſed to the Council, that he judged it abſolutely neceſſary for the Service of the State, that ſince by the Succours come from the *Bahia* to the aſſiſtance of the Rebels under *Martin Soares Moreno*, and *Andrew Vidal*, they were grown very ſtrong and numerous; the Troops encamped in the Field ſhould be drawn into the *Receif*, becauſe they being beſides the *Braſilians*, not above 300 ſtrong, they might eaſily be cut off in a place, where they could not be ſeconded from the *Receif*; where they were wanting for the defence of that place, which being the Capital of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, would in all likelyhood be attack'd with the utmoſt vigour, by the Enemy.

Againſt this Opinion many Reaſons were alledged too.

I. By ſo doing they muſt quit all the open Country, from whence they were now ſupplied with Cattle and Meal, which they ſtood highly in need of, till ſuch time, that they could receive new Supplies from *Holland*, and that in ſuch a caſe they muſt expect the Enemy immediately at their Gates.

II. That thereby the number of the Enemy would be increaſed, the Inhabitants of the Country being freed from the dread of our Troops, would join with them againſt us.

III. That by ſo doing we muſt leave the *Tapoyers*, that had taken up Arms at our requeſt, and were to be joined by our Troops near *Machiape* or St. *Antonio*, muſt be left to the Enemies Mercy. To this it was Anſwer'd,

1. That as to the Supplies of Cattle and Meal from the Country, they ſhould be

1645. be in a much better Condition to be furniſhed withall, when their Forces could be ſent abroad into all circumjacent Parts of the Country, whereas now they were forced to remain in one certain place. Beſides that, we being Maſters at Sea, might Embark at any time a certain number of Men, and Land them where we found it moſt convenient; which would oblige the Enemy, inſtead of Beſieging the *Receif*, to divide his Forces for the Defence of the Country. What related to the increaſe of the Enemy's Forces, by the Acceſſion of the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants of the Country, was to be look'd upon as of no great Conſequence againſt us; it being more for our Intereſt, to ſee them appear as declared Enemies, than diſſembling Friends; it being generally known, that their Inclinations were bent for their Countrymen, and that notwithſtanding all their ſpecious Pretences, they miſs'd no Opportunity of giving Intelligence to the Enemy of what paſs'd among us; whereas, if they were once declared Enemies of the States, we ſhould have a fair opportunity of ſeizing upon their Cattel, Proviſions, and other Moveables, for the uſe of the *Receif*; which being thus provided, would diſcourage the Enemy from attempting to reduce it by Famine.

What was alledged concerning the Danger of the *Tapoyers*, was acknowledged to be of no ſmall moment; but conſidering they had received no News as yet of their Motion, it was not judged of ſuch vaſt Conſequence, as to be put in Balance with the Welfare of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, which depended in a great meaſure on the Safety of theſe Troops.

After mature Deliberation of the whole matter, it was reſolved, on the 15th of *Auguſt*, by the Council, with the Approbation of the Members of the Court of Juſtice, That conſidering the Danger the Troops were expoſed to, and that on their Safety depended the Preſervation of the *Receif*, they ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed march thither; and that only 50 Men ſhould be left in the Houſe of *De Wit*, under Captain *Wiltſchut*, in order to Command ſome part of the circumjacent Country, and to ſerve as a Retreat for our Parties that ſhould be ſent abroad to fetch in Cattle and *Farinha*, or Meal.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, Colonel *Haus* went thither on Horſeback the ſame day, to put it in Execution the ſame evening, if poſſible he could, or at furtheſt the next morning. But it ſeems Colonel *Haus* was ſo neglectful, as to delay the march of theſe Troops not only that afternoon, but alſo the whole next following day; and inſtead of retreating towards the *Receif*, tarried in the ſame Sugar-Mill without having the leaſt Intelligence of the Enemies approach; ſo that on the 17th of *Auguſt*, being ſurpriſed by the Troops of *Andrew Vidal*, much more numerous than his, before they could betake themſelves to their Arms, they were put to the Rout. The Council being advertiſed, That Colonel *Haus* with his Troops were attack'd by the Enemy in the Sugar-Mill of Mr. *De Wit*, they call'd the City Militia to their Arms, Mr. *Bulleſtrate* and *de Bas* went to the Houſe *Baviſta*; from whence, as being nearer at hand, they might give the neceſſary Orders, according as they ſhould receive Advice from *Haus*: And 12 Firelocks were poſted in this Houſe for the better Security of the Bridge croſs the River. *Dieterick Hamel*, and the Councellors of Juſtice, took care to look after the *Receif*. Immediately after Word being brought to the Council, that Colonel *Haus* had been overthrown, and was retired to the Houſe of *de Wit* belonging to the Sugar-Mill, it was conſulted, whether by any means they might be able to relieve him; and, tho' by reaſon of the weakneſs of the Garriſon, it was no eaſie matter to do it; nevertheleſs, it was reſolved, with 100 Volunteers of the Inhabitants, and 150 Soldiers, to attempt his Relief. But before this could be put in Execution, a certain *Braſilian*, that had been preſent at the whole Action, and having, by changing his Cloaths with a *Portugueſe*, found means to eſcape to the *Receif*, brought the unwelcome News, That Colonel *Haus*, with the Forces under his Command, had Surrendred the Houſe belonging to the Sugar-Mill, and themſelves, upon promiſe of Quarters, at Diſcretion.

1645. *Colonel Haus put to the Rout.*

Colonel Haus ſurrenders at Diſcretion.

It was generally believed, that this Misfortune was chiefly occaſioned by Colonel *Haus*'s own neglect, who did not, till it was too late, put the Soldiers into a poſture of Defence; which was afterwards confirmed by the Depoſition of *William Jacobſon*, late Captain Lieutenant of Colonel *Haus*'s own Company, made before the Great Council, the 6th of *July* 1646.

It was not till the Night before our Defeat that Colonel *Haus* received the firſt Intelligences from a Priſoner a *Negro*,

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A further Account of the Defeat of Colonel Haus by Captain Jacobion.

gro, That the Enemy, with a ſtrong Body, were broke up from *Moribeka*. The next Morning one of our Safe-guards brought Word to the Colonel, that the Enemy was paſſing the River; and ſoon after, the Colonel's Groom, who had been to Water his Maſter's Horſe in the ſaid River, came in a full Gallop, telling him likewiſe, that the Rebels were paſſing the River; ſo that we ſoon after heard them Fire upon our advanced Guard; who retired immediately to the main Body. Colonel *Haus* did not call the Soldiers to their Arms, or cauſed the Alarum to be given, until the Enemy came within ſight of us, and charged our Out-guard; when we firſt began to Skirmiſh with them: But they charging us with their more numerous Forces in the Front; whilſt *Cameron* with his Troops endeavoured to cut off our Retreat to the *Receif*, which we were not able to prevent, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of our number, *Haus* ask'd Captain *Wiltſchut*, *Blaer* and *Liſtry*, *What was beſt to be done? Wiltſchut* anſwered, *You never ask'd our Advice before, do what you think beſt.* Whereupon *Haus* ordered to Retreat to the Houſe of Mr. *de Wit*: Captain *Blaer*, who expected no Quarter, being on the other hand for Fighting our way through to the *Receif*. The Houſe was bravely defended for 4 hours, but at laſt Powder and Ball beginning to fail, becauſe half a Barrel of Gunpowder, (which was all they had left) blew up by Accident, they Surrendred at Diſcretion to *Andrew Vidal*, under Condition to have their Lives ſaved, as well for themſelves as the *Braſilians* among them; which Agreement being ſigned by *Vidal*, and 2 or 3 more of the Chief Commanders of the *Portugueſes*, was delivered to Colonel *Haus*. Notwithſtanding which, the *Braſilians* were cut to pieces by the Inhabitants with Conſent of the *Portugueſe* Commanders, as ſoon as we had quitted our Poſt in the Houſe. The *Braſilian* Women ſeeing their Husbands Murthered before their Faces, daſh'd moſt of their Childrens Brains againſt the Walls, for fear they ſhould fall alive into the hands of the *Portugueſes*. All the *Dutch*, about 250 ſtrong, among whom were Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Blaer* and *Liſtry*, were made Priſoners of War, and were for the firſt four or five days kept in the Sugar-Mill of *Itamaraca*; when *John Fernandes Vieira*, and many of the Inhabitants ſollicited *Andrew Vidal*, to deliver the ſaid Priſoners up into their Hands, with an Intention to kill them; but *Vidal* refuſed to grant their Requeſt, and cauſed them forthwith to be ſent by Land to the *Bahia*: They were indifferently well treated in their Journey thither; but ſuch as either by reaſon of Sickneſs, or any other Accident, were left behind, fell into the Inhabitants hands, who cut them to pieces, and would have done the ſame with all the reſt, had it not been for their Convoy. After their arrival in the *Bahia*, an Account being taken of their Names, they had certain Quarters aſſign'd them, and Thirty one Pence Halfpeny *per* Week for their Pay, and a Meaſure of Meal for every Ten days.

1645.

They had liberty to walk up and down within the City where they pleaſed, except Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Wiltſchut*, and *Liſtry*, who were confined to their Lodgings, and durſt not, without ſpecial leave, talk with any Body. Colonel *Haus* was at laſt ſent to *Portugal*, and *Wiltſchut* and *Liſtry*, in *June* 1647. put on Board a Ship, with 230 *Dutch* Priſoners; about 60 of our Men took Service among them there, but they refuſed the Natives of *Holland*.

The Enemies being greatly incouraged by theſe Succeſſes, and their Strength increaſing daily by the great Concourſe of the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants, who in the Captainſhips of *Paraiba* and *Goyana*, which hitherto had remained in quiet, and engaged themſelves to the Government by a new Oath of Allegiance, now alſo took up Arms againſt us; ſo, that it was thought convenient to recall our Garriſons out of thoſe Parts.

What Arms the Garriſon of the Caſtle of St. Antonio.

But to return to the Cape of *St. Auſtin*; after the Surrender of which the Garriſon was carried to *St. Antonio*, where they were forced to deliver up their Arms. Among the reſt of our Priſoners there was *Iſaac Zweers*, afterwards Vice-Admiral of *Holland* and *Weſtfriſeland*, *Abraham Van Millingen*, and *John Broeckhuſen*, both ſtill living in *Holland*. Major *Hoogſtrate* addreſs'd himſelf to them, endeavouring to bring them over to the *Portugueſe* ſide, by the Allurements of Captain, Lieutenant, and Enſign's Places, telling them, That it would now be in his Power to promote them to much higher Imployments; but when he ſaw them refuſe his Offer, he ſwore, They ſhould repent it. At the ſame time he preferr'd three *Dutch* Men, to wit, *Winſel Smith*, formerly his Lieutenant; *Alexander Boncholt*, and *Claes Claelen*, a Native of *Amſterdam*, to Captains Places; the laſt of theſe three being an intimate

A Dutch Trumpeter diſcovers the Enemies deſign upon Itamatika, to the Council.

Friend

1645. Friend of *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen*, told them, and confirmed it by many Oaths, That he had taken Service among them for no other end, than to get an opportunity of returning to us. They had alſo liberty given them to walk abroad, but not without a Guard to keep a watchful Eye over all their Actions.

Not long after the *Portugueſe* Providor *Mor* ſent for *John Broekhuſen*, and after the firſt Complements were paſs'd, told him, That if he would ſerve the King of *Portugal* in the quality of Commiſſary-General, he ſhould go along with him to the Camp, where he ſhould receive 100 Gilders *per* month, and be wellcome to his Table beſides; and that if he refuſed his Offer, and ſtaid behind, He would be in danger of being Murthered by the Inhabitants. He reply'd, That being engaged by his Oath to the Company, he could not break it, tho' with the hazard of his Life. *And*, (ſaid the Providor) *will you chuſe rather to ſerve a Company of Mob than a King? We are juſt now upon the point of executing a Deſign, which is infallible; and then you will begin to ſee that the King's Cauſe is the juſteſt, and will be crown'd with Succeſs for ever.* Then he gave him a Cup, with Brandy, of which after Mr. *Broekhuſen* had taken a good Draught, he took his leave, and return'd to his Comerades, unto whom he gave an Account of what had paſs'd betwixt them.

Theſe had in the mean while been inform'd by ſome *Portugueſes*, that this Deſign was upon the Iſle *Itamarika*; and being certain, that the Council did not foreſee this Danger, they were contriving all poſſible means, to give them notice of it; but could not pitch upon any Perſon fitly qualified for this Undertaking. At laſt, *Iſaac Zweers*, by vaſt Promiſes of Reward, prevailed ſo far upon a *Dutch* Trumpeter, call'd *Martin Stomp*, that he undertook to carry this piece of News in Perſon to the Council, and at the ſame time to Requeſt the Releaſing of the *Dutch* Priſoners ſtill remaining at *St. Antonio*. Every thing being Agreed upon betwixt them, the Trumpeter took his leave of Mr. *Zweers*, and ſet out on his Journey to the *Receif* about Midnight, leaving his Wife and Children behind him. Mr. *Zweers* and Mr. *Broekhuſen* appear'd very well ſatisfied, but nevertheleſs were in their Hearts not a little concerned for the iſſue of this Enterpriſe.

A Dutch Trumpeter diſcovers the Enemies deſign upon Itamarika, to the Council.

They would often call upon the Trumpeter's Wife to Enjoyn her Silence, and ordered her, that if any enquired after him, to tell them, That he was run away from her in order to take Service in the Camp, in the *Vargea*. 1645.

Some days after they met with one *Peter Ritſaur*, formerly Baker to the Gariſon of the Cape of *St. Auſtin*; *Broekhuſen* having a mind to feel his Pulſe, and finding him not averſe to ſuch a task, he at laſt with fair Words prevail'd upon him to undertake the ſame Journey the Trumpeter had done before; that, in caſe he ſhould miſcarry, which they much feared he might, the Council might nevertheleſs be advertiſed of the Enemies intended Expedition againſt *Itamarika*. The Baker having deſired a Certificate from them, teſtifying, That he never had taken Service among the *Portugueſes*, prepared himſelf for his Journey, which he intended to begin with the firſt dark Night.

A Baker ſent upon the ſame Errand.

The ſame Night they were forewarn'd of a Deſign againſt their Lives, by a certain *Italian* call'd *Jacomo da Perugalho*, ſo that *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* gueſſing, not without reaſon, that ſome of the *Portugueſes* had got Scent of their ſending away the Trumpeter and Baker, thought it not adviſeable to ſtay longer in this place, but to ask leave from Colonel *Pedro Mavinha Falkaho*, to go to the *Algodais*, where they could not want Conveniency to go along with the reſt of the Priſoners, that were intended to be ſent to the *Bahia*, which was readily granted.

In the mean while, the Baker having taken the firſt opportunity to ſet out on his Journey, was met by two *Portugueſes* in the Sugar-Mill *Trapicha*, who having found the before-mentioned Certificate about him, carried him Priſoner to *St. Antonio de Cabo*, where being put to the Torture, it made ſuch a noiſe among the Inhabitants, that they all riſe up in Arms, proteſting, They would not be ſatisfied, till they had fetcht *Zweers* and *Broekhuſen* from the *Algodais*, and cut them to pieces; for which purpoſe they alſo obtained ſeven Soldiers from *Pedro Marinha*, and had certainly put it in Execution, if Captain *Ley* had not oppoſed it; for as good luck would have it, they happened at that time to be in his Sugar-Mill, and the Baker had ſtood it out bravely, without diſcovering the matter. The next morning Captain *Ley* gave them a Viſit, telling them what had happened, and ſays he, to *Broekhuſen*, *What is your meaning by this?* but he having no great confidence in *Ley*, denied every thing to the utmoſt.

Is ſeized

1645. But the second of *October* the whole Design was likely to have been discovered by the Imprudence of the beforementioned Trumpeter's Wife, who being got drunk, told some of her Acquaintance, That her Husband was gone to the *Receif*. She was carried a Prisoner to the Cape of St. *Austin*, where she was miserably tortured, but being a resolute Woman, would not confess any thing: It was however Major *Hoogstrate*'s Advice, That the *Portugueses* ought not to keep the *Dutch* any longer in *Pernambuko*, but that all such as refused to take Service among them, ought to be sent to the *Bahia*. Accordingly all the *Dutch* Prisoners then about the Cape and St. *Anthony*, were sent to the *Algodans*, where every one was ask'd by Colonel *Pedro Marinha*, Whether they would take Service under the King of *Portugal*; and that such as would not, should be sent forthwith by Land to the *Bahia*, a tedious Journey, besides, that they ran the hazard of being Murthered by the way. Many took Service, for fear, but *Zweers* and *Brockhusen* being ask'd again, Whether they were not willing to serve the King; they answered, They would rather Die, than bear Arms against their own Nation.

The 5th of *October*, All the Prisoners under a Convoy, both of Soldiers and Boors, were carried from the *Algodans* to *Penuka*. But scarce were they come thither, when *Zweers* was ordered to be sent back to the Cape of St. *Austin*, where he was put to the Rack, to Extort from him a Confession concerning the Trumpeters Journey to the *Receif*, who, as they supposed had discovered their Design upon *Itamarika*; but not being able to bring him to make the least discovery, they sent him, after an Imprisonment of five Weeks, to the *Bahia*.

In the mean while Mr. *Brockhusen*, with the rest of the *Dutch* Prisoners, had been forced to Travel day and night, till the 28th of *November* 1645. when they came to a Castle call'd *Tapuao* on the Seashore of the *Bahia*, about half a League from the City of St. *Salvador*, after a dangerous Journey: They were carried in Ten Boats, to the City, on that side where it is best fortified, the *Portugueses* being not willing to let them have a sight of the Fortification on the Land side, Mr. *Brockhusen* was by order from the Governor *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, made a Prisoner in a Citizens House, and the Soldiers disposed into Quarters. The next day, they heard the Drums beat up for Volunteers, every one being Invited to Serve the King of *Portugal*, of what Nation soever, except the *Dutch*. 1645.

The next following year, on the 18th of *January* 1646. *Zweers* and *Brockhusen* Intercepted a Letter writ by *Hoogstrate* to *Houdins*, concerning several Transactions to be communicated to the Governors, of which Captain *Ley* having got scent, gave immediately notice thereof to the Governor the first of *February*, who threatning them with no less than the Gallows, sent them to a loathsome Prison; with strict Orders that no Body should be permitted to Speak with them, nor that Pen, Ink, or Paper, should be allowed them; nay, whilst the Clerk was setting down their Names, a Captain came and told them from the Governor, That they were the Traytors who kept Correspondence with the *Dutch* in the *Receif*; and ordered, that a Centinel should be set at the Prison-Door, to keep the Inhabitants from laying violent hands upon them; for as they were carrying to Prison, they made a horrible Noise, crying, *To the Gallows with these Impostors and Traytors.* They remained five whole days in this Prison, without any Victuals or Drink, till being almost Spent with Hunger and Thirst, they got leave to write to the Governor, representing to him their deplorable Condition; who gave immediate Orders that Victuals should be given them for the future: The *Portuguese*-Keeper being afraid, that if they should give them Plenty of Victuals at first, it might turn to the Danger of their Lives, was so cautious, as to send them no more than each a piece of Bread well dipt in Wine at first, and after some hours, such another, but something bigger, till by degrees their Stomachs were restored to their former digestive Faculty. 1646.

The last day of *February*, the Governor gave publick Audience (which is done three times every year) for the Releasing of those, that are Prisoners on the King's Account. Upon this Occasion a free Access was likewise granted to our People to the Governor: They pass'd through the Anti-Chamber, lined on both sides with his Guards, into the Room of Audience, adorned with Damask Hangings of divers Colours: Here they found the Governor sitting in an Elbow-Chair, on the right-side of which stood the Royal Throne, raised four Steps higher from the Ground than the Governors Seat, which was surrounded upon

1645. upon the Floor with very fine Tapestry. Just behind him stood his Secretary, and some Halbardiers; on both sides sat several Councellours and Lawyers, their heads covered, and behind them the Officers of the Army, all uncovered. The Governour, as soon as he saw our Prisoners, gave them a sign to come nearer, which they having done accordingly, Mr. *Broekhusen* upon his Knees, spoke to him thus: *We suppose your Lordship not to be Ignorant, that now for a whole Month we have been detained in a miserable Prison; without being conscious of any Crime committed against you, unless it were, that we have detained the Letter, your Lordship knows of; If in this we have committed a fault, we beg your Lordships Pardon.*

And (replied the Governour) *supposing you had done such a thing in* Holland; Upon which *Broekhusen* answering, *That his Lordship would be pleased to remember, that it was no more than a private Letter, and not directed to his Lordship*; The Governour after having paused for a little while, gave immediate Order for their Discharge; From that time they had liberty given them of walking abroad, but were fain to carry themselves very swimmingly, for fear of the Inhabitants, who kept a watchful Eye over them.

And from Portugal.

The 7th of *May*, *Isaac Zweers* and *John Broekhusen* were carried on board a Yacht call'd the St. *Francis*, in order to be conveyed to the Isle of *Terceira*; and, as they were the first *Dutch* Prisoners that were sent to that Island, every body look'd upon it no otherwise than a pretence to throw them over-board, after they were come at Sea. Here they met with worse treatment, than before, being forced to stand to the Pump, during the whole Voyage, and yet were ready to be starved, notwithstanding the Sea-Men catch'd more Fish, than they could consume. At last the 28 being arrived in the Road near *Terceira*, they saw within an Hour after a *Dutch* Ship coming to Anchor near them; they call'd to the Ship till the Master sent some of his People aboard them, unto whom they made their Complaints, and understanding that the Master was a Native of *Niewendam*, call'd *Martin Peter Honing*, they began to be a little chearful, tho' the *Portugueses* would not allow them to go aboard the *Dutch* Ship. But the 29 being left alone with the Steer-Man and only one Boy in the Vessel, they found means to go in spite of their Keepers, aboard *Martin Peter Honing*, who promised to see them delivered. The same Afternoon *Moor* the Governour of this and the adjacent Islands, residing in *Terceira* sent for *Zweers* and *Broekhusen*, and told them that he had received a Letter from the Governour *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, in which he desired him, to detain them Prisoners in the Castle for a Twelve Month; but that he did not think himself obliged to follow his directions, he having no other dependance but on the King, who being not concerned in this War, his Orders were to send all the Prisoners brought thither to *Portugal*; That they might rely upon it, and for their present Sustenance, till a Ship should be ready to go, ordered them Nine Rix Dollars.

The 13th of *June* they met with a Master of a *French* Vessel, who offered to carry them without any reward to *Portugal*, which they willingly accepted of: Here they met with many of their fellow Prisoners, who had imagined no otherwise, but that the *Portugueses* had thrown them over-board. They continued here till the 10th of *September*, when Mr. *Zweers* and *Broekhusen* embark'd themselves at *Lisbon* aboard a Man of War, call'd the *Prince Henry*, and at last the 4th of *December*, after a thousand Dangers and Miseries, which they had sustained since their departure from the *Dutch Brasil*, arrived safely in the *Maese*.

And from the Portugal.

But we must return towards the *Receif*; The unexpected defeat of Colonel *Haus*, put all the Inhabitants of the *Receif* under a great Consternation; But the Council left no Stone unturn'd to put the place with all the adjacent Forts in a condition to make a vigorous defence, in case it should be attack'd by the Enemy; And that every thing might be performed with the best order that could be, *Peter Bas* was constituted Commander in Chief in the *Receif*. Admiral *Lichthart* was to take care of the Batteries and Artillery thereunto belonging; *Henry Moucheron* was made Commander in *Maurice's Town*, all their thoughts being now bent upon the Defence of these Places, which before they judged out of Danger.

Arrived safely in Holland.

Preparations in the Receif.

The Stables and out Houses for the use of the Negro's, as likewise the Walks and Gardens belonging to Count *Maurice's* House, being no small impediment to the Fort *Ernestus*, it being to be feared that under favour of these Houses and Trees the Enemy might unexpectedly surprise the Fort, and *Maurice's Town*,

1645. *Town*, and the Inhabitants earneſtly requeſting the pulling down of thoſe Stables, out Houſes and Trees, and what elſe might prove dangerous to the Place; Orders were given to Mr. *Valbergen* and Major *Bayert*, Commanding in the Fort *Erneſtus*, to ſee the ſame put in execution, with as little damage to the Houſe, as poſſibly could be. The Houſes near the Fort *Bruin* were likewiſe ordered to be pull'd down, and the Horn-work belonging to it, to be level'd at the requeſt of the Citizens. Many Negro's were alſo employed under the Conduct of Major *Bek*, and the Captain of the City Militia, to break down all the Houſes in *Maurice's Town*, which lay too near the new Retrenchments. All *Portugueſe* Priſoners were ordered to be diſtributed in the Ships, and ſeveral Volunteers who had committed many outrages in the Country, and were detained in Cuſtody, were taken into Service for three Months. A Rumour being ſpread abroad that 18 of the Enemy were come into the *Aſſagados*, a Company of Citizens, were got in readineſs to aſſiſt them, but it proved not true.

The Ship the Orange-tree comes from Holland.

The ſame Day the Ship call'd the *Orange-tree* arrived near the *Receif*, being come out of the *Maeſe*, the 21ſt of *May*, with 35 Soldiers for Recruits. The Watches were ſo diſpoſed, that in *Maurice's Town* Mr. *de Wit* and *Ratsfield*, (beſides the ordinary Officers) and in the *Receif* Mr. *Aldrich* and *Valbergen* ſhould go the rounds.

Balthaſar Dortmund, Governour of *Itamarika* ſent Advice to the Council the 17th of *Aug.* that *Kavalkanti* was with ſome Troops come to *Iguaraku*, and had ſummon'd the *Braſilians* to join with him in four Days, under Forfeiture of their Lives.

The Citizens Petition for the pulling down of Maurice's Houſe.

The 19th, The Citizens preſented a Petition, ſhewing the neceſſity of having the Houſe of Count *Maurice* pull'd down, as hindring the Proſpect from the Fort *Erneſtus*, and if once poſſeſs'd by the Enemy, they might from thence annoy both the Fort and the *Receif* it ſelf with their Cannon. But the Council having adviſed with Mr. *Walbeck*, Admiral *Lichthart*, *Aldrich*, *de Wit*, *Ratsfield*, *Moucheron* and *Valbergen*, thought fit not to agree to it for that time, being in hopes that it might be made uſeful for their Defence. Mr. *de Wit* and *Hamel* were commanded, to go from hence to each Houſe in *Maurice's Town*, and to take an exact account of what Negro's were able to bear Arms, and to furniſh them, with Muſquets and Pikes; The ſame charge was given to Admiral *Lichthart*, and Captain *Bartholomew Van Collen*, for the *Receif*. All the Sick that were in a ſtate of reconvaleſcency, in the Caſtle were likewiſe ordered to be Armed for its Defence. 1645. *Negro's Armed.*

Orders ſent to Mr. Dortmont.

At the ſame time an Anſwer was ſent to Mr. *Dortmund*, with Orders to draw as many *Braſilians* as poſſibly he could into the Iſle of *Itamarika*, and to provide himſelf with as much Cattle and Meal (Farinha) as he was able to get out of the adjacent Places; But that, if he found himſelf not in a condition to maintain the whole Iſland, or the City of *Schep*, he ſhould retire into the Fort *Orange*, where he might be ſupplied by Sea, and conſequently make a Vigorous Defence. Mr. *Carpenter* was likewiſe forewarned to be upon his guard, and to retire in time into the Iſle of *Itamarika*, with his Soldiers and *Braſilians*, if he found the Inhabitants ready to take up Arms againſt him.

The 19th at Night, a Party went abroad to get Intelligence, but met with no Enemy. Some Negro's were alſo ſent towards the Enemies Quarters, to know their Strength. The ſame Evening the Council received a Letter by Lieutenant *Francis Meades* from *Andrew Vidal*, in which he teſtified his readineſs ſtill to maintain the Peace, complaining at the ſame time of Outrages committed by our Soldiers, as may be ſeen out of the following Letter.

A Letter from Vidal *to the Council.*

WE have ſent you Advice before by Lieutenant Manuel Antonio, *of our arrival in this Captainſhip, by Orders from the Governor* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and at your own Requeſt; in order to reſtore Tranquillity here by the moſt effectual means we could Deviſe. We alſo did repreſent to your Lordſhips, the many Innovations, and unaccountable Proceedings, which have reacht our Ears, by the lamentable cries of ſeveral Noble raviſhed Virgins, and the doleful complaints of the Inhabitants of* Rio Grande, *where 40 Perſons of Note, together with a Prieſt, and the other Day two more in the* Salinas, *were murthered in cool Blood. I can't ſcarce mention without horror, (and the reſpect every one ought to have to Sacred places, forbids me to particularize) the outrages committed againſt the Images of Saints, and eſpecially that of the Mother of God, and Sacrileges committed by your Soldiers*

1645. *Soldiers: All which Conſiderations, together with that we found you in a Warlike Condition, with your Troops in the Field, Natural right of ſelf Defence eſtabliſhed by the conſtant cuſtom of War, did teach us, not to leave an armed Power behind our backs, which upon occaſion might have proved fatal to us, before we could come to a Reſolution, in conjunction with your Lordſhips, what meaſures were beſt to be taken, for the reeſtabliſhment of that tranquility, which was the only aim of our coming into theſe Parts; according to which we have regulated our ſelves in our march towards the Recife, till we come to the Town of St.* Antonio de Cabo; *where, having cauſed* John Fernandes Vieira *to be taken into Cuſtody, under a Guard of twelve Soldiers, we were ſurpriſed at the vaſt numbers of Inhabitants, Children, Women, and Religious Men, who to ſhelter themſelves from the Outrages and Robberies committed againſt them, by Captain* Blier *in the* Varzea, *came to ſeek for ſhelter among us. They gave us an Account, how that the ſaid Captain not ſatisfied, with having plundered their Houſes, had carried away three of the Nobleſt Ladies of the Country after they had been grievouſly diſgraced before; The Inhabitants being exaſperated by theſe Violences, did (againſt our will) leave our Camp ſo ſuddenly, that whatever haſte we made to march after them, we could not overtake them, before they were engaged with ſome of your Troops, in the Sugar-Mill of* Mabel Gonſalves, *which they intended to have ſet on fire, had it not been for our Men, who were forced to interpoſe betwixt them and your Soldiers, to their no ſmall danger and our loſs, as being expoſed to the Volleys of your ſmall Shot, which conſiſted for the moſt part of Bullets, cut in pieces, and made four ſquare. As the Hoſtilities committed daily againſt our Troops, cauſed freſh occaſions of Revolt among the Inhabitants, ſo we can't but lay before your Lordſhips the late Proclamation, and Ratification of Peace betwixt us, proteſting now and for ever in the Name of God,* John IV. *our King, as alſo in the Name of the States General and all our Allies, that your Lordſhips will not let things come to a Rupture, and not give us new cauſe of taking offenſively, or to declare War againſt you. We can't longer diſſemble our Opinion, that the reiterated complaints of the Inhabitants, may at leaſt in ſome meaſure ſerve for an excuſe, if not a juſtification of the proceedings of* John Fernandes Vieira, *concerning whom we are ſufficiently ſatisfied, that his firſt intentions were only to afford protection to ſome Innocent Perſons, threatned with deſtruction; which tho' it was in his Power to do, yet did he retire from place to place with his Forces, in hopes of avoiding any Engagement, till forced thereunto by neceſſity, he was conſtrained to repel Force by Force. We beg of your Lordſhips to take this Letter into ſerious conſideration, being of ſo much conſequence, to our both ſides ſafeties; for it ſeems as if Heaven it ſelf were offended at our proceedings.* 1645.

God preſerve your Lordſhips.

From de Ingenio *of* St.
John Baptiſt de Venies,
Auguſt 19. 1645.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.

An Anſwer from the Council was ſent the next following Day by the ſame Lieutenant.

The Councils Anſwer.

OUT of our *Anſwer to your Letter, Dated at* Serinhaim, *the 8th of* Auguſt, *you may ſufficiently ſee, that the Proteſtations made both by the Governour* Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and by your ſelf, concerning the maintaining of the Peace betwixt his Majeſty of* Portugal *and the States General of the United Provinces, were never look'd upon by us, as ſincere, or to be relied upon, ſince your Actions did in no wiſe agree with your words. The treacherous Propoſals made to one of our Deputies, to betray one of our beſt ſtrong-holds into your Hands; The Landing of ſo formidable a Force in our Territories, without any knowledge, under pretence of a miſinterpreted Senſe of our Letter to his Excellency, The coming with a ſtrong Fleet into our Roads: The taking of the Fort of* Serinhaim; *the ſlaughter of ſo many* Braſilians, *our Subjects, in cool Blood; the Summons ſent to the Cape of St.* Auſtin, *for a Surrender, nay the attacking and ſurpriſing of our Troops, who were forced to keep in the Field, for the bridling of our Rebellious Inhabitants; all theſe, we ſay, can't by any unbiaſs'd Perſons be looked upon otherwiſe, than manifeſt Infractions of the ſaid Treaty, and open Hoſtilities. We on our ſide, can without the leaſt contradiction to truth poſitively declare, that our Armament was not in the leaſt intended againſt his Majeſty of* Portugal, *but againſt the Rebels and their Adherents; which we were compelled to, when we ſaw many armed Troops to penetrate into our Territories croſs the River St.* Francisco. *The ſurpriſing of ſome of our Barks in the* Salgados; *the taking of the Houſe* Marecape, *and making our Safeguards Priſoners there, as well as at* 1645.

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Cambao, *and several other Places; The Gallows that were erected on purpose to terrific our Inhabitants into a compliance with the revolted Party; the killing of three of the said Inhabitants of* Pojuka *in cool Blood, and the surprising of several of our Soldiers and* Brasilians *sent to St.* Lawrence *to fetch* Farinha; *the plundering of the Houses and Shops of several Trades-Men in the Country, with many such like violences committed by the revolted Party, and what is the worst, before ever we appear'd in Arms, but endeavoured by Proclamations of Pardon and of maintaining them in their Possessions, to divert the danger, all these actions we say, will not admit of any other Interpretation, but of open Hostilities.*

How can it be supposed, that in the Station we are, we could after all these provocations and slights of our kind offers, desist any longer from drawing the Sword. Whatever in the mean time has been transacted contrary to the custom of War, has been done without our knowledge and intention, being occasioned by the treacherous dealings of the Rebels, and consequently to be look'd upon as deserved punishments rather, than the consequences of a just War; Besides, that neither his Excellency Antonio Telles da Sylva, *neither you nor any body else has any legal Power to call us to an Account concerning the Government or punishment of the Subjects of the States General, no more, than the King of* Portugal *is an-* [illegible], *for what is transacted upon* [illegible] *Kingdom or other Do-* [illegible].

Notwithstanding which we would have you not in the least lay the before-mentioned [illegible] *and Violences at our Door; we are* [illegible] *from having encouraged or commanded the* Tapoyars, *to Kill the* Portuguese *Inhabitants in* Cunhao, *that for these several Years last past, we have endeavoured to prevent it; for having, by the ill treatment they had received from the* Portugueses *been extreamly exasperated against them, they were for killing most of the Inhabitants of that Captairship, and had actually put it in execution, had we not interposed our Authority, and ordered our Garrisons to take them into their particular protection. What you say of ravishing of Women, is not only beyond our knowledge, but even beyond whatever we heard of before, having taken all imaginable care to prevent such Violences by our Proclamation, published for that purpose. It is known to all the World that we afforded our peculiar protection to the Women of* de Ingenio, *of St.* Arnout d' Orlanda, *and what concerns the taking of the Ladies by Captain* John Blaer, *was, as we are informed, done with no other intention, than to exchange them for his Wife, or at least to keep them as Hostages for her, he having received Intelligence, that she was very ill treated by you at* Serinhaim. *The Rebels themselves made the first step towards those Robberies and Rapines that have been committed by our Soldiers since; which however, cannot come into balance with those Cheats, Frauds and Rapines, wherewith those Rebels have defrauded and robbed their Creditors of their Debts and Goods; notwithstanding which we have by granting safeguards and otherwise done all what in us lay, to prevent the same.*

The late Murther upon the Person of the Salinhas *was committed the 17th of* August, *without our Knowledge, to our great dissatisfaction, by the flying* Brasilians, *who being enraged at the killing of their Men, Women and Children, at* Serinhaim, *without any distinction of Age or Sex, took this opportunity of Revenging themselves. You may easily guess that the Papers dispersed by* Anthony Kavalkanti *at* Iguaracu, *have also contributed not a little to this Enterprize.*

Of the Bullets mentioned by you to have been used in the last Encounter, we have more reason to complain than you, it being our constant Order, not to recede from what is the custom of War in these Cases.

The Courtesie shewn in the saving and receiving our Soldiers, we are ready to Acknowledge, and to return upon the like Occasion, desiring you would send us back your Resolution upon this Point, by the same Drummer.

It being evident from what has been alledged, That all the past Misfortunes ought to be imputed to the Rebels, unto whom we endeavoured by all requisite means to restore Tranquillity and Peace; but they persisting in their Rebellious Designs, deserve rather condign Punishment, then the least Excuse at your Hands. For which reason it is, That we protest before God, and the whole World, against the Proceedings of his Excellency Antonio Telles da Sylva, *and what else has been committed by your self contrary to the Treaty concluded betwixt his Majesty of* Portugal *and the States General of the* United Provinces; *not questioning, but that upon the receipt of these Presents, you will retire with your Forces to the* Bahia, *and thereby put an end to the further Violation of the said Treaty. Thus, expecting your Answer, we rest,*

Sir,

Receif, *Aug.* 20.
1645.

Yours, &c.

The

1645. The same Night word being brought that some of the Enemies Troops were advanced to *Olinda*, Notice was given to all the circumjacent Forts, to prepare for a vigorous Defence, and two Batteries ordered to be raised on the backside of the dwelling Place of the Negroes, from whence they might Command the Avenues to the *Recef* along the Riverside. Several Volunteers lately come from the flat Country, were Incorporated into one Company, under the Command of Secretary *Hamel*, as Captain, and *Jeronymo Hollan* their Lieutenant: Two advanced Guards were placed; one betwixt the Fort *Brum* and the Triangular Fort; the second, betwixt the Hill and Count *Maurice*'s Plantation: Part of the Bridge of *Boavista* was broken down, to hinder the Enemies passage that way; and considering the Importance of the Triangular Fort, a Detachment of 26 Soldiers out of several Companies was ordered to reinforce the Garrison there. The same Care was taken for the Security of *Maurice*'s Town, *Antonio*, *Vaez*, the Fort *Ernestus*, the Quinquangular Fort, and all the rest.

Major *Bayert* was ordered to have the remaining Walls of Count *Maurice*'s Stables pull'd down, because they hindred the prospect from the Fort *Ernestus*; and *Henry Vermeulen*, was commanded to employ 30 Negroes in clearing the Plantation of Count *Maurice* and the Ditches from all Rubbish; and the before-mentioned *Bayert*, ordered to remove the Pallisadoes from the said Gardens, and to put them round his Fort. The Engineer *Tuscon* had Orders given him to set a row of Pallisadoes on that side of the Fort of *Ernestus*, where it front the before-mentioned Gardens, and to extend them five Rods into the River. And, this Fort being not sufficiently stored with heavy Cannon, Commissary *Stiebe* was to carry thither two great pieces, then planted at the Bridge-foot, and instead of them to place there two Culverins; likewise the Entrance of the Channel of *Maurice*'s Town was stopt by a double row of Pallisadoes. The Members of the Council, in Conjunction with those of the Court of Justice, took another view of the Suburbs of *Maurice*'s Town, to consult whether it were best to maintain, or to desert that Post, but the Resolution thereof deferr'd till the next day. Two great Cannon were planted in the Quinquangular Fort, to Command the River-side; and, in consideration, that the Hornworks belonging to that Fort, required a considerable number of Men for their Defence, the Governor of the Fort was ordered to have the same levell'd by his *Brasilians* and Soldiers, and 100 Negroes; And the Woods betwixt the said Fort and the *Affagados*, were ordered to be cut down by the *Brasilians* belonging to t Fort, when it was also resolved to draw the Fortifications of *Maurice*'s Town into a narrower compass, and to repair the Walls round the *Recef*; so that by the indefatigable Care of the Council, all the Fortifications both of the *Recef*, and the other adjacent Places, were put into such a good posture of Defence, that the Enemy, tho' very strong, durst not attempt any thing thereabouts for that time. Mr. *Dortmund* had drawn near 1400 Persons into *Itamarika*, 700 of which being Women and Children, he desired some Supplies of Provisions, but for the rest, had put the Island in a good posture.

Mr. *Linge* by his Letter, dated in *Paraiba* the 22d of *August*, sent Advice to the Council, That after Notice given him of the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, he had judged it most convenient to remove the Garrison and Inhabitants of *Frederica* into the Forts; that however the *Portugueses* were pretty quiet as yet, notwithstanding his whole force consisted not in above 400 Soldiers, 100 Inhabitants, and 50 *Brasilians*, among whom were a good number of sick and maimed Men; and that the *Tapoyers* had slain about 12 or 14 labouring Countrymen. Major *Hoogstrate*, *Ley*, and *Heck*, had not long before given notice to the Council, That they had burnt all the Houses, but especially the Magazine and Church without the Fort, for its better Defence, and that the Enemy had posted themselves on the Hill of the Cape, and on the Southern Island. *Letters to the Council out of Paraiba.*

On the 25th of *August*, upon another review of the Fortifications of *Maurice*'s Town, the same were ordered to be brought forthwith to Perfection.

The same day the Council received Letters from Mr. *Linge*, by the way of *Itamarika*, dated the 18th and 19th of *August*, in *Paraiba*, That *William Barents* had sent him Advice from *Kumbao*, the 14th of *August*, That he and *Rudolph Baron* had a Troop of *Tapoyars* ready for our Service, every thing being very quiet thereabouts; but that the said *Tapoyars* had carried away all the Cattle belonging to *Peter Farcharson*, which had occasioned no small scarcity of fresh Flesh thereabouts. It

1645.

It was also judged absolutely necessary by the Council, to take into their serious Consideration the present Condition of the Forts in *Rio St. Francisco* and *Seregippo del Rey*, which being provided but with slender Garrisons, and all Communication cut off betwixt them and the *Receif*, and in great danger of being lost; it was judged absolutely necessary, after the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, to endeavour the preservation of them, and consequently of the whole *Dutch Brasil*, by removing them from thence to the *Receif*.

Consultations about removing several Garrisons to the Receif.

To accomplish this with all imaginable security, Mr. *Walbeck* was deputed by the Great Council to the Council of War, to know their Opinion, by what means these Garrisons, as well as that of *Porto Calvo*, might be with safety brought to the *Receif*, or whether, considering that they would be forced to leave their Cannon behind them, they should be ordered to defend themselves to the last Extremity, in hopes of receiving speedy Succours from *Holland* for their Relief.

The Council of War, having well weighed the whole Matter, unanimously agreed upon the following Resolution.

The Resolution of the Council of War.

That it was their Opinion, considering the Capital City was in danger for want of a sufficient Garrison, the Garrisons of the before-mentioned Forts, which in all probability could not make any long Resistance, ought to be taken from thence with as much Ammunition and Cannon, as could be done, and carried to the Receif. *But in regard that the Fort of* Porto Calvo *lay pretty deep into the Country, where the River was very narrow and shallow, the Garrisons of* Rio St. Francisco, *and* Seregippo del Rey, *were to pass that way in order to join them, and that they should bury or break their Cannon.*

By Order from the Council of War, *August* 24. 1645.

Signed,
Kornelis Bayer,
Albertus Oosterman.
L. Van Harkema.
John Denning.
Samuel Lambartz.
Henry Advocaet.
Frederick Pistoor.
Captain *Haelmeister.*
Rene de Mouchy.

Accordingly, two Barks, with the Ship *Zelandia*, were ordered for the Execution of this Enterprize, to *Rio St. Francisco.*

The last day of *August*, one of the Captains of these two Barks return'd, and gave an Account, That he being advanced into the River of *Rio St. Francisco*, within a League of the said Fort, he received so warm a Salute of small shot from a *Portuguese* Vessel full of Firelocks, that he was forced to return, without being able to penetrate any further up the River; that the other Bark being discouraged thereat, durst not venture to go to *Seregippo*, but that they thought fit to retreat back with the Ship *Zelandia*; He further added, That it would be very difficult to put this Design in Execution, unless they were provided with some Galliots and Yachts well armed.

Pursuant to this Advice, the Council ordered the Yacht called the *Sprew*, with three other Barks thither, to join with the Ship *Zelandia*, for the more effectual Execution of this Design.

They set Sail from the *Receif* the 2d of *September*, Captain *William Lambartz* Commodore. He return'd with the said Yacht, and the *Zelandia*, the first of *October*, to the *Receif*, where he gave the following Account of his Expedition to the Council.

We came the 22d of *September* within a half League of the Fort of St. *Maurice*, where we met with a Bark, which at the discharge of one of our Cannon, sail'd away before us up the River. As we were in pursuit of her, we espied another small Vessel, in company of the Bark belonging to *John Hoek*, both full of Soldiers: We saw the first of these two run ashore, and the Soldiers landing, who skirmished with an opposite Party for the Defence of the Vessel: Our Yacht under favour of our Cannon, boarded the said Vessel, with an Intention to set it on Fire; but finding it loaden with the Baggage of our Soldiers, fell to plundring first; and soon after espied a Boat with a White Flag, making all the Sail they could towards them: Major *Pappenheim*, late Commander of the Fort of *Rio St. Francisco*, and Mr. *Hoek*, were in this Boat, being sent by the Enemy to let us know, That if we set Fire to the Vessel, he would cut all the Prisoners with their Wives and Children to pieces, so that we desisted from it. They gave us an Account, That the said Fort had been forced to surrender three days before, for want of Wood and Provisions, after a Siege of 26 days. That the *Portugueses* having taken a Serjeant with

1645. withrour Soldiers of the Garrison of *Seregippo* had kill'd the Soldiers, and sent the Serjeant back with a Convoy of 200 Men, to fetch the Garrison of *Seregippo*, which had not above four days Provision left, from thence. That about eight days before the Surrender of the Fort, Colonel *Haus*, Captain *Lastry*, and Captain *Wittschut* pass'd by that way in their Journey to the *Bahia*, whither they, pursuant to their Capitulation, were to be carried with the rest of the Prisoners, and from thence to *Portugal*, and so further to *Holland*, without any other loss except their Baggage, being for the rest indifferently well treated. They further added, That the *Portugueses* not long ago detach'd 200 Men to the Island of *Melchior Alvares*, in hopes to cut off the Retreat of our Men, and to prevent their Excursions, but came too late, our People being retired before. That the Enemy had likewise made themselves Masters of the Fort *dos Affugados*, where Mr. *Bulestrate* being made a Prisoner, was now on his way to the *Bahia*. Captain *Lambartz* hearing this Account, thought it his best way to Retreat towards the Mouth of the River, where having spent two days in refitting his Ships, he return'd the first of *October* to the *Recef*.

The Garrison of the three Forts forced to Surrender.

The same ill Success attended us at *Seregippo* and *Porto Calvo*; For the Council having sent a Bark with Provisions to their Relief, the same, contrary to her Orders, came to Anchor before *Rio St. Francisco*, where being seized by the Enemy, the Garrison of *Seregippo* being thereby disappointed in their Hopes, were forced to surrender, after they had spent all their Provisions. After this Misfortune, there was not the least probability lett of saving the Garrison of *Porto Calvo*, which lying deep into the Country, the River was not Navigable thereabouts by reason of its narrowness, and that the Enemy was Master of the Field on both sides, so that they were likewise obliged to Surrender for want of Necessaries. The Garrisons of these three Forts, were contrary to their Capitulation, (by Virtue of which they were to be conducted to the *Recef*) carried Prisoners to the *Bahia*; but those that could not follow the rest, by reason of Sickness, or otherwise, were cut to pieces by the *Portugueses*.

Are carried to the Bahia.

Many of the Soldiers belonging to these as well as other Garrisons, and of the Troops under Colonel *Haus*, dreading the danger of the Land-Journey to the *Bahia*, did take Service among the *Portugueses*; But Captain *Nicholas Nicholson* being sent with 64 of these *Dutch* to prepare an Ambush, for some of our Forces, took this opportunity to joyn with us, which exasperated the Enemy to that Degree, that they disarmed all the *Dutch* that had taken Service there, and Murthered them in cool Blood; the like they did with the *Dutch* Inhabitants that had staid behind in the Country. 1645.

The Portugueses kill all the Dutch in their Service.

In the mean while, the Captainship of *Paraiba*, through the good Conduct of their Governor *Paul de Linge*, remained in Obedience, at least in outward Appearance, till the 25th of *August* 1645. when the Inhabitants, having received Intelligence of the Defeat of Colonel *Haus*, and the Surrender of the Cape of *St. Austin*, and being at the same time encouraged by the Succours of five Companies, and good Store of Arms, sent to them by *Vidal* from *Pernambuko*, they began also to take up Arms, with an Intention to cut off the Communication betwixt the Garrison in the Monastery of St. *Francisco*, as the Inhabitants of *Frederica*, (a place of no strength) and the Forts near the Sea-shore; But Mr. *Linge* shrewdly suspecting their Design, did with Consent of the rest of the Officers there, order all the Citizens with their Effects, and the before-mentioned Garrison to withdraw within these Forts, to prevent their being surprised by the *Portugueses*, and to serve as an additional Strength for the Defence of the Forts; for which reason also the *Brasilians* Inhabiting with their Families in those Parts, were commanded to entrench themselves under the Cannon, which served for Outworks to them. The Enemy finding themselves by the Conjunction of these Forces, disappointed in their design of making themselves Masters of *Paraiba* by force, had recourse to their wonted Artifice, not questioning, but they might have the same Success in purchasing the Forts of *Paraiba*, as they had had at the Cape of St. *Austin*. To encompass which, they sent in *September* 1645. one *Ferdinand Rodrigo de Bulhans*, Clerk of the Court of Justice of *Paraiba*, with a Letter directed to the Commander in Chief, *Paul Vander Linge*, offering him the Sum of 19000 Gilders, if he would Surrender the said Fort into their Hands. But this Messenger had not the desired effect; the Message being by Order from Mr. *de Linge*, taken into Custody, and Hanged the next day; of which he sent notice to the Council the 16th of *September*. In the mean while, (according to

Revolt in Paraiba.

Their Messenger hanged.

1645. Mr. *de Linge*'s Letter from the 6th of *September*) five Companies more of the Enemies Troops, making in all about 300 Men, were arrived in *Paraiba*, which being join'd by the ableſt of the Inhabitants, had poſted themſelves near *Tibery*, where they had publiſhed by Proclamation, for every one to repair to his Sugar-Mill, under pain of forfeiting the ſame.

The Paſſage betwixt the *Aſſagados* and the Quinquangular Fort, where the Cattle belonging to the *Receif* were kept at Paſture, being much infeſted by the Enemies Parties, one of which had taken good part of it, a ſmall Wooden Fort was ordered to be erected in the moſt convenient Poſt, for the ſecurity of the Meadows thereabouts.

Sometime before, *viz.* the 26th of *July* Orders were ſent from the Council to *Servaes Carpenter*, to diſarm the Inhabitants of *Goyana*, who thereupon Petitioned the ſaid Council, to be excuſed from ſurrendring their Arms, conſidering that 37 *Portugueſes* of *Kunhao*, who had been diſarmed, were murthered by the *Tapoyers*, and that they were daily in fear of the ſame treatment, till they were further removed from their borders. The Council anſwered, That the Murther committed upon theſe *Portugueſes* had been done without their Knowledge and contrary to their Orders; that in caſe they perſiſted in their Allegiance, they had nothing to fear from the *Tapoyers*, whilſt they were under their protection; neither ought they to imagine that the diſarming of them, was done with an intention to leave them a Prey to the *Tapoyers*, but for our own ſecurity, and to furniſh them with a plauſible excuſe not to join with the Rebels, whenever they ſhould be prompted thereunto by them. At the ſame time they repeated their Orders to Mr. *Carpenter*, not to deſiſt from diſarming thoſe of *Goyana*, notwithſtanding their Petition to the contrary; but that he ſhould be very careful, that neither the Soldiers, nor *Braſilians* or *Marni* might be burthenſome to them. The Council alſo deputed Mr. *Aſſelle*, and Captain *Will. Lambartz*, with Letters to *John Duny*, and *Karakara*, the firſt King, and the ſecond Commander in chief of a Troop of the *Tapoyers*, with preſents to all the reſt of their Commanders, in order to engage them to join with us, they having complained of their not having been preſented, like as *John Duny* was before; Accordingly the ſaid Mr. *Aſſelle* and Captain *Will. Lambartz* having taken their leave the 28th of *Auguſt* of the Council, took Shipping for *Paraiba*, 1645. in order to go from thence to *Kunhao* to treat with the *Tapoyers*.

The Members of the Court of Juſtice and the Council of War, in conjunction with the Magiſtrates having repreſented to the *Great Council*, the abſolute neceſſity of having the Houſes in *Maurice*'s Town pull'd down, and laid level with the ground; an Order of the ſaid Council was publiſh'd the 29th of *Auguſt* by beat of Drum, enjoining the Inhabitants to pull down ſuch Houſes, within the ſpace of two Days, and in caſe of failure, every body to be at liberty to break down the ſame for his uſe; The Houſe of Mr. *Rechteren* only excepted, which was to be converted into a Redoubt for the Defence of the adjacent Plain.' The ſame Day *John Denninger* lately Lieutenant to Colonel *Haus*, ſucceeded Captain *Blaer*, now a Priſoner with the Enemy, in his Command; and many Negro's offer'd to ſerve the Company under a Captain of their own chooſing.

The 30th of *Auguſt*, Captain *William Lambartz*, with part of his Forces return'd to the *Receif* from *Paraiba*, where he gave the Council an Account of his Negotiation: That not without a great deal of trouble they at laſt obtained 200 *Tapoyers* from their King *John Duny*, who pretended that he dreaded an Incurſion from one of his Neighbours, who in the abſence of his Troops might perhaps Kill him with all his Family, and demanded at the ſame time, that all the *Portugueſes* might be kill'd in *Paraiba*. That he marching with theſe *Tapoyers* into the ſaid Captainſhip of *Paraiba*, they actually ſlew all the *Portugueſes* they met with in their way, to the number of 100 Perſons, and plunder'd their Houſes; and as ſoon as they found him prepared to appeaſe them, one half of them, with what Negro's and other Booty they had got, returned home; but continuing his March with the reſt thro' *Goyana* towards the *Receif*, the *Tapoyers* did no ſooner underſtand, that they were likely to meet with ſome oppoſition by the way, but they followed the footſteps of the reſt homewards; ſo that he was forced to retire with all ſpeed to the Fort of St. *Margaret* in *Paraiba*, from whence he returned by Sea to the *Receif*. Hereupon the Council diſpatch'd ſome Letters the 16th of *September* for *Rio Grande*, directed to King *John Duny*, *Jacob Rabbi* and *Rudolf Baro*, exhorting them to join their

The Succeſſes of their Negotiation.

The Tapoyers deſert.

1645.

their Arms with ours, for our mutual Defence, and to chase the *Portugueses* that were on their March thither, from thence.

The 13th of *Septemb.* 1685. *Jeronymo Serrao da Paiva*, late Admiral of the *Portuguese* Fleet, (made Prisoners in the late Sea Engagement in the Bay of *Tamandare*) appear'd before the Council, where being examined concerning the Designs of the Governour of the *Bahia* in sending a Fleet, and landing his Forces in the Bay of *Tamandare*, as likewise concerning the Fleet under the Command of *Salvador Korrea de Saa*, he refused to give any other Answer, or to make the least Confession, except that he was sent with the said Fleet and Forces to offer his Assistance to appease the Revolt arisen among us. He desired also leave to send a Letter by a Drummer to the Colonels, *Martin Soares Moreno* and *Andrew Vidal*, about the exchanging of his Person, and some other *Portuguese* Prisoners, which was granted.

The Captive Portuguese Admiral Examined.

Some of the Citizens having conceived a jealousie, as if their pressing circumstances and the need they stood in of present Relief, had not been sufficiently represented to the Council of XIX in *Holland*, it was thought fit by the Council to Communicate the Contents of the two last Letters to them for their Satisfaction.

The 19th of *September*, about Noon, our whole Fleet retired from the Bay of *Tamandare* into the Road of the *Receif*, with two Men of War, and two small Vessels taken from the Enemy; where I was arrived long before, having left them, immediately after the Engagement. The same Night *Servaes Carpenter* who died the Day before, was Interr'd. The same Day the Yacht call'd the *Doe*, and one of the small Vessels taken from the Enemy, and call'd by us the *Receif*, were sent out a Crusing to the Cape of St. *Austin*, to prevent the Enemies receiving any Supplies by Sea thereabouts.

The Council being sensible that the Enemy made it his chiefest endeavour, to drive away their Cattle, and to prevent them, by strong Parties from fetching of Wood and Fishing, a Company of Fusileers was order'd to be erected, out of other Companies, who were to be commanded by Captain *Renbagh*, and to serve as a constant Guard against the Enemy's flying Parties. The 21st of *September*, the following Proclamation of Pardon, for such as had taken Service with the Enemy, was published.

Company of [illegible]

1645.

A Pardon Publish'd.

THE *Great Council of the* Dutch Brasil *being made sensible, that many of their Subjects being fall into the Enemies hands, have either for fear of being killed or transported, and out of other Considerations, taken Service among the Enemies Troops, and considering that most of them have been inveigled by their Commanders, and perhaps are in a fair way of repeating of their Error; have thought fit, by these Presents to grant our Pardon to all such as shall return to our Service, for all past Offences; with our Promise, that they shall receive the advantage of the same Station they were possess'd of among us before; and such as are willing to return to their Native Country, shall have Pass-Ports granted them for that purpose; from the benefit of which Pardon, are however excepted* Dirck Hoogstrate, *and the other Traytors, who being Commanders of Forts, have treacherously delivered up the same to the Enemy.*

By this time the Enemy had block'd up all the Avenues by Land, leading to the *Receif*, in hopes to reduce us by Famine; having posted both all the *Portuguese* Forces sent to their aid from the *Bahia*, and the Rebellious Troops, from the City of *Olinda* to the *Baretta*, in the form of a Half-Moon; and made about half a League from the Fort of *Affagados* an Entrenchment provided with Six pieces of heavy Cannon; brought hither from *Porto Calvo*; but durst not attack us by force, knowing we were prepared for their Reception.

Mr. *Dortmund* having by his Letters represented to the Council, the necessity there was of sending one of their Members to provide for the security of *Itamarika*, and to keep the *Brasilians*, (consisting of 1500 Men, Women and Children) by his Authority in their Duty, against the Solicitations of *Kamaron*, who left no Stone unturn'd to bring them over to his side; they desired Mr. *Bullestrate* to take upon him this Province; who accordingly the 23d of *September*, set Sail thither in the Ship the *Deventer*, and returning the 29th of *September*, to the *Receif*, gave the following Account to the Council.

Mr. Bullestrate sent to Itamarika.

He arrived about Noon at the Entrance of the River *Maria Farinha*, where being

1645. being informed by *John Vos*, Master of a Bark, That the Enemy had twice attackt the City of *Shoppe*, and continued before it ſtill, he went into a Challop, with five or ſix Seamen to the Fort *Orange*, but was no ſooner eſpied by the Garriſon, but they deſired him not to come nearer, they being ſtill ſmartly engaged with the Enemy upon the Hill, and doubtful of Succeſs: Whereupon he ſent two Seamen, with a Letter to Mr. *Dortmund*, who being encouraged by the Reward of two Reals, brought an Anſwer from him the ſame Night, intimating that the Enemy had been forced to retire.

An Account of his Proceedings.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, by break of day, he went in a Challop to the City of *Shoppe*, and finding that the Enemy, what with the brave reſiſtance made by the Garriſon, what with fear of this Ship, had abandon'd not only the City, but alſo the whole Iſland, he ordered the Fortifications to be forthwith repaired, and to be put into a good poſture of Defence.

The Portugueſes attack Itamarika.

For the Enemy perceiving that it was in vain to attack us upon the *Receif*, ſent great part of their Forces, Embark'd in 8 Boats and a Bark, againſt *Itamarika*, the 20th of *September*; where having ſurprized, and vigorouſly attackt our Forces poſted on the Hill near the City, (our Deſerters making the firſt attack) that they the third time made themſelves Maſters of it, forcing our Troops to Retreat into their Entrenchment of the Church.

About three days after, *viz.* the 23th, Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, as we told you, arrived in the Ship *Deventer*, to give the neceſſary Orders for the Defence of the Place, and to keep the *Braſilians* in awe, he brought along with him ſome Volunteers choſen from among the Citizens, the Garriſon of the *Receif* being ſo weak as not to be rendred uſeleſs by any further Detachments, beſides that there were 400 *Braſilians* capable of bearing Arms at *Itamarika*. He was charged by the Great Council, and the Members of the Council of War, to watch above all things for the Defence of the Fort *Orange*, which was to be maintain'd to the laſt, if they were not able to keep the whole Iſland on the Hill.

Mr. *Bulleſtrate*, after his arrival there, found it abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve likewiſe the City of *Shoppe*, from whence the ſaid Fort muſt be ſupplied with Wood, its ſituation being ſuch, as that ſo long as we were Maſters at Sea, we could maintain a Correſpondence betwixt the ſaid Fort and City; For which purpoſe alſo, the Yacht call'd the *Golden Doe*, had her Station appointed betwixt the Fort *Orange* and the Hill, to maintain the paſſage of the River between both. But to return to the Siege of the City: The Enemy made three vigorous Attacks upon the Entrenchment on the Hill, but was repulſed with the loſs of 150 kill'd; tho' a Barber, who after the fight, deſerted them, made their loſs amount to 450. *Kamaron* and *Hoogſtrate* were wounded, and we had only 15 kill'd and 16 wounded. The *Braſilians* lately tranſported thither, from the Villages of *Goyana*, *Iguarucu*, and other Places, behaved themſelves to a Miracle upon this occaſion, tho' it muſt be allowed, that the arrival of Mr. *Bulleſtrate* did not a little cool their Courage, which made them abandon the Iſland in the night betwixt Sunday and Monday.

1645.

Abandon it again.

The 2d of *October*, the Great Council entred upon a ſecond Debate concerning the Preſervation of *Itamarika*, they having received certain Intelligence, that the Enemy had undertaken the laſt Expedition againſt that Iſland, upon hopes of being ſeconded therein by certain Perſons of our Party, with whom they kept a ſecret Correſpondency; and tho' they were in the dark upon whom in particular to fix the intended Treachery, yet did they think it conducing to the ſafety of that ſo important Place, to remove Captain *Sluyter* with his Company from thence, and in their ſtead to ſend thither the Company commanded by Captain *William Lambartz*, and to entruſt him with the Supream Command of all their Forces there, which was put in Execution accordingly the next day. The Entrenchment round the Church, and the Fort *Orange*, were alſo ordered to be ſtrengthned with Palliſadoes; and the firſt, (purſuant to the Advice of *Garſtman* and *Dortmund*, I ordered to be ſurrounded with a Counterſcarp, within the compaſs of which a Company of *Braſilians* were lodged, with their Wives and Children, and the reſt to be employed in the Defence of the Fort *Orange*; ſo the Redoubt which commanded the Place, from which the Foot was ſupplied with Water, was ordered to be repaired againſt a ſudden Attack, without which the Fort could not long ſubſiſt, or hold out againſt an Enemy.

Further Conſultations about the Safety of Itamarika.

Letters were about the ſame time delivered to the Council, dated the 5th of *October*, by Major *Auſtin de Magethaes*, ſent by *Andrew Vidal*, to Treat about the Exchange

1645. Exchange of Prisoners; he told them, that since Admiral *Serrao de Paiva*, had by two several Letters sollicited his Releasement, he desired that the same might be Exchanged for other Soldiers, or be Ransomed by *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, Governor of the *Bahia*. He desired also, That a Cartel might be Agreed upon for the Exchange of the Soldiers; and that in the mean while such of the *Portuguese* Inhabitants, as were Prisoners with us, might be Released for reasonable Ransom, which was not accepted of by the Council.

Vidal solicits the Exchange of Prisoners.

In the mean while, (pursuant to the Letters from the Commander in Chief of *Rio Grande*, and *John Hiek* of the 6th of *October*) *Jacob Rabbi*, with a small Troop of *Tapoyars* and *Brasilians*, in conjunction with 30 *Dutch* Inhabitants, made themselves Masters of the Seat of *John Lestan*, with the Slaughter of 15 *Portuguese*. But they had not the same Success, at *Fernandes Mendes*'s House in *Potigi*, which being defended by 50 *Portuguese*, they were repulsed with some loss.

Fifteen Portuguese slain by the Tapoyars.

The Enemies finding themselves disappointed in their design of gaining *Parayba* by Treachery, did again apply all their care to block up all the Avenues leading to the *Receif*, in hopes of reducing it by Famine. This occasioned many Skirmishes, in which the *Brasilians*, who got the greatest part of their Provision out of the Country, did a considerable mischief to the *Portuguese*; who, for their greater Security, built a Fort in *Pernambuko*, (as they likewise did in the *Varzea* of *Parayba*) near the Sugar-Mill of *George Homem Pinto*, but slightly fortified, and not able to hold out against any vigorous attack. In *Rio Grande*, the *Tapoyars* plaid the Masters over the *Portuguese*; for, as we told you before, that according to their Custom, they entred the said Captainship in *July* 1645. when being informed of the Rebellion of the *Portuguese* in *Pernambuko*, they, out of an Inborn Hatred to that Nation, attackt 16th of *July*, some of them in the Sugar-Mill of *Kambao*, and Kill'd every Soul of them, the *Dutch* Inhabitants thereabouts not being strong enough to prevent it. From thence the *Tapoyars* march'd to *Monpoba*, *Goyana*, and *Totoss*, Places belonging likewise to *Rio Grande*, where finding a Body of *Portuguese* entrench'd with Pallisadoes in the nature of a *Palanka*, they forced them in Conjunction with some *Brasilians*, to surrender, under Condition, That their Lives should be saved, provided they did not give any further occasion of Disturbance. But some of the *Portuguese* flying afterwards into *Parayba*, the *Tapoyars* looking upon this as a Breach of the late Treaty, did with the beforementioned *Brasilians*, agree, to put the rest to the Sword wherever they met with them, which they did accordingly, the *Brasilians* exclaiming against the Tyranny committed upon 30 or 40 of their Comrades, who by *Andrew Vidal*'s order, were tied to Pallisadoes in *Serinhaim*, and strangled, which had this good effect, that *Rio Grande* for that time was entirely purged of the Rebellious Crew, except some few, who escaped their Hands. Their Estates and Cattle were afterwards disposed for the Benefit of the Company, and others their Creditors, which furnished the publick Magazines with good Store of Flesh, at a very seasonable time. The *Portugueses* being sensible that we drew considerable Supplies of Provisions from that Country, endeavoured to prevent it by sending several Bodies of their Troops thither, but were always forced to retire to *Parayba*, whether they carried as much Cattle along with them as they could.

1645. *The Tapoyars clear Rio Grande of the Portugueses.*

According to the Deposition of Captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, (who came over to us the 12th of *November*, as we shall see anon) the four Companies of *Dutch* quartered in the *Varzea*, were as follows.

An Account of the Enemies forces.

The Company of *Nicholas Nicholson*, 63 Men, and among them 23 Musquets.

The Company of *Alexander Buchhalt*, of 43 Men, among whom 36 Musquets.

The Company of Captain *Anthony*, who was mortally wounded in a late Engagement, consisting of 36 Men, and among them 32 Musquets.

The Company of *John de Witt*, of 40 Men, but miserable Wretches, and among them only 12 Musquets.

Besides these, they had two other *Dutch* Companies in *Goyana*, one Commanded by *George Peterson* of 17 Men all Pikes; the other by *La Cour* of 19 Men, likewise most Pikes. They had also two more in *Parayba*, one under the Command of Captain *Peter Gendre* of 19 Men, most Pikes; the second by *Edward Verjman* of 20 Men, among whom was but one Musqueteer: So that the whole number of these Eight Companies, amounted to no more than 257 Men; their Colonel was *Hoogstraate*, and *Francis la Tour* late Aldermen of *Servinhaim*, Major, a profest Enemy to the *Hollanders*. Most of the *Dutch* Prisoners were put under a

1645. neceſſity of taking Service with the Enemy, being otherwiſe in danger of being Murthered in their way to the *Bahia*, as it happened to 42 Priſoners taken at the Cape of *St. Auſtin*, who were all ſlain in the Sugar-Mill *Koerin*, near *Serinhaem*. He further declared, That the Enemies Forces in the *Verges*, conſiſted of about 700 Men ſent from the *Bahia*, divided into 9 Companies, well-arm'd with Muſquets and Firelocks. That beſides theſe, they had about 120 Men, gathered from among the *Portugeſe* Inhabitants, they having forced all the young Men from the South of *Hanna*, as far as *St. Laurence*, to take up Arms; ſome being armed with Firelocks, others with Muſquets they had taken from us; They were for the moſt part *Mulats*, and an undiſciplin'd Rabble, Commanded by *John Fernand Vieira*, as Colonel, and *Andrew Dias*, (who came from the *Bahia*) their Major. Their Captains, moſt in Eſteem among them, were, *Simon Mendes*, *Domingos Fagundes*, and *John d'Albuquerque*. *Camaron* Commanded 150 *Braſilians* arm'd with Blunderbuſſes, and *Dias* 200 Negroes, (among whom 50 were ours) provided with very good Guns; beſides ſome *Tapoyars*. Each Soldier had for his daily Allowance, a Pound of Meat, and about a Pint of Farinha or Meal, and 12 Gilders *per* Month; a Captain 12 Gilders, and Enſign 48, a Sergeant 24, and a Corporal 15 Soldiers *per* Month. But they only paid the Dutch Troops with ready Money, the Account with the *Portugeſe* being made up but once a Year. They were at that time buſie in making of a Fort with four ſmall Baſtions, and a Powder-Houſe, betwixt *Barbosa*'s Sugar-Mill, and *Caſa de Sabrodo*, upon each of which were to be mounted 3 pieces of Cannon, 8 pieces having been brought for that purpoſe from *Porto Calvo*, among which were five of Metal. Round about this Fort the Soldiers from the *Bahia* had their Quarters aſſigned them, except the Company commanded by *John de Mathias*, which was Quartered in the *Baretta*, with four *Dutch* Companies, viz. The *Dutch* that were in the Sugar-Mill of *Barbosa*, and thoſe Commanded by Captain *Peter Kalkaut*, and *Antony Jaconio*, and two or three Companies of the *Portugeſes* come from the *Bahia*, in the Sugar-Mill *Brito*; the reſt being *Portugeſes*, *Mulats*, and other idle Fellows they had forced to follow them from the South. Theſe were armed for the moſt part with Firelocks and Muſquets, the reſt with Pikes, *Andrew Vidal*, *John Fernand Vieira*, and Major *Hoogſtrate*, were at that time in the *Caſa de Sabrodo*: All theſe conſiſted not in above 600 Men. About the Sugar-Mill of *John de Mendonce* were quartered three Companies, two at the Houſe of *Sebaſtian Carvalho*, and two more in the Sugar Mill of *Mangao*. The reſt were poſted in the *Salnes*, *Baretta*, and the City of *Olinda*. Some of *Camaron*'s Troops were in the Sugar-Mill of *Van Schell*, and in the Houſe of *John Ribeiro de Mendoce*, upon the Bank of the River, being their advanced Guard; *Henry Dias*, with his Troops, had his Poſt in the Houſe of Mr. *Laffelon*. The Redoubts belonging to the City of *Olinda*, were manned only with 1- Soldiers. 1645.

In *November*, the Great Council received Intelligence, both by Letters from *Paulo de Longe* out of *Paraiba*, as alſo by ſeveral Deſerters, That the Enemy had ſent 400 Men, 200 of which were Soldiers, the reſt Inhabitants, from *Rio Grande* into *Paraiba*, to make themſelves Maſters of the open Country, or at leaſt to drive away the Cattle; whereupon it was reſolved, with conſent of Colonel *Garſman*, to endeavour to hinder the Execution of the Enemies Deſign.

The 12th of *November*, Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, a Native of *Amſterdam*, came, as we told you before, over to us to the *Recif*. He was among other Priſoners of the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, carried from thence to St. *Antonio*, where he took Service among the *Portugueſes*, but with no other Intention, than to Deſert them upon the firſt opportunity; he being intruſted with a Captain's Commiſſion, to Command a Company of *Dutch* Soldiers forced to Liſt themſelves from among the Priſoners they had taken, was ordered, at the Recommendation of *Hoogſtrate*, and *Albert Geurtz Weddo*, with the Approbation of *Vidal* and *John Vieira*, to lay in Ambuſh for ſome of our People in the *Salnes*, with a Detachement of 60 Men, out of the four *Dutch* Companies in their Service; and four more Companies were ordered for a Reſerve, to aſſiſt him upon all Occaſions. The Supream Command of the whole Body being committed to him, he approached as near as he could with his *Dutch* to the Fort *Brum*, where he took the opportunity to paſs the River by break of day, and to go with them (they being all willing to follow) over to us to the ſaid Fort. Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon* had the Command over the ſaid Company confirmed to him by the Council, they being Captain Nicholas Nicholſon Deſerts to the Dutch.

1645 ing all willing to enter into their Service: But the Enemy had no sooner notice of it, but they disarmed all the *Dutch*, and under pretence of sending them to the *Bahia*, caused them to be Murthered by the way, with their Wives and Children.

The 2d of *November*, the Council had received Advice from Mr. *Linge* from *Parayba*, That *Andrew Vidal* had entred that Captainship with 200 Men, and that *Kamaron* had by Letters strongly sollicited *Peter Potty*, to Desert our Service with his *Brasilians*, but had received a smart Refusal; the Council sent him two pieces of fine Linnen Cloth as a Reward of his Fidelity. For, it ought to be observed, That the *Portugueses*, when they first began to take up Arms against the Government, did with Letters and great Promises tempt the *Regidors* or Commanders of the *Brasilians*, to joyn with them, but they were so far from hearkning to them, that they sent all the Letters written upon that Account, both by *Kamaron* and the rest of the Rebellious Ringleaders, without opening, to the Council, thereby to avoid all suspicion of keeping any Correspondence with the Enemy, *Peter Potty* being a near Kinsman of *Kameron*; and ever since that time they have behaved themselves so well upon all occasions, and have done such considerable Mischiefs to the *Portugueses*, by plundring and killing them, that wherever they could meet with them, that we had not the least reason to mistrust the Sincerity of their Intentions.

The Dutch [illegible] The said Mr. *Linge* did also send word *Novemb.* the 4th. That the Enemy had attempted nothing as yet; and from *November* 14. That a Party of 300 of our People being join'd by some *Brasilians* of *Parayba*, had engaged 800 of the Enemies Troops, whom after a smart Engagement they put to the Rout, with the slaughter of a good number of their men. The *Brasilians* being encouraged by this Success, did over run all the flat Country, and meeting with a good number of *Portugueses*, who were merry-making upon St. *Martin*'s Eve in the Sugar-Mill of *Andrew Dias de Tigeireda*, they attackt them so furiously, that after a slender Resistance, they put them all to the Sword, even the Son of the said *Tigeireda* himself, and a Priest, without giving Quarter to any Body, except to a very beautiful Maiden; who, tho' almost Distracted at the Death of her Father, and some of her other Relations, that lay wallowing in their own Blood, had such a powerful Influence upon the Hearts of these *Barbarians*, that they brought her a Prisoner safely to the Fort of *Parayba*.

The Tapetin [illegible] Portugueses.

1645 The 21st of *November* towards the Evening, 36[illegible] Soldiers, (20 of whom were taken from the *Receif*) set Sail in small Boats to the Bay of *Traican*, and continued their march the same night, under the Command of Lieutenant *Berge*, Justice *Hoek*, and the Receiver-General of *Pernambuko*, towards *Kunhao*, in order to attack the Enemy that were lately come into *Rio Grande*, from *Parayba*; But these Enemies having got some Intelligence of our Designs, were retired from *Kunhao*, to a Retrenchment among the Bogs, which being accessible but in one place, they so warmly saluted our Forces, that would have forced them from thence, with their Shot, that they were obliged to retreat with the loss of some dead and wounded, to the Castle of *Keulen*, partly to refresh their Men, partly to prevent their penetrating deeper into the Council.

The Dutch attack the Portugueses [illegible]

The 4th of *December* it was resolved to send the Ship the *Overyssel*, and the Yacht call'd the *Sprew*, towards the *Bahia*, a Cruising, to get Intelligence of their Naval Strength thereabouts, and to endeavour to take some Prizes. The 5th of *December*, the Great Council sent for all the Commanders of the *Brasilians*, to inform them, That they had received considerable Supplies of Powder, Ball, and all other sorts of Ammunition, by the Ship call'd the *Swan*, with Letters from *Holland*, that they were Equipping a considerable Fleet for their Relief; at which the *Brasilians* were extreamly rejoyced; the *Portuguese* Commanders having made it their Business to perswade them, that no such thing was expected from *Holland*.

The Brasilian Com[illegible] [illegible]

The same Evening a *Brasilian* Deserter declared, That all the *Dutch* were killed by the Rebellious Inhabitants, and their Wives and Children made Slaves. The same thing was confirmed by a Negro Deserter, concerning Captain *Bockholt*; who having taken Service with the Enemy, and being afterwards suspected by them, had caused him to be Murthered, as they had done with all the rest of the *Dutch* in their Service, who were slain in their way to the *Bahia*.

Advice that all the Dutch were killed by the Portugueses.

The 7th of *December* it was resolved in Council, to erect four Companies of Fusiliers, the same being found by Experience to be more Serviceable at this juncture, for which purpose the Companies

[illegible] Companies of Fusiliers erected.

1645. nies of Colonel *Garsman*, Captain *Jurian Remberger*, Captain *Nicholas Nicholson*, and Captain *John Taylor* were pitcht upon before all the rest.

In the same month of *December*, a certain *Portuguese*, *Gaspar Gonsalves*, was taken by the *Brasilians* in the Island of *Itamarika*, sent on purpose to perswade the *Brasilians*, That the *Dutch* intended to deliver them up to the *Portugueses* for a certain Sum of Money, and they to retire with their Effects into *Holland*, which caused no small Commotion among the *Brasilians*, who began to give credit to the Relation. And because [illegible] had spread this Rumour abroad some time before the arrival of *Caspar Honyhouse*, (who the 28th of *August* was appointed Commander in Chief of the [illegible] of *Itamarika* instead of *Lisbry* taken Prisoner by the Enemy he was hardly put to it, how to remove this Jealousie from among them, *Jacob Rabbi*, pursuant to his Letters of the 11th of *December*, was about the same time preparing to enter 80 Leagues further into the Country towards the *Tapoyars*, to solicite their Assistance: He at last came to *Oyepe*, Son-in Law of King *Duwy*, who promised, in case those of *Sara* would send their Troops to us, he would endeavour to raise as many of his Vassals as he could; but King *Duwy* excused himself, under pretence that many of his Troops died by Sickness in the *Sartan*.

The Night before the 27th of *December*, the Enemy had by means of a Boat, fastned two Puppets with Fireworks to the Ship, call'd the *Swan*; but being discovered as soon as it took Fire, was soon squeacht, without doing any damage to the Vessel; which made the Ships to be constantly upon their guard for the future.

The [illegible] of *December*, two such Puppets found by two Soldiers in a small Boat near the Fort *Bruin*, were presented to the Council. This Boat, which questionless was sent on purpose to fasten these Puppets to some Ship or other, being discovered by the Centinels, the Men quitted the Boat, leaving the said Puppets behind them.

Mr. *De Linge*, by his Letters dated the [illegible] of *December* from the Fort *St. Margaret* in *Paraiba*, advised, That a certain Negro, who had Deserted the Enemies Quarter of St. *Andrew*, had declared, That the Enemy had built two large Barks in order to transport 300 Men in each, in order to attack *Peter Potty* Commander of the *Brasilians* in his Entrenchments. That *Kamaron* had been near three Weeks in *Paraiba*, the Enemies Troops consisting thereabouts in 16 Companies; But that they had many sick among them, for want of Provisions, and that they had drawn all their Forces out of *Rio Grande*.

The 6th of *January* 1646, *Peter Bas* one of the Members of the Great Council, did by order from the said Council, set Sail with the two Ships the *Lichtbart* and the *Rebel*, and a Bark call'd the *Blue-Boar*, towards the Captainships of *Paraiba* and *Rio Grande*. His Instructions were: To Consult with Mr. *Linge* Commander in Chief in *Paraiba*, and the rest of the Officers there, how to put the Entrenchments and other Works of the *Brasilians* into a posture of Defence. From thence he was to go to *Rio Grande*, there to take an exact Account, both of the real Estates and Chattels of such *Portugueses*, as by reason of their being engaged with the Rebels, were forfeited to the Company; He was also to use his Endeavours to have those Goods which were upon that Account concealed or embezled, restored for the benefit of the said Company. He was also ordered, to act in all other Respects, but especially in providing for the Security of the Captainship and the Fort, as he found it most consistent with our present Interest, and to exhort the Inhabitants to remain stedfast in their Duty, and not to neglect the Cultivating of the Grounds and Breeding of Cattle.

Mr. B[illegible] Commission

The 12th of *January*, *Peter Dunkerke* arrived from *Paraiba*, where he had been a Cruising before the *Rebel* in the Ship *Hamel*; he brought a Letter from Mr. *Linge*, dated in the Fort St. *Margaret*, the 11th of *January*, who sent also one Mr. *Steenhuisen* to the Council, he having Deserted the Enemy when they began to kill the *Dutch* in their Service. This *Steenhuisen* brought Advice to the Council, That *Kamaron* with 500 well-appointed Soldiers, was marched out of *Paraiba* into *Rio Grande* to be Master of the Field there; and consequently to keep our Garrisons from being supplied with Cattle and Farinha from thence. He further added, That the Enemy were in want of Meat, Oil, and other Necessaries; but that the Inhabitants flattered themselves, that for want of Provisions, we should shortly be obliged to Surrender our Forts into the hands of the *Portugueses*. This being likewise confirmed by Mr. *Linge*'s Letter dated the 10th of *January*, a Council was call'd against the

An Account the Enemies Design

13th

1645. 13th of *January*, *Dirck Hamel* and Mr. *Bullestrate* being preſent, both Members of the Great Council, beſides the Aſſeſſor *Wallbeck*, as likewiſe Lieutenant Colonel *Garſman*, Mr. *Kaet field*, Mr. *de With*, *Alrich*, *Volbergen*, and *Sami*, in order to deliberate concerning the preſent Exigency, conſidering, that in caſe we ſhould, by the Enemies being Maſters of the Field, be bereaved of the Supplies of Cattle and Farinha of *Rio Grande*, at a juncture, when *Itamarika* and *Paraiba*, are cloſely beſet by their Troops, it would be next to an impoſſibility, to maintain our ſelves in the poſſeſſion of the *Dutch Braſil*, till the arrival of the expected Succours from *Holland*. It was therefore taken into Conſideration, Whether this Captainſhip might be beſt ſecured by a powerfull Diverſion, or by endeavouring to drive him from thence. But being ſenſible that the Enemy were ſo powerful near the *Receif*, *Paraiba*, and *Itamarika*, as not to be attackt in any of theſe Places, without expoſing the whole *Dutch Braſil* to an imminent Danger, it was reſolved, That in order to attempt the Relief of the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*, Mr. *Dortmont* ſhould be ordered to ſend 60 Soldiers under the Command of Captain *Welling*, and 100 *Braſilians*, in the Barks ſent him for that purpoſe, from *Itamarika* to *Rio Grande*: At the ſame time Orders were diſpatcht to Mr. *Linge* Commander in the Fort St. *Margaret* in *Paraiba*, to ſend the ſame number of Soldiers under Lieutenant *Breſman*, and of *Braſilians*, to *Rio Grande*, to join with the reſt that were to Rendezvous there. Theſe Forces conſiſting of 120 Soldiers, and 200 *Braſilians*, ſet ſail the 19th of *January* for *Rio Grande*, and were thought ſufficient to oppoſe the Enemies Deſigns on that ſide.

Conſultations held hereupon.

Their Reſolution.

Mr. *Dortmont* and *William Lambartz*, by a Letter dated the 15th of *January*, gave notice to the Council, That they had ſent a Body of 60 Soldiers and 100 *Braſilians* abroad, as far in the *Aldea* by *Oubus*, and from thence to the Sugar-Mill *Arraripe*, but did not meet with any Enemies in that part of the Country, tho' they had ſeveral Guns diſcharged at them from among the Woods; ſo that they return'd to *Itamarika* by the way of *Tapaſima*.

Mr. *Linge* not long after ſent Advice by his Letter dated the 22d of *January*, at the Fort of St. *Margaret* in *Paraiba*, to the Council, That *Peter Potty* with 150 *Braſilians* had attackt the Enemy 400 ſtrong in the *Aldea* of *Magrebbe*, and put them to flight with the loſs of 20 kill'd, and many wounded, whereas they loſt but one *Braſilian*.

The Portugueſes defeated.

1645.

The 29th of *January* it was reſolved in Council, to bring the Ships, the *Elias*, *Orange Tree*, *Deventer*, *Omlandia*, and the *Swan*, into the Road of the *Receif*, to be ready upon all Occaſions, in caſe the Enemy ſhould again appear at Sea.

Mr. *Bas*, purſuant to his Letter from the Caſtle of *Keulen* in *Rio Grande* dated the 23th of *January*, could not, by reaſon of a Tempeſt, land his Forces at *Kunhao*, in order to join them with thoſe under Captain *Rhinebergh*; but was forced to land his Forces the 14th and 15th near *Peringi*. In the mean while *Kamaron* having found means, to break in through the *Matta*, had ſurpriſed many of the Inhabitants in their *Fazendas*, and kill'd them without diſtinction of Age or Sex: He had ſince poſted himſelf with his Forces, conſiſting of 400 Soldiers, as many *Braſilians*, and 80 *Tapoyars*, under the Command of *Antonio Jacomo Beſerro*, at a Houſe of *Henry Hamme* in *Mompabon*, to cut off the Proviſions from us. Our Forces conſiſting of about 1000 Soldiers, *Braſilians* and *Tapoyars*, marched the 23th of *January* to a Houſe of *John Leſtan Navarre*, to attack the Enemy, and to force them to quit the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*. Beſides theſe, *Jacob Rabbi*, and the Sons of King *Dumy*, were the 19th paſt, by the Fort *Keulen*, at the Head of 60 *Tapoyars*, and were daily followed by others, that came to our Aſſiſtance. Mr. *Bas* ſollicited alſo ſome Supplies of Proviſions, of which they ſtood in great want, there being above 1500 *Braſilians*, Men, Women, and Children, lodged under the Caſtle. He deſired alſo ſome Money, Ammunition, Linen and Silks to preſent to the *Braſilians* and *Tapoyars*; all which, together with ſome pieces of Red-Cloth, was ſent him by the Council.

Mr. Bas gives an Account of his Proceedings.

Conſultations held thereupon.

According to this Advice, it being much to be feared, the Enemy would ſcarce ſtand the brunt in *Rio Grande*, but retire into *Paraiba*, it was taken into ſerious Conſideration the 29th of *January*, Whether it would be adviſeable, in caſe the Enemy ſhould be forced by our Troops, or voluntarily retreat into *Paraiba*, to purſue them thither, and thereby endeavour the recovery likewiſe of that Captainſhip: But conſidering that by reaſon of the weakneſs of our Garriſons, we were not in a Condition to ſend any further Succours from the *Receif*, *Itamarika*, or *Paraiba*, without running a manifeſt

1645. hazard to our Troops there; whereas, on the contrary, the Enemies did not want opportunity to relieve theirs from the adjacent Places of *Paraiba*, and that we lived in daily hopes of Succours from *Holland*, it was judged the beſt way, that the welfare of the whole *Dutch Braſil* ought not to be put to the hazard by ſuch an Enterprize as this.

Their reaſons.

Accordingly Orders were ſent to Mr. *Bas* and the reſt of the Commanders of our Troops there, to act with all imaginable Caution, and rather than expoſe our Men, in following the Enemy into *Paraiba*, to be contented with the Recovery of the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*.

Colonel Garſman ſent to Rio Grande.

The 30th of *March*, Colonel *Garſman* was by ſpecial Order from the Council, ſent a ſecond time with ſome Troops to the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*, to inform himſelf, whether any Troops of the Enemy were poſted in that Captainſhip, and in what number; His Inſtructions were: That ſo ſoon as he had received Intelligence of the Enemy, he ſhould with what Forces he was able to bring together, endeavour to ſtop their Progreſs. But, if he found himſelf not ſtrong enough to oppoſe them, he ſhould ſend ſpeedy Advice thereof to the Council, that they might ſend him ſpeedy Succours, and that he was to take all imaginable care not to engage the Enemy, before the arrival of the ſaid Succours. But if he found the Enemy already ſo ſtrongly Entrencht as to be Maſter of the Country, without any hopes of forcing them from thence, the Defence of the Fort *Keulen* ſhould be his chiefeſt Care, as likewiſe of the *Braſilians*, with their Wives and Children; and ſince, in caſe the ſaid Fort of *Keulen* ſhould be in danger of being attackt by the Enemy, it would be of ill Conſequence, to have theſe Women and Children encloſed within the Fortifications, for fear of want of Proviſions, he was ſtrictly ordered, to tranſport them in time, to ſome place of ſecurity, ſuch as *Siara*, or the like, where they might be able to ſubſiſt, and be ſecure againſt any attempt from the Enemy. He was ordered alſo in his return to the *Receif*, to take *en paſſant* (if it could be done without inconveniency) a view of the Fortifications of *Itamarika* and *Paraiba*, in order to give an account of their condition to the Council.

But to return to Mr. *Bas*: According to his Letters dated the 30th of *January*, from the Fort *Keulen*, Captain *Rhinebergh* had with his body made ſix ſeveral attacks upon the Enemy, who was retired from *Mompaloo* and *Kinhao* into a Bogg, without being able to force their Entrenchments; we loſt about a 100 kill'd and wounded in this Action, and retreated to the Houſe of *John Leytan*; with order to get ſome Cattle, which was very ſcarce thereabouts, our Forces feeding moſt upon Fiſhes, which they caught by the help of two large Nets; 28 of our wounded Men were brought to the *Receif*, with Advice that notwithſtanding this unſucceſsful attack on our ſide, the Enemy were retreated into *Paraiba*, Mr. *Bas* alſo ſollicited ſome freſh ſupplies of Men and Ammunition, in order to purſue them into *Paraiba*, but the reſolution upon this head was deferr'd till they ſhould hear further from Mr. *Bas*. The 7th of *February* it was reſolved by the Council with the approbation of Admiral *Lichthart* to Equip the *Helmaria* and the *Swan* together with the Yachts, the *Flight*, the *Hamel*, *Bulleſtrate* and *Lichthart*, for cruiſing. By Letters from Mr. *Linge*, dated the 11th of *February*, at the Fort *Margaret* in *Paraiba* the Council was adviſed, how that, according to the Depoſition of a Negro Deſerter, *Kamaron* was come with all his Troops into the City of *Paraiba*, with an intention to attack our Forts on that ſide; an Anſwer, with what was thought neceſſary for this preſent purpoſe was immediately ſent back in a Bark by the Council. By another Bark ſent by Mr. *Bas* from *Rio Grande*, they were advertiſed, that he lay ſtill encamped with his Troops, near the Houſe of *John Leſtan*, where with much ado he could get Proviſions for them; the Enemy being ſtill poſted at *Monguappe*, and guarding all the Avenues into the Country; that he had ſent ſeveral Spies a broad, to get Intelligence concerning the preſent poſture of the Enemy. The 17th of *February* the Ship the *Swan* and the Yacht call'd *Bulleſtrate* were ordered to go out a Cruiſing; the 18th the Yacht the *Flight*, and the 20th the Ship *Hollandia* ſet Sail for the ſame purpoſe. The Ship the *Overyſſel* was alſo ordered to go out, to ſerve for a Spie Ship on the Coaſt of *Paraiba*.

1645. *The Dutch attack the Enemy, without ſucceſs.*

Advice from Mr. Linge.

The 21ſt of *February* the Council received a Letter from Mr. *de Linge*, dated the 18th, in the Fort of St. *Margaret*, intimating that he had heard nothing ſince of the Enemy. Yet that he wiſh'd, the Forces he had ſent to *Rio Grande* might be returned with all convenient ſpeed, to make uſe of them for the defence

1645. fence of his Forts, in caſe of an attack. The 24th of *February* a Party under Command of Captain *Killion Taylor* and Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, were ſent abroad towards the Iſland of the *Barette* to get ſome Priſoners, but they return'd the 20th to the *Receif*, having met with no body except with a Man, at a conſiderable diſtance. Another Party which had taken their way towards *Olinda* and *Bracco de St. Jago*, but with the ſame ſucceſs, the Enemy having only ſhewn himſelf at a diſtance, as they were returning to the Fort *Bruin*. The 27th of *February* the Enemy appear'd with a ſtrong body in the *Salinas*, but being ſaluted by ſome Cannon-ſhot from the Fort *Bruin*, retired without attempting any thing.

Parties ſent a broad without ſucceſs.

News from Paraiba.

In the mean while, according to Mr. *Linge*'s Letter, from the 2d of *March*, three Barks with Soldiers were arrived in *Paraiba* from *Rio Grande*, ſo that the reſt under the Command of Mr. *Bas* being 500 in number might be hourly expected at the *Receif*. He further adviſed, that he had ſeen no Enemy of late, but being informed that a conſiderable body lay encamp'd in a Valley near the Village of *Magarebbe*, he had order'd thither 120 Soldiers, and 100 *Braſilians*, to beat up their Quarters, and to get ſome Priſoners. In effect the 4th of *March*, he, with his Troops conſiſting in 500 Men, arrived from *Rio Grande* at the *Receif*, and the 5th of *March* gave the Council an account of his Expedition.

Several Skirmiſhes.

The 9th of *March* in the Night, the Enemy appear'd in three bodies near the Fort *Prince William*, and gave us ſeveral Volleys of ſmall Shot, but being anſwered with our Cannon retired immediately. The ſame Day a Party of 50 Men were ſent abroad under Lieutenant *Mes*, to get Intelligence; being met by two Companies of the Enemy, a ſharp Encounter enſued, our Forces retiring without any conſiderable loſs, under the Fort *Wardenburgh*, and the Enemy retreated at the diſcharge of ſome of our Cannon. By Letters from Mr. *Linge*, dated the 8th of *March* at Fort St. *Margaret* in *Paraiba*, the Council received the unwelcome News that the Enemy in *Rio Grande* had by a pretended flight drawn the 5th of *March* Lieutenant *John de Wael* with 48 Soldiers, who were too eager in the purſuit of them, into an Ambuſh, where they had kill'd 30 of them, tho', according to the report of ſome Deſerters that were preſent at the Engagement, not without conſiderable loſs alſo on their ſide; *Kameron*, *Andrew Vidal* and ſome other *Portugueſe* Officers of note were alſo preſent. About the ſame time 15 *Braſilians* ſurpriſed five Men, ſix Women and eight Children, in an Entrenchment ſeven Leagues above *Iguaracu*, call'd *Papeka*.

1645.

In the mean while the *Tapoyers*, who according to their cuſtom, come once a Year, about Midſummer, from among the Mountains, ſome hundreds ſtrong into the Captainſhip of *Rio Grande*, were, after they had carried away all the Horſes and Mares they could light on, retired to the Hills; a thing very fortunate for us, for without it our Garriſons would not have been able to ſubſiſt there. Proviſions growing every day ſcarcer in the *Receif*, it was agreed the 6th of *March* by the Council, to ſend the *Braſilians* raiſed in *Rio Grande* with a Company of Fuſileers to *Itamarika*, to eaſe our Magazines of that burthen, whilſt they might provide themſelves with *Farinha* Roots in that Iſland. Much about the ſame time the two Majors *Bayert* and *Piſtoor*, appear'd before the Council, intimating, that, being informed that the Citizens began to Murmur at their ſtaying at home, pretending that they were ſufficient to guard the Forts, for which purpoſe, as it was reported Admiral *Lichthart* had offered 300 Men, they were come on purpoſe to offer their Service, and were ready to take the Field with thoſe few Forces they had left in the Garriſons; tho' they at the ſame time proteſted, that they were of the ſame opinion, which had been approved ſome days before, to wit, That this undertaking, by reaſon of their ſmall number, would be full of danger, and yet not anſwer the end, of bringing Proviſions into the *Receif*. Admiral *Lichthart* being thereupon ask'd whether he had made any ſuch offer, he declared, not to have ſpoken any thing like it, his Ships being ſo ill mann'd, that he could ſpare no Men for any other Service.

Propoſitions about the taking of the Field.

The Night before, the 13th of *March*, the Enemy appear'd both on the other ſide of the River and the Dike leading to the Fort *Bruin*, diſcharging their Muſquets and Blunderbuſſes at our Centinels, but upon the firſt ſalute from the Cannon of the Fort retired. The ſame they did near the Fort of *Aſſagados*. The ſame Evening betwixt Nine and Ten a Clock they made an attack upon the Wooden Fort, built betwixt the

Aſſagados

1645. *Aſſagadot* and the Quinquangular Fort, for the defence of the Plain, which they continued till one a Clock, cutting down ſome Paliſado's, and bringing great ſtore of dry Reeds, in order to ſet it on fire, but in vain, being forced to retreat with the loſs of ſome of their Men; On our ſide two were kill'd, and four or five wounded, among the laſt was Lieutenant *Caſpar Ferdinand van Geel*, who received two dangerous wounds. The next Morning the broken Paliſado's were repaired and another row ordered to be ſet beyond the firſt, and footangles to be laid betwixt both. The 17th of *March* the Bark called the *Paraiba* coming from *Siara* brought Advice, that the *Braſilians* were gone from *Siara* to *Komeſi*, having refuſed to return to *Rio Grande*, for fear, they ſhould be call'd to a ſevere account there for the Murther of ſeveral Inhabitants, committed by them before.

By the ſame Bark, Mr. *Linge* ſent Advice from the 14th of *March*, That the Enemy had appear'd of late in a conſiderable Body near the Northern Fort, but was retired now, but whether to *Rio Grande* or St. *Anna*, he was not able to tell. They had ſpoil'd all the *Farinha*-Root Fields in the *Aldeas Mogarebbe*, and thereabouts: ſo that the *Braſilians*, being for the future to be furniſhed with Proviſions out of the Magazines, he deſired a Supply of Wine and Oil: Immediately Advice hereof was ſent to *Dortmont* Commander in Chief of *Itamarika*, and ſome Ammunition, beſides 1000 Gilders in ready Money. The ſame Sum was tranſmitted to Mr. *Linge* in *Paraiba*, and a Barrel with Oatmeal, a Pipe of Wine, a Hogſhead with Oil, and another fill'd with Dry Peaſe, beſides good Store of Ammunition. He was alſo ordered to ſend the *Braſilians* back to *Rio Grande* for Defence of that Captainſhip, and to get Intelligence, whether the Enemy had directed his march thither in order to oppoſe his Deſigns.

In the mean while Admiral *Lichthart* (purſuant to his Letter of the 21ſt of *March* to the Council) had Embark'd ſome Soldiers and *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, and taking his Courſe to the North Entrance of the River, was got up as far as to the Iſle of *Tapeſſo*, from whence they had brought back a great quantity of *Farinha*-Roots, for the uſe of the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, and of the Magazines there.

The 30th of *March* it was reſolved, with the Approbation of Admiral *Lichthart*, to ſend the following Ships a Cruſing before the *Rabia*; the *Vliſſingen*, the *Ter Veer*, and the Yachts, the *Greyhound*, the *Heemſtede*, *Screw*, and *Bulleſtrate*; And on the 6th of *April*, the *Swan*, the *Zouteland*, the *Flight*, and the Yacht the *Lichthart*, were ordered to go a Cruiſing before the Cape of St. *Auſtin*, and ſet ſail the 10th of *April* accordingly. 1645. *Ships ſent out a Cruiſing.*

The 31ſt Letters were brought to the Council, dated the 25th of *March* in *Rio Grande*, intimating, That *Paulo de Kunha* and *Kameran*, were entred *Kunhao* with 800 Men, among whom were 300 Muſqueteers, to carry away the Cattle from thence to *Paraiba*.

But, according to Colonel *Garſman*'s Letters to the Council, upon his arrival, which was the 4th of *April*, the Enemy were already retired out of *Rio Grande*, without undertaking any thing againſt our People, who conſiſting only in 400 Soldiers and 300 *Braſilians* lay encamp'd near the Houſe of *John Leſtan*, yet they carried of ſome Cattle. *News from Colonel Garſman.*

About the ſame time they received Letters from Mr. *Linge*, That the Enemy had made ſeveral falſe Alarms near the Forts, without attempting any thing. And in effect in *June*, they did not appear any more thereabouts.

In the year 1646. the 5th of *April* in the Night, *Jacob Rabbi* was at the Inſtigation of Lieutenant Colonel *Garſman*, near *Potoſi*, about three Leagues diſtant from the Caſtle of the ſame Name, villainouſly ſhot with two Bullets, as he was going home from one *John Miller*'s Houſe, where he had been entertained that Evening in Company with Colonel *Garſman*. *Rabbi* had a conſiderable time before (as he had declared to his Friends) ſuſpected the treachery of *Garſman*, and was for that reaſon juſt upon his departure out of *Rio Grande*, in order to ſhelter himſelf among the *Tapoyars*. The Council reſented this Villainy to the higheſt degree, ſince, conſidering that this *Jacob Rabbi* was in great Eſteem among the *Tapoyars*, and his Wife a *Braſilian*, it was to be feared, that this would exaſperate both the *Tapoyars* and *Braſilians* againſt us. So that *Garſman* returning the 19th of *March* to the *Recif*, after he had given an Account of his Expedition to the Council, was by their particular Order, the 24th of *March*, taken into Cuſtody, and ſent on Board the *Hollandia*, Major *Bayert* being ordered in the mean time to ſupply his Place. This *Jacob Rabbi* a Native of *Germany*, had been employed by Authority of the States Gene- 1646. *Jacob Rabbi treacherouſly killed.* *Garſman ſecured.*

1646. General, his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, and the Company, to engage and keep the *Tapoyars* in the Intereſt of our Government; in which Commiſſion he had acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he brought theſe *Tapoyars* ſeveral times, out of the Mountains (their Habitations) to our Aſſiſtance. His dwelling Place was in the Fort *Keulen* in *Rio Grande*, where he had Married a *Braſilian* Woman. *Gaſpar Honyhouſe*, Commander of the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika* being ſlain in the laſt Engagement in that Iſland, Mr. *Vincent van Drillenbergh*, was, at their Requeſt, conſtituted their Commander by the Council.

The 17th of *April*, ſome Papers were delivered to the Council, which had been diſperſed by the Enemy, to debauch our Soldiery; in return of which, they ſent abroad their Summons, upbraiding ſuch of their Subjects as were in the Enemy's Service, with Treachery, and exhorting them to return to their Duty. It was alſo agreed to publiſh a Copy of a Letter delivered by the *Portugueſe* Ambaſſador at the *Hague* to the States General from the King his Maſter; with the Anſwer of the States to the ſaid Letter: For ſince the King of *Portugal* in this Letter did diſown the War, and the Proceedings of *Antonio Telles da Sylva*, and his ſending of his Troops into the *Dutch Braſil*, they did not queſtion but by this means to open the Eyes of the *Portugueſe* Inhabitants, not to flatter themſelves with vain hopes of Aſſiſtance from *Portugal*; beſides, that we were in hopes thereby to ſow the Seeds of Miſtruſt betwixt them and the *Portugueſe* Commanders from the *Bahia*.

The 24th of *April*, two *Portugueſe* Companies commanded by Captain *Lawrence Karnero* and *Peter Kavalkanti*, conſiſting of about 40 men each, marched from the *Vargea* and the City of *Olinda* to *Iguaraſu*. They were headed by *Vidal* and *Hoogſtrate* in Perſon, who having got Intelligence, that Admiral *Lichthart* and *John Nicholſon* were gone to *Itamarika*, to get ſome *Farinha*-Roots. The 25th of *April*, as they were marching from *Iguaraſu*, a certain *German* Chirurgeon, named *Chriſtopher Mars*, who was formerly taken Priſoner by them, happening to ſtay ſomewhat behind, whilſt he was Piſſing, was ſurprized by one of our Parties near *Tapaſino*. Upon Examination by Mr. *Walbeck*, he declared, That not long ago there were nine Companies of the Enemies Forces quartered in the *Baretta*, the City of *Olinda*, and in the Mills of *Bierboom* and *Brito*; each Company conſiſting of betwixt 40 and 50 Men. That there were five Companies more, much of the ſame ſtrength, poſted in the *Salinas*, and *Henry Dias* with 200 *Mulats* and Negroes in *Gaſpar Cox*'s Houſe, but they had then no Forces in the *Vargea*.

One Mars taken Priſoner.

1646. *His Depoſitions.*

That after *Nicholas Nicholſon* was come over to us with his Troops, *Martin Soares Moreno* had cauſed 260 *Dutch*, both Soldiers and Inhabitants, (among whom were ſix Women and two Children) to be kill'd by a Company of the Country Militia, in the Woods of *Tabatinga*, betwixt *Sibero* and *Deriba*, in their way to the *Bahia*, beſides thoſe kill'd by his Order in other Places, amounting in all to 300.

By this time there began to be great ſcarcity of Meat in the *Receif*, notwithſtanding which, the Garriſons in the Outworks, as well as the *Braſilians* in *Itamarika*, with their Wives and Children, were to be ſupplied from thence; and the *Farinha*-Roots being either all taken up before by our own People, or elſe deſtroyed by the Enemy, in the Iſland *Itamarika*: To ſupply this preſſing neceſſity, it was reſolved by the Great Council, to ſend a Detachement of 400 Men in Barks to St. *Lawrence de Praja* or *Tujukapa*, to fetch *Mandinka*, or Farinha-Roots from thence. This Detachment was compoſed out of theſe following Troops.

The Dutch go out for ſome Farinha without ſucceſs.

Out of Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*'s Company 9 men.

From the Quinquangular Fort 25.

From the *Aſſagados* 25.

Out of the Company of Captain *William Lambartz* 50.

Volunteers from *Itamarika* 30.

Braſilians 150.

The 29th of *April* the Council was by Letters from *Itamarika*, advertiſed, That our Forces being ſent abroad to fetch ſome *Farinha*, had chaſed the Enemy out of two or three Entrenchments; but they retiring into another, ſurrounded with a deep Ditch, they were there alſo with more Courage than Conduct attackt by our Troops, being forced to retire with the loſs of 16 kill'd and 26 wounded, among whom was Captain *William Lambartz*: The Enemy had likewiſe not a few kill'd on their ſide. Mr. *Dortmont*, Commander in Chief of *Itamarika*, therefore deſiring to be ſupplied with Meal, his Magazines being quite Exhauſted, the Council ſent thither the firſt of *May*, 20 Barrels with Meal,

two with Oatmeal, two with dry Peaſe, 1646. beſides a Pipe of Wine and Brandy, and 1000 Gilders in Money, for the uſe of the *Braſilians*.

The 3d of *May*, the Council received Advice by a Letter dated the 2d of *May* from Mr. *Do tmont*, That the Enemy had carried away ten Negroes, four belonging to the Company, the reſt to one Mr. *Soulm*, and four other Men from *Itamarika*; and that the *Braſilians* there had been ſo far Debauched by their Intreagues, that they retired into a Wood, and being twice Summon'd to rejoyn our Troops had refuſed ſo to do. That at laſt, Mr. *Agricola*, (Miniſter of the *Braſilians*) having been ſent to reduce them to their Duty, either by Perſwaſions or Threats, his Arguments were ſo prevailing, that they return'd quietly, alledging for their Excuſe, That they were forced to fly thither for want of Subſiſtance. Hereupon he deſired freſh Supplies for his Magazines, that a Perſon of Authority might be ſent thither, and that another Company might be put in Place of that of Captain *Voſterman*, his men being ready to Revolt.

To remove all theſe Obſtacles, it was reſolved immediately to diſpatch thither Mr. *Bullestrate*, a Member of the Great Council, who was to agree with certain private Perſons, to provide our Garriſons with Fiſh, and to act in every thing there, as he ſhould find it moſt expedient for the Service of the Company.

Accordingly Mr. *Bullestrate* ſet ſail the 4th of *May*, in the Yacht the *Greyhound*, and arrived the ſame day in the afternoon in *Itamarika*; where having executed his Commiſſion, he return'd the 9th of *May* to the *Receif*, and gave the following Account to the Council: That he had taken a view of the City of *Hoope*, and the Fort *Orange*, both which he had ordered to be ſtrengthened; as alſo, to fortifie the old Brick-Houſe formerly the *Stadthouſe*, with Paliſadoes againſt any ſudden Attempt; That he having call'd before him all the Commanders of the *Braſilians*, had repreſented to them that we were in daily expectation of a powerful Succour from *Holland*, exhorting them to remain ſtedfaſt in their Duty, and to keep their Soldiers under the beſt Diſcipline they could; He he alſo preſented their Commander with Cloth for a Suit of Cloths, and the reſt with ſome Wine and Money, which they very thankfully accepted; He had *En Paſſant* taken a view of the Plantations of *Conradt Pauls*, where he had found about 160 Cocoe Trees cut down by the *Braſilians*, being forced by 1646. Famine to Feed upon the Fruit; the like they had done in ſeveral other Places; That he had endeavoured to treat with ſeveral private Perſons, for a certain quantity of Fiſh to be delivered at the *Receif*; but could meet with none that would accept his Offers; they alledging that moſt of their Negroes being either run away or taken by the Enemy, they did catch no more Fiſh, but what they could readily Sell in the Iſland, without the Charge of Salt and Tranſportation; That he had likewiſe propoſed to the Commander in Chief of the *Braſilians*, to give them for the future Money inſtead of Meal; and that they were to be furniſhed with three Nets to catch Fiſh for their own uſe, that the Commander promiſed to propoſe it to the reſt, and gave him ſome hopes, that they would accept of the ſaid Offer.

To Supply the preſent want of Proviſions, which began to be ſcarcer and ſcarcer every day in *Itamarika*, *Paraiba*, *Rio Grande*, and the *Receif*; by reaſon that the expected Supplies from *Holland* were not as yet arrived, and we were cloſely block'd up by Land; it was thought fit to give all imaginable Encouragement to the Fiſhing Trade; for which purpoſe the two Members of the Great Council, Mr. *Hamel* and Mr. *Bas*, ordered the 7th of *May*, to Buy up as much Yarn as poſſible could be got to make Fiſhing Netts of, which afterwards ſtood us in good ſtead.

A certain *Portugueſe*, who had committed Manſlaughter in *Angola*, and was fled from thence to the *Receif*, having accuſed *John Vieira d'Allegoas*, he was by Order from the Council taken into Cuſtody.

This *Portugueſe* declared, That the ſaid *Vieira* had delivered to him a certain piece of Parchment, written in Characters, and a Box, wherein were ſeveral other Papers, in order to carry them to the Enemy, which Pachment and Box he produced in the preſence of the Members of the Council. *John Vieira* denying the matter, was put to the Rack, but continued reſolute in his denial; till at laſt, the Key of theſe Characters being found among his Papers, and a certain Jew having Uncyphered theſe Letters, it appear'd, That he had given an Account of the whole poſture of our Affairs, to the Enemy, with Directions how to make themſelves Maſters of the *Receif*; ſo that finding himſelf diſcovered, he confeſt that he had written and delivered

1646. vered these cyphered Papers to the *Portugueſe*, and was executed the 29th of *May*.

It Executed.

The Magazines being by this time almoſt exhauſted, there being ſcarce Proviſions left for a few Weeks, it was propoſed by the Council to the Majors, *Reyer* and *Piſtoor*, that conſidering it was not adviſeable to exaſperate the Soldiery at this juncture, by retrenching their allowance of Bread, and other eatables, whether inſtead of a pound of Meat, they might not be prevailed upon to take Six-pence, by this means to preſerve that ſmall ſtore of Fleſh they had left, which theſe two Majors undertook to propoſe to the Soldiers, not without hopes of ſucceeding in their project, And, that no body might be excepted from bearing his ſhare in the publick Calamity, it was ordered that the Loaves which uſed before to weigh a pound and half, ſhould be reduced to one pound weight, and that each Citizen and others depending on the Company, nay the Members of the Great Council themſelves, ſhould have an allowance only of two Loaves *per* Week; the ſame was to be given to all Seamen, Captains, Lieutenants and Enſigns; but the reſt, from the Serjeant to the common Soldier ſhould have three pounds of Bread allow'd them *per* Week.

Orders concerning the Allowance of Bread.

Mr. *Linge* adviſed from the 1ſt of *May*, out of *Paraiba*, that the Enemy had not attempted any thing againſt the Forts, and that a Party of *Braſilians* was gone abroad towards *Tapoa*, in hopes to take ſome Priſoners. Much about the ſame time the Council received Advice, that Colonel *Garſman* without Orders from the Council, had endeavoured by ſome Preſents, to draw the *Tapoyers* into *Rio Grande*, under pretence of keeping them at hand, to enter into a Contederacy with the new Members of the Great Council, that were expected from *Holland*. The Council being not a little ſurpriſed at this undertaking, ſince by the coming of the *Tapoyers* into that Captainſhip, they ſhould be diſappointed of a conſiderable part of thoſe Supplies they received from thence; they ſent word to *Rudolph Barro* to leave no Stone unturned to draw the *Tapoyers* by fair means back to their Habitations, but that if they would ſend ſome of their Commanders to the *Receif*, all imaginable ſatisfaction ſhould be given them concerning the Murther of *Jacob Rabbi*; and the more to engage *Barro* to do his utmoſt, a preſent of Wine, Brandy and ſome Toys was ordered to be ſent him. For as the caſe then ſtood, it was abſolutely neceſſary for us to remain Maſters of *Rio Grande*, till the arrival of the Succours from *Holland*; the vaſt numbers of *Braſilians*, that were fled to the *Itamaraka*, having conſumed all ſorts of Proviſions there to that degree, that that Iſland could not only not ſend any Supplies to the *Receif*, but moſt of the Women and Children of the *Braſilians* muſt be ſupplied out of the Magazines there; ſo that *Rio Grande* was the only place left from whence they received a conſiderable quantity of *Farinha* and Cattle, which in ſome meaſure abated the ſcarcity of Proviſions in the *Receif*, and by the prudent Conduct of the Council, was the chief means that the place continued in tolerable good Health till the arrival of the Succours, which without it, it would in all humane probability have been impoſſible to be done; And no queſtion but this Captainſhip might for a conſiderable time after, have furniſhed the Garriſons to the South with neceſſaries, had it not been for the following accident.

Garſman *ſummons the Tapoyers without Orders.*

1646. *The conſequence of* Rio Grande *to the* Dutch.

The expected Succours from *Holland* being detained by the Winter Seaſon and contrary Winds, the *Braſilians* of *Goyana*, who with their Wives and Children, had ſheltred themſelves in *Itamaraka*; were reduced to the greateſt extremity for want of Food; for, after they had conſumed all what the Iſland could afford for their Subſiſtance, and all the Avenues by Land being block'd up by the Enemy, they had no other Supplies but what they received from our Magazines: Theſe being now exhauſted to ſuch a degree, that each Citizen had but one pound of Bread allowed him *per* Week (which however at that rate would not hold out above fourteen Days longer) the Council was under an abſolute neceſſity, to have it propoſed to the *Braſilians*, to retire with their Wives and Children (in all about 1200) to *Rio Grande*, where they might ſubſiſt ſome time upon what the Country afforded. Accordingly they writ to Mr. *Dutmund* the 1ſt of *May*, and ſent Mr. *Walkeck* thither in Perſon, to perſwade the *Braſilians* to ſend at leaſt 500 Women and Children, with a certain number of their Men, to *Siara* and *Rio Grande*; there being at that time in all near 1500 *Braſilians*, Men, Women and Children in that Iſland; among whom were only 500 fit to bear Arms, under the Command of *Caſpar Honyhouſe*, who had

had each ſcarce a pound of Bread allow'd them *per* Week.

1646.

Proviſions as I told you before growing daily ſcarcer and ſcarcer, by reaſon the Succours from *Holland* was detained, beyond all expectation, by contrary Winds; a General Council was call'd, where the three Numbers of the Great Council Mr. *Hamel*, Mr. *B. Ileſtrate* and Mr. *Bas*, being preſent, as likewiſe Admiral *Lichthart* and the two Majors *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, the following Points were taken into debate.

Proviſions grow ſcarce.

Firſt of all, the ſending of the *Braſilians* from *Itamarika* to *Rio Grande* being look'd upon as unavoidable, immediate Orders were given to get the neceſſary Tranſport Veſſels ready for that purpoſe. It was alſo taken into conſideration, whether it were not feaſible to gather a ſufficient Force out of the Forts, who in conjunction, with the *Braſilians*, might attack ſome place or other, from whence to provide our ſelves with *Farinha*; but to this it was objected by the Majors *Beyert* and *Piſtoor*, that the Garriſons of the Forts could not be weakned by any Detachment, without runing a great hazard; beſides that it was a hard matter to pitch upon any place, where there was any ſtore of *Farinha*, the Enemy having either conſumed, ſpoiled or carried it away before; ſo that we muſt expoſe our Men to an apparent danger, without a ſure proſpect of Intereſt; for, ſuppoſing we ſhould be ſucceſsful, the quantity that might be got, would not be ſufficient to maintain our Garriſons for any conſiderable time. It was however agreed to take an exact Account of all the Garriſons, to ſee whether upon an occaſion ſomething might be undertaken for the Service of the State. Accordingly theſe two Majors *Beyert* and *Piſtoor* having preſented a Liſt of theſe Forces the next Day to the Council, it was concluded that no Troops could be ſpared out of the Forts, except it were out of the *Affagados*, but they were but few in number. At the ſame time it was reſolved to ſend Captain *Niger* with his Company of *Braſilians* to *Rio Grande*, and the *Oudlandia* and *Greyhound* Yacht were ordered forthwith to Sail to *Itamarika*, to Tranſport the *Braſilians* to *Rio Grande*.

The 30th of *May* the Council, the Admiral, and two Majors entred into a ſecond debate, whether it were poſſible to attack the Enemy, and in what place: Againſt which it was alledged, that their chiefeſt Force was at preſent in the *Vargea*; but ſuppoſing, it was not, no *Farinha* was to be got there, becauſe they were ſupplied with it themſelves from far diſtant places. That the *Farinha* Fields neareſt to the *Receif* were about St. *Laurence*, at leaſt five Leagues from thence; that the neareſt *Farinha* Fields to the South were about St. *Antonio* and *Moribeka*, where by reaſon of the Strength of the Enemy, and the great diſtance from us, there was no probability of encompaſſing our deſign; and that the *Farinha* Fields to the North were likewiſe at ſuch a diſtance from the Sea-ſide, as could not in any likelyhood anſwer our expectation. It was farther taken into conſideration, whether ſome Forces might not be ſpared in *Itamarika*, but it was carried in the Negative, becauſe ſince the *Braſilians* were ready to depart for *Rio Grande*, it was not adviſeable to expoſe the reſt of our Troops there to a hazard. After ſerious deliberation, what Forces poſſibly could be raiſed out of the Forts, (their places being in the meanwhile to be ſupplied by the Inhabitants) it was found that the *Affagados* could furniſh about 70 or 80 Men, the Quinquangular Fort, and *Maurice's Town* the ſame number, and that of St. *Antonio Vaez* about 50. But, conſidering that the City Militia of the *Receif* conſiſted only of 6 Companies, of 70, or at the moſt 80 Men each, and that they were obliged to be upon the guard every Night there (the place being without a Garriſon) if a conſiderable number of them ſhould be imployed in the Forts, this muſt needs expoſe the Capital Place, which the Enemy chiefly aimed at, to an imminent danger. The Seamen being not above 250 in all could likewiſe not be employed in that Service, unleſs we could leave our Ships quite unman'd and uſeleſs. So that after many arguments on both ſides, it was agreed to chooſe the ſecureſt way, and according to the orders of the Council of XIX. in *Holland*, to expect the ſuccours from thence with patience, and in the mean while to provide for the ſecurity of our Forts.

Further debates about the attacking the Enemy.

The ſame Day the Council received Letters from Mr. *Walbeck*, that ſome of the *Braſilians* of *Itamarika* had deſerted, a rumour being ſpread among them, that we intended to leave them to the mercy of the *Portugueſes*, which had put all the reſt into a great conſternation, but that Mr. *Dortmund* had convinced them to the contrary. Mr. *Walbeck* and *Dortmund* had in the mean while repreſented

1646.

1646. sented to the *Braſilians*, that they being many in number, and conſequently very ill provided for at this juncture, whether it were not beſt, for them, to go for ſome time to *Rio Grande*. They were at firſt averſe to his Propoſals, for fear of being deſerted by us, nevertheleſs the urgent neceſſity of providing for their ſuſtenance, and to ſhew their compliance with the Governments Orders, were ſo reconciled with them, as to reſolve to go to *Rio Grande*, provided they might be furniſhed with convenient Tranſport-Ships, Proviſions and ſome Ammunition for their Defence, and 50 Men of regular Troops. Mr. *Dortmund* having again ſollicited for Proviſions, ſome were ſent (ſufficient for 14 Days) immediately, with ſome Gunpowder, Bullets and other Ammunition.

The Braſilians refuſe to leave Itamaraka.

Accordingly above 1200 *Braſilians*, moſt Women and Children, whoſe Husbands and Fathers had been ſlain in our Service, embark'd a board the *Omlandia* and ſome Yachts, a pound of Salt-Codfiſh being allow'd to each for the whole Voyage, without Bread. At their arrival in *Rio Grande* they were ſo emaciated by Famine, that they appear'd more like dead Carcaſſes, than living bodies, and laid hold of every thing they could meet with, to ſatisfie their greedy Stomachs, ſo that in a little time they conſumed all the *Farinha* that was left there.

Mr. *Linge* by his Letters from the 25th of *June* ſent advice to the Council, that there appear'd no Enemy at that time in *Paraiba*, but that Ten *Tapoyers*, Vaſſals of King *John Duwy*, being come into *Rio Grande*, had ſhewn themſelves extreamly diſſatisfied at the Murther of *Jacob Rabbi*, whereupon it was reſolved to Reconcile that King to our Intereſt by the following preſents:

Preſents ſent to K. John Duwy.

200 Gilders in ready Money.
1000 Ells of *Oſnabrugh* Linen Cloath.
100 Gallons of *Spaniſh* Wine.
Two Casks of Brandy.
40 Gallons of Oil, and a Barrel with powdered Beef.

The Braſilians in Garriſon in the Fort, the *Brum*, the *Quinquangular* and ſome other Forts, being diſſatisfied at their being detained there for Eight Months laſt paſt, petitioned the Council the 12th of *June*, to be ſent back into *Rio Grande*.

The Braſilians depart from the Forts near the Recief.

The Opinion of the two Majors being ask'd thereupon, they adviſed, that conſidering they did no extraordinary Service there, they might well be ſpared; ſo that it was reſolved the 14th of *June* in Council, to pay them their Arrears, and to ſend them back to *Paraiba* and *Rio Grande*, to Inhabit their Villages as before. 1646.

In the Quinquangular Fort the Company of *Immanuel Barros* was order'd to keep guard, inſtead of the *Braſilians*, who were commanded to depart the 20th of *June*. The 11, 12, 13th and 14th of *June*, the Enemy Shot in the Night time very fiercely againſt the Fort *de Aſſagados*, a redoubt call'd *Kirk* and the Houſe *Boaviſta*.

The 15th of *June* it was propoſed to the Council by Admiral *Lichthart*, and the two Majors, *Bayert* and *Piſtoor*, to beat up the Enemies Quarters in the Houſe of *Immanuel Kavalkanti*, and in the *Baretta*, with the following Troops.

The Company of Captain *Killian Taylor*, 40 Men.

The Company of Captain *Nicholas Nicholſon*, of 70 Men, which were to be joined by Captain *de Niger* with Thirty Men out of the Fort *Frederick*, with Lieutenant *Mos*, from the Fort *Erneſtus* with 10 Men, and Lieutenant *Katnar* from the Fort *Prince William* with 20 Men.

In all 200 Men.

A Project to beat up the Enemies Quarters.

About a 100 Voluntiers were ſuppoſed to be raiſed from among the Citizens, under the Colonel *Walbeck*, and *Immanuel Baros* with his Negro's, conſiſting in 50 Men, theſe joined with the other 200, would make up a body of 350 Men, to be commanded in chief by Major *Piſtoor*; and to be conducted by Sea by Admiral *Lichthart* to their landing place; *viz.* the Regular Troops to the South of the *Baretta*, and the Negro's upon the Iſland on the North ſide, from whence they might break thro' the Marſhes to the *Aſſagados*, and ſo further to the Houſe croſs the River, where they were to make a falſe attack, whilſt the Troops landed at the *Baretta* aſſaulted them from before; the Admiral with his Tranſport Veſſels to lay ready all this while to receive them, and to ſecure their retreat upon all occaſions. This propoſition being approved of by the Council, partly to animate our Soldiers, partly to get at leaſt ſome Proviſions for the Sick, it was reſolved to be put in Execution the next Day, but the Wind proving contrary, and afterwards the Tides being unſeaſonable for the convenient landing of our Men, this project was laid aſide, eſpecially

Is laid aſide.

especially when instead of 100 Volunteers, scarce 25 offered themselves for this Service, notwithstanding the Council gave them all imaginable encouragement, by promising them to receive the same treatment as the other Servants of the Company had, in case they should be wounded or come to some other misfortune. 1646.

In the mean while the Enemy having been informed by some of our Deserters, that by the departure of the *Brasilians* from *Itamaraka*, the Garrisons there were much weakned, they thought fit to lay hold of this opportunity, to Land such a Force there, as should be beyond our power to drive from thence. The 15th of *June*, with the break of Day they surprised our Spie Ship there, call'd the *Sprew*, with several Barks and Boats at the Entrance call'd *Lassor*, (*Marker*) they got three Prisoners, the rest escaping with the loss of two of their Comrades kill'd.

The Ship before *Tamaraka* was set on Fire by our own People, leaving the Galeot, that lay hard by to the Enemy, after they had taken out all her Men, who went aboard the Yacht call'd the *Golden Dor*, lying before the North Entrance. They Landed with about 2000 Men in Chaloops and other Transport Vessels, and *Andrew Vidal* and *John Ferdinand Vieira* writ the same Night the following Letter to Mr. *Dortmond* Commander in chief of *Itamaraka*, which they sent by a Boy they had taken Prisoner in the *Sprew*.

The Portuguese Land 2000 Men at Itamaraka.

Their Letter to Mr. Dortmund.

MOst Honourable and most Brave;

YOU are doubtless not unacquainted with the Resolution of the Inhabitants of this Country to retrieve their former Liberty; to effect which they neither want Force nor any other means; but their chief Aim being to encompass their design, without Effusion of Blood, we thought fit to let you know, that we are ready to attack you in the Island with all our Forces, unless you can prevent it by a Treaty. For being sensible that you are past all hopes of Relief, we thought it fit to advise you, to treat with us, according to the custom of War, used in such cases; that, in case hereafter things should fall out contrary to your expectation by the fury of the conquering Sword, you may not lay the fault thereof at our Doors; For which reason it is, that we offer to you and the rest of the Commanders there, all these Articles due to them from the Company. We expect we expect your Answer to Morrow. 1646.

From our Head Quarter,
June 15. 1646.

Andrew Vidal de Negreiros.
John Ferdinand Vieira.

The 17th of *June* the Council received Advice from Mr. *Dortmond* of their Landing, desiring prompt Succours without which he would not be in a condition to maintain the Island against them. It was therefore taken into debate, whether it were possible for us to bring together such a Force, as without much hazard might be able to force the Enemy from thence, but 'twas carried in the Negative.

For it was alledged, that without manifest danger not above 200 Soldiers could be taken out of the Forts of the *Recif*, which number was not sufficient to attack the Enemy, who had already entrench'd himself there, with hopes of success. And, considering that these Forces must be transported thither by Sea, we wanted Ships (there being at that time not above two Barks at the *Recif*) both to Convoy them thither, and to cut off the communication with the Continent, to the Enemy. Besides, that at least 14 Days Provisions were required for this Expedition, in case the Enemy should stand his ground, which at this juncture was not to be done, unless we would leave the Magazines of the *Recif* quite empty; There being then no possibility of attempting its relief, the next thing under consideration was whether the Entrenchments on the Hill might be defended or not? Against the maintaining of it was objected; That without fresh supplies of Provisions this Fort could not hold out a Week, especially since the Enemy by cutting off the Pipes of the Spring, that furnished them with fresh Water, would soon put them under a necessity of coming to Surrender; when it was evident, that they might post themselves betwixt the Fort of *Orange* and this Hill, and consequently prevent their receiving any supplies from thence.

Whether the Hill was defensible.

Besides that the Hill being of a considerable compass, was the more difficult to be mention'd by our Forces, the Fort it self being irregular and but slightly fortified, on that side especially where the old Church-Wall, making up part of the Courtain, would not be proof against

1646. againſt the Enemies Cannon, and conſequently expoſe the whole Fort, with the Garriſon, to the Mercy of the Enemy: So that it being beyond all diſpute in the Enemies Power to cut off all Communication with the *Fort Orange*, it was unanimouſly reſolved and ordered, to leave the ſaid Entrenchments, and to retire with the Garriſon, and what Proviſions and Ammunition they had, into the Fort *Orange*, before their Retreat was ſtopt by the Enemies Troops; it being paſt all doubt, that in caſe they could maintain themſelves in that Fort, they could at all times, if they were Maſters of the Field, recover the Hill, and the whole Iſland.

The Council were the more forward in coming to this Reſolution, becauſe they had received certain Information, that the Enemy, who knew the Importance of the Fort *Orange*, had gain'd ſome of the Gunners and Volunteers of the Fort by Preſents, who had engaged to aſſign them a place where it was eaſieſt to be attack'd, whereabouts they were to Charge the Cannon with Gunpowder only, to facilitate their Attack: Two of the Gunners were hang'd the 23d of *June* for this Treachery, the reſt made their eſcape to the Enemy. For the better preſervation therefore of this Fort, our People left the Entrenchments upon the Hill the 21ſt of *June*, where the Enemy poſted a ſtrong Body of their Troops immediately after. The Council likewiſe ordered the Yacht the *Heemſtede* to Cruiſe in Conjunction with the *Golden Doe*, before the North Entrance of the Iſland, to keep open free Communication for us with our Garriſon, and to prevent the Enemy from receiving any Succours that way; and at the ſame time ſome Proviſions were ſent thither for the uſe of the Garriſon.

But whilſt things were thus tranſacting with various Fortune, tho' for the moſt part to our Diſadvantage, and the ſo long expected Succours from *Holland* not arriving, the want of Neceſſaries encreaſed more and more every day in the *Receif*, to ſuch a degree, that whatever was found fit for Suſtenance, either in the publick Magazines, or with private Perſons, was apply'd to the common Uſe; which however amounting to no more than one Pound of Bread a Week for each ſingle Perſon, many died for Hunger; their Legs beginning to ſwell firſt, which was the fore-runner of certain Death: Cats and Dogs, of which we had great quantities, were look'd upon as Dainties at that time; and you might ſee the Negroes digging the half-rotten Bones of Dead Horſes out of the Ground, and to Gnaw them with incredible Eagerneſs; Neither was the want of freſh Water leſs inſupportable, by reaſon of the heat of the Climate, and the conſtant uſe of Salt-Meats, all Springs that were dug, being brackiſh. The poor Slaves, who had the leaſt ſhare of what was left, look'd ſo gaſtly and wild with their Eyes and Jaws ſunk, as appear'd terrible to the moſt undaunted of Men. At laſt (notwithſtanding all the care taken by the Council) things came to that paſs, that the Allowance of one Pound of Bread *per* Week was fain to be taken away from the Inhabitants, and allotted the Soldiers; who, by the Enticements of the *Portugueſes* beginning to Deſert apace, had two Pound of Bread allow'd them, as long as there was any left; But when all was ſpent, and no remedy was to be found againſt this lingring Evil, it was propoſed by the Council, and unanimouſly reſolved, rather to Die bravely, than to Starve, and to Fight their way through the Enemy. The Soldiers were to lead the Van, the Women, Children, ſick and other unable People to keep in the middle, and the Members of the Great Council, with the Inhabitants to defend the Rear: The *Jews* were above all the reſt in a deſperate Condition, and therefore reſolved rather to Die with Sword in Hand, than be Burnt alive, which is their Doom in *Portugal*.

1646. *Great Famine in the Receif.*

But when we were juſt reduced to the laſt Gaſp, all Horſes, Cats, Dogs, and Rats being conſumed, and a few Quarterns of *Farinha* ſold at the Rate of betwixt 80 or 90 Gilders *per* Quartern, which however could not ſuffice for above two days longer, on the 22d of *June*, (a day never to be forgotten) we ſaw two Veſſels with *Dutch* Colours making all the Sail they could towards the *Receif*: They had no ſooner caſt their Anchors, and giving us the ſignal by the Diſcharge of three Guns each, that they came from *Holland*; but you might have read in all our Faces the ſudden Joy we conceived at this Relief in our laſt Extremity: There was no body that could ſtand upon his Legs for want of Bread, but did crawl to the Harbour, where you might hear the crys of the People weeping for Joy at a great diſtance. Theſe two Ships, call'd the *Falcon* and *Elizabeth*, were freighted for the Chamber of *Amſterdam*, and had left the *Texel*

The Receif relieved.

1646. *Texel* the 26th of *April*; they brought us the welcome News, that we might hourly expect the whole Convoy. The Captain of the *Elizabeth* told me himself, that having a very fair Wind one day, he said to his Crew, *I am sure they are in great Extremity at the* Receif, *God send us fair Wind and Weather to relieve them in time*, which happened thus accordingly. The Captains were each presented with a Golden Medal, with the following Inscription; *The Falcon and Elizabeth did relieve the* Receif.

Mr. Bas *sent to* Itamarika. The 23d of *June*, Mr. *Bas*, a Member of the Council was sent to *Itamarika*, to assist in the Defence of the Fort; by his Letters of the 28th he advised, That the Enemy continued still in his Post on the Hill, and that he had sent abroad, some Spies to get Intelligence. The 7th of *July*, the said Mr. *Bas* return'd to the *Receif* with the Companies commanded by Captain *Blewcock* and *Conrad Held*, leaving the two Companies of *Reinard Sikkema* and *Dignus Fysterman* there in Garrison. The Enemy had some days before, after having blown up the Fort on the Hill, and set fire to their Camp, left the Iland, carrying along with them all the Cannon, and among them two Brass ones. For, when they saw that we were reinforced with several Ships from *Holland*, they did not think fit to abide there, till we should stop their Passage back by our Vessels; Neither were they insensible, that without being Masters of the Fort *Orange* they could not promise themselves the possession of the Iland, the South-Entrance being commanded by the said Fort, and the North-Passage by our Yachts.

The Enemy quits Itamarika.

The 29th of *June*, the Council received Advice from our Head-quarter at the House of *John Lestan*, in *Rio Grande*, That two Sons of King *John Duwy*, with 23 *Tapoyars*, were sent thither by their Father, to assure our People of his good Inclination and Service; but they refused to come into the Fort *Keulen*, before they had spoken with *Rudolph Baro*, who had been sent for upon that Account. About this time several Merchants set out some Privateers, but as this could not be done without great Charge, and there were but few Ships at Sea of the *Portugueses*, this turn'd to no great Account, and consequently continued not long. A very odd Accident happened to me much at the same time: For, some of the Labourers, who were employed to unload a Vessel belonging to the Company, were got so Drunk, that they had kill'd a Man, and hurt several others, by letting a Pipe of Wine fall upon them: I went thither to prevent any further disorder, but was no sooner entred the Ship, when on a sudden I found the Silver Galoons upon my Coat turn black, and my self bereaved of my Sight, which however I recovered by degrees in a few days after; the cause of which I attributed to the strong Exhalations of the Wine, that had been closed up for a considerable time before. Much about the same time a difference arose betwixt the Officers of the Army and the City Militia, about the Chief Command of the Head-Guard in the *Receif*, which the City Officers laid claim to.

1646. *An Accident happens to the Author.*

But to return to our so long expected Succours.

The reiterated Letters from the Council of the *Dutch Brasil* to the States General, and the Directors of our Company, wherein they presented their dangerous Condition to them, had had such an Influence upon the first, that they advised the Directors of the Company, to send us a Reinforcement of 5 or 6000 Men, and a good Fleet; for which purpose they sent them 25 Companies of their regular Troops, and gave leave for the raising as many more, as in all mounted to 4000 Land Soldiers, besides Seamen and Volunteers.

A Fleet prepar'd in Holland *for the Relief of* Brasil.

This Fleet consisting of a good number of brave Ships, was ready to set sail in *November* 1645. but by reason of a sudden and hard Frost were detained in the Road of *Vliessingen*, till *February* 1646. One Mr. *Bankert* Admiral of *Zealand*, had the Chief Command of this Fleet, and at the same time the following five Gentlemen, who were appointed Members of the Great Council of the *Dutch Brasil*, and were to relieve the old ones, were sent to their Stations there; to wit, *Walter Schonenburgh* President, *Michael Van Goch* Pensionary of *Vliessingen*, *Simon Van Beaumont* Fiscal of the City of *Dort*, *Henry Hacks*, and Mr. *Trowens*, two great Merchants of *Amsterdam*, and Mr. *Heremite* a Lawyer of *Dort*, their Secretary. One *Sigismund Shoppe*, formerly under Count *Maurice*, and had Commanded the Land Forces of *Dutch Brasil*, was now sent in the Quality of Commander in Chief of these Forces; He was a most experienced Captain, and who always kept a strict Discipline among the Soldiers.

Never did any Fleet sent from *Holland* to *Brasil* meet with so many unfortunate Accidents

1646. Accidents, as this, during the 6 months they were at Sea. For within two days after they had left the *Dutch* Coaſt, they were forced to caſt Anchor in the *Downs* oppoſite to *Newport*, where they loſt two of their Ships by ſtreſs of Weather. After a ſtay of three Days, the Winds being ſomewhat allay'd, the Squadron under Mr. *Van Goch*, ſet ſail again, but was in two days after again forced into *St. Helens* in the Iſle of *Wight*: Three days before their arrival, a rich *Dutch* Ship, valued at two Millions of Livers, then lately come from *Braſil*, was loſt among the Rocks, ſo that of 300 Perſons, no more than 30 were ſaved. Here they were detained by foul Weather and contrary Winds ſeven Weeks, when another *Dutch* Ship coming from *Braſil*, chanced to caſt Anchor near them, and told them, That their Countrymen in the *Receif* were drove to the laſt Extremity; nay, that perhaps the Place was ſurrendred by this time, they having no more than two Months Proviſions left at the time of his departure. Hereupon it was reſolved to continue their Voyage with the whole Fleet, notwithſtanding the Winds were againſt them; but on the Coaſt near *Portland* were again overtaken by a violent Storm, in which they ſaw a *Scotch* Ship with 200 Perſons in her periſh. The Fleet under Mr. *Van Goch* came with much ado to an Anchor behind a Rock, where they ſtaid till the fierceneſs of the Tempeſt being allay'd, they proſecuted their Voyage. But ſcarce were they got through the Channel, juſt as they were entring the *Spaniſh* Sea, but a difference ariſe betwixt Mr. *Van Goch* and Mr. *Beaumont* about the Flag, the *Zealanders* (in a Council of War held for that purpoſe) allotting the precedency to Mr. *Van Goch*; whereas the *Hollanders* pretended the ſame to belong to Mr. *Beaumont*; But Mr. *Van Goch* perſiſting notwithſtanding to Claim the Precedency, Mr. *Beaumont* gave a ſignal to the *Holland* Ships to follow him, and ſo bid adieu to Mr. *Van Goch*, who after a troubleſome and tedious Voyage, in which he loſt many of his Men by ſickneſs, and eſpecially the Scurvy, he arrived the 14th of *July* with his Ship in the Road of the *Receif*, being the firſt of the five new Lords of the Council that arrived in the *Dutch Braſil*. The 31ſt of *July* 1646, the Ship the *Bluecock*, and the *Vluſſinger* of *Zealand*, came likewiſe to an Anchor there; in the firſt came Mr. *Trowens*, and in the laſt Colonel *Sigiſmund Shoppe*.

The 6th of *Auguſt* the ſaid Colonel gave an Account to the Members of the Council, how purſuant to their Orders, he was advanced with 450 Men as far as the Fort of *Olinda*, to diſcover the Countenance of the Enemy, and to take ſome Priſoners; That they had made a ſhew of attacking us, but after ſome ſlight Skirmiſhes retired, and with a Body of their Troops marched through *Bracco de St. Jago*, to cut off our Retreat; but our People forced them to Retreat again with the loſs of ſeveral of their Men killed and wounded; whereas, we had but one wounded during the whole Action, beſides Colonel *Shoppe* himſelf, who received a ſlight hurt on his Leg.

1646.

The 8th of *Auguſt*, the *Arms* of *Dort* and in it Mr. *Beaumont*, arrived before the *Receif*, he was conducted the next day, with all imaginable Reſpect, to the *Receif*.

The 12th late in the Evening Mr. *Walter Schonenbergh*, Preſident of the new Council, and *Henry Hacks*, arrived in a Bark from the North in the *Receif*, where they were received by all the Citizens and Soldiers in Arms; They had been forced to leave their Ship, call'd the *Middlebugh*, before the North-Entrance of *Itamaraca*, as likewiſe the *Dolphin*, loaden with Proviſions on Account of the Chamber of *Zealand*, both which were ſeen the 30th of *July* off of *Olinda*, but being forced back by contrary Winds, the laſt of theſe two did not come to an Anchor near the *Receif* till the 13th of *Auguſt*. *More Ships arrive from Holland.*

The ſame day a certain Negro Deſerter coming to the *Receif*, brought Information, That the Enemy intended to erect a Fort on the Paſs of the *Barretta*, to prevent our Excurſions into the open Country; whereupon it was reſolved, with unanimous Conſent of Mr. *Schonenbergh*, and the whole Council, as likewiſe with the Approbation of Colonel *Shoppe* and Admiral *Lichthart*, to prevent the Enemies Deſign, by fortifying and maintaining the ſaid Paſs, as being the only Inlett we had left for the Recovery of the whole *Dutch Braſil*, all the other Paſſes being ſo ſtrongly fortified by the Enemy, as not to be attempted without great hazard.

Accordingly the ſaid Colonel *Shoppe* march'd the ſame Night with all the Forces he could bring together, ordering the Boats laden with Materials for the intended Fortifications, to follow him the next Tide. The Colonel at his arrival, having ſoon Chaſed the Enemy *Colonel Shoppe marches to the Barretta*

1646. from thence, and possess'd himself of the House of the *Baretta*, sent for immediate Orders to the Council, to know, whether he should continue in that Post all Night, who, with the approbation of the new President *Schonenbergh*, dispatcht Mr. *Bullestrate* thither immediately to take a view of it, and to make his Report accordingly; He returned the 14th against Night, and reported to the Council, that he had found the work there very far advanced already, and the Fortifications in such a state, that they would soon be in a posture of Defence against any Attempts from the Enemy.

The 13th of *August*, *Rudolph Baro*, who, as we told you was sent with some Presents to *John Dawy*, King of the *Tapoyars*, brought a Letter from the said King dated the first of *July*, to the Council: wherein he thankt them for their Presents; and desired they would be pleased to send him some Iron Weapons, he being then in War with the *Pojuku*'s, and that after he had humbled them, he would march with all his Forces against the *Portugueses*.

By this time, the President *Walter Schonenburgh*, and the other Members of the new Great Council, being arrived at the *Receif*, and having delivered their Commissions from their High and Mightinesses the States General, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of XIX. constituting them joynt Governours of the *Dutch Brasil*, the late Members of the said Council, to wit, *Henry Hamel*, *Bullestrate*, and *Peter Bas*, ordred all the Colleges, and other Persons of Note to be call'd together to be present at the Installment of the future Lords of the Council.

Accordingly all the Members of the Court of Justice, and of the Finances, next the Magistrates and Commissaries of *Maurice*'s Town; then the Ministers and Church Council, together with the Sea and Land Officers, the Heads of the *Jews*, and last of all the Factors and Bookkeepers of the Company being assembled, Mr *Walbeck* told them in the Name of the Council, That Mr. *Henry Hamel*, Mr. *Bullestrate*, and *Peter Bas*, had call'd them together, to lay down in their Presence, the Reins of the Government, and to Surrender the same to Mr. *Schonenburgh*, and the rest of the Lords, appointed by their High and Mightinesses, by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the Council of XIX. for the Supream Management of the Government of the *Dutch Brasil*; returning them their hearty Thanks for the Services, each in his respective Station, had done to the Government, and for their constant Fidelity during these intestine Commotions, exhorting them, to persevere in the same Obedience to the new Council; Whereupon the new President and other Members, having received the Congratulations first of the old Council, and then of the other Colleges, they from thence forward transacted every thing by their own Authority, tho' they in all Affairs of Moment took the A[illegible] of the said Members of the old [illegible]cil, during their stay in *Brasil*, for which purpose they desired them the 20th of *August*, to appear every day at Eight a Clock at their Assembly, and to assist them with their Council for the better Management of the Affairs of the Company. The 19th of *August* Mr. *Trowens* died late at Night.

The Members of the Old Council surrender the Government.

The 3d of *September* was appointed for a General Muster of all the Forces in Garrison in the Forts near the *Receif*, Mr. *Heck* and Commissary *Zweers*, were ordered to take a Review of those in the Fort *Ernestus*, *Wardenbergh* and *Boavista*. Mr. *Beaumont* and *Moucheron* in the Fort of *Anthony Vaez* and *Maurice*'s Town, Mr. *Van Goch*, *Hamel*, and [illegible]*rich*, at the *Receif*, and of those [illegible]ing to the Artillery. Mr. *Raetsf* [illegible] *Crowranger* at the *Baretta* and adjacent Quarters. Mr. *Volbergen* and Commissary *Stricht* in the Forts *William* and *Frederick Henry*. Mr. *Bullestrate* and *de Witt* in the Fort *Bruin* and the *Land* and *Sea Fort*.

A general Review.

A [illegible] Review.

The 4th of *September*, a Pardon being agreed upon by joint Consent of the old and new Council, the same was the 6th sent by a Drummer to the Enemy, with a Letter to the *Portuguese* Commanders from the *Bahia*, desiring them to withdraw their Forces

The 10th of *September* being appointed for a Review of the Militia of the *Receif* and *Maurice*'s Town, the same was found to consist of 700 Men; They received the Thanks of the old Council for their Faithful Services, during the present Intestine War, and then returned their Thanks to them for their prudent Management of the Government.

The 13th of *September* the Letters written by the *Portuguese* Colonel, the 11th of *September*, in Answer to ours of the 6th, were read in the *Great Council*, fill'd with untruths and Fictions of their own invention. They pretended that they were prevented by the Inhabitants from retiring to the *Bahia*, besides

1646. beſides that they wanted Tranſport Veſſels, their Ships being detained in the Bay of *Tamandare*, and that they muſt expect the Kings orders for that purpoſe.

They took alſo a great deal of pains, to magnifie their Strength, The 12th and 13th of *September* ſeveral Letters were diſperſed abroad by the *Portugueſes*, directed to Juſtice *Daems* to *Matthew Beck*, *Balthaſar de Vonſeca*, *Duarte Saraiva*, *Caſpar Francis da Coſta*, being all Merchants, and written by *John Fernand Vieira*; In which they again exaggerated their own number, and ſpoke very deſpiſably of ours, threatning, that in caſe they ſhould be forced to quit the Country, they would deſtroy all with Fire and Sword, as they had already done in ſome parts of *Paraiba*. The Contents of theſe Letters were as follows.

A Letter from Vieira *to ſome Merchants in the* Dutch Braſil.

EXperience has without queſtion convinced you ſufficiently of the reaſons that moved us to undertake this War, and the ſucceſs we have met with is an ample teſtimony, that God was pleaſed to inflict this puniſhment upon our Enemies, for the many outrages committed againſt the Inhabitants of this Country. This is however in a great meaſure to be attributed to the general conſent of the ſaid Inhabitants, who having now forced themſelves from the tyrannical Yoak of their Oppreſſors, ought to expect from me, who, tho' unworthy, am appointed the chief manager of this War, to be back'd in ſo brave a reſolution. I would not have you be Ignorant, of our Strength, which, in compariſon of yours, exceeds all what can be ſaid upon that head; I will only tell you that as by our quitting the Captainſhips of Paraiba *and* Goiana, *we are conſiderably encreaſed in number, ſo, it is moſt evident from thence, that the Inhabitants choſe rather to loſe their Poſſeſſions, than to endure any longer the Indignities that were put upon them, which was the true cauſe of their Inſurrection, and not (as it is given out among you) becauſe they were unable to ſatisfie their Creditors; becauſe they left more than what would have paid their Debts. But if it ſhould happen ſo, that the ſaid Inhabitants ſhould not be able to maintain themſelves by force of Arms, they are reſolved to lay all the other Captainſhips deſolate in the ſame manner.*

Having therefore well weighed the reaſons which ſeem to promiſe us a good iſſue of this War, I thought my ſelf obliged as a Friend, to adviſe you that that Party which is back'd by Reaſon and the unanimous Reſolution of ſo many thouſands; for, I can aſſure you, we are at leaſt 14000 ſtrong beſides the Negro's and Tapoyers, *diſperſed in ſeveral places from* Rio Grande *as far as* Rio S. Franciſco. Kameron *commands 6 Muſqueteers,* Henry Dias 800 *Negro's,* 200 Minos *and* 700 Tapoyers; *and thoſe of the* Sertan *are at our devotion, whenever we are pleaſed to call for them; but alſo all the reſt we have God on our ſide. We are not ignorant, that before the arrival of Mr.* Sigiſmund Shoppe *your whole Force conſiſted not in above 600 Men, and that the Succours come along with him does not amount to above 1200 more; moſt of which are Boys, and the reſt either Dead or Sick. You ſee I am well acquainted with your Strength, having kill'd and taken Priſoners about 2600 of your beſt Soldiers, and 500* Braſilians, *beſides the wounded that were carried to the* Receif; *when our Troops had no other Arms than pointed Sticks and Clubs. Theſe are bleſſings from Heaven, for if we were able to perform theſe things without Powder and Ball, what may not be expected from our Forces, now they are ſtrengthned with good Troops, and provided with ſufficient Arms and Ammunition? all which I confirm to you upon my word, to be nothing but the real truth, and had it not been in reſpect of thoſe Colonels ſent from the* Bahia, *and of his Majeſty of* Portugal, *I had by this time been Maſter of the* Receif, *or ſome of the Forts, or at leaſt I might have done much greater miſchief:* But if matters are not brought to a happy concluſion, I am reſolved to act like a deſperate Man, and not to leave any Sugar-Mills, Cattel or Negro's in the Country, but will rather turn all to Ruin and Deſtruction, before we will be compelled to ſubmit again to your Obedience.

As theſe preſents may ſerve as warning to you, ſo, I hope you, and the reſt of the Merchants will not delay to enter with us into ſuch Articles of Agreement, as may be moſt conducing to the preſervation of your Poſſeſſions; for I would have you call to mind that there are many Ingenio's (Mills) *reduced at preſent to ſuch a ſtate, as not to be likely to be in a condition, to be uſed theſe Ten Years next to come. The* Vargea *is in no better condition than* Paraiba *and* Goiana, *and the Cattel (without which the Mills cannot ſubſiſt) deſtroyed in moſt places.*

Colonel Sigiſmund Shoppe *I ſuppoſe pretends to keep the Field againſt us, as he did in the laſt War, but he will find himſelf egregiouſly miſtaken, becauſe the Inhabitants*

will

... will not be of his side, for if I should hear ... I would cause him to be ... immediately. You alledge that we ... Vessels of the Country, but when was ... I thus at ... of ... to be ... we ... the ... Spaniard, France, ... come ... the Indians and Moors. I desire you not ... Latte, because experience ... the contrary; and that ... Inhabitants here, as we have done in other places; therefore I would have you not give Credit to any body, ex... I am ... the ... effect ... Inhabitants ... War, and under my Command the power of the Colonels came from the Bahia, extending no further, than over those Troops, they have brought along ... A Reyal de bon Jesus, September 11. 1646.

On the 10th of this Month, the before-mentioned Colonels having sent an Officer ... your Commander ... our Captains; several expostulations were ask'd him concerning ... War, which he perhaps not answering to their expectation, ... replied more like drunken Cowards than ... they were pleased to come out ... I will try whether ... as nimble as their Tongues ... to ... person, who have ... Command here. This I write to ..., that you not wait in due time, ... by the Sworn, of ... the ... effect ... Inhabitants may be not detected, for Brasil is not allotted to you; not questioning but that God will bless our Arms, and ... happen to Us, as formerly our Ancestors in the Defence of our Holy Religion and Liberty; and all those that have refused to accept of our Offers, will pay for it with the loss of their Lives, Possessions and Debts.

A Reyal, Sept. 12.

Signed,

... de Vieira

The 14th of *September* a Man of War, call'd the *Tee Veer*, Equipp'd by the Chamber of *Zealand*, (aboard of which was Colonel *Hinderson*) arrived before the *Recef*, after a Voyage of 14 Weeks. The 24th of *September* the Enemy caused some Pamphlets to be dispersed, promising in very haughty terms, a general Pardon, and a Composition of their Debts, in case we would leave the Island. 1645.

The 27th of *September* Colonel *Shoppe* return'd with some Troops from *Goiana*, by the way of *Itamarika*; I had not met with any Enemy, but had found all the Sugar-Mills burnt in the first place, but the Sugar-Reed and Farinha Fields in a pretty good condition; we received afterwards further Information, that the Sugar Mills of *Goiana*, were not quite burnt down. The 27th *October* a Conference was held betwixt the Old Council and Mr. *Van Goch*, unto whom they imparted their Advice concerning several matters relating to the State of the *Dutch Brasil*, and especially to the Planting of the *Mandioka* or *Farinha* Roots, and the killing of Cattle, which they advised to be done with great circumspection, *Brasil* being not able to subsist without a considerable number of Oxen, which were continually employed in carrying of Sugar-Reeds, Wood and other necessaries to the Mills.

For the planting of *Farinha* Roots they proposed *Itamarika*, *Rio Grande* and *Paraiba*, which Countries were thought sufficient to supply their present occasions; provided it were done before the Season was elapsed.

In the mean while Colonel *Shoppe* having made several, but for the most part, unsuccessful attempts upon the Enemy; our Forces were thereby so diminished that we were not in condition ... the Fort; which made our Council take a resolution to endeavour the recovery of *Rio St. Francisco*, the execution of which being committed to the ... more fortunate for us, he meeting with little resistance there-about.

Accordingly the 24th of *October* the following Ships; Count *Horn* Admiral, *Zeeland* Vice Admiral, The *Arms of Dort* Rear Admiral, the *Bluecock*, the *Water-Dog*, the *Greyhound*, *Eagle*, the *Star*, *Heerstede* and the *Flight*, with Eight Barks, set Sail under the Command of Admiral *Lichthart*, and Colonel *Henderson* to the South. The 17th of *November* the Council received Advice, that

1646. that our Troops under Colonel *Henderſon* were ſafely landed at *Koraſippa*, and marching from thence to *Rio St. Franciſco* and the Fort St. *Maurice* had met with no oppoſition from the Enemy, who had begun to raſe the ſaid Fort. That they had been ſeconded by the ſmall Veſſels, which had followed them up the River, which our Forces had paſſed, and were marched to *Seregippe del Rey*, having left ſome behind to repair the Fort; and that four *Portugueſes* had requeſted their Pardon, which was promiſed them. Whilſt our Forces were employed thereabouts, I was ordered thither to take care of the neceſſary Proviſions (of which there was great plenty) for our Troops; having accordingly cauſed my Cargo to be embarked, aboard a Ship call'd the *Brownfiſh*, *Francis Frantz* Maſter.

Mr. Nicolſon hath order'd it thither.

I ſet Sail the 24th of *November*. We were carried with a brisk Gale as far as the Mountains call'd by our People the *Saddle-Hills* from their ſhape, the Coaſt all thereabouts being white Sand Downs. About half an hour after Sun-ſet we ſaw our ſelves off of the Bay of *Tamandare*, and from thence continued our Courſe with a fair Wind, which in two Days after brought us happily to the Entrance of that great River, which is ſo broad at the beginning that a Sixpounder can ſcarce reach croſs it; it falls with a very ſoft Current into the Sea, its Waters being low in the Winter, but encreaſe in the Summer, perhaps by reaſon of the Snows that are melted by the heat of the Sun. About 50 Leagues from its mouth is a great Cataract or Water-fall, ſurrounded by a great many Iſlands; The Sea at its Entrance meeting in Tempeſtuous Weather with the Current, are ſo boiſtrous, that they ſtrike Terrour into the Stouteſt Mariners, and carry away great pieces of the Continent along with them. We entered the ſaid River, but were forced to caſt Anchor immediately after Sunſet, for want of an Eaſt-Wind to carry us higher up, which commonly begins to blow thereabouts at three in the Morning. The Country appear'd very pleaſant on both ſides, and we ſaw abundance of Wild Beaſts near the River ſide, and ſeveral Huts made of Straw. We were detained near 24 Hours upon a Sand bank, which after we had paſſed, we came at laſt to the Village call'd *Penedos*, ſituate upon a high Hill; Here we landed with our Boats, and found a few Houſes which were rebuilt by our People, the reſt being burnt by the Enemy before their flight. In the Fort was formerly, (in the time of the *Portugueſes*) a Church, which we turn'd into a Magazine; it was ſurrounded with a goodly Wall, the River paſſing by it on the Northſide, where the Hill is very Steep. 1646.

The 30th of *November* Admiral *Lichthart* was ſeized with a ſudden and violent illneſs, occaſioned by his drinking too much cold Water, after he had overheated himſelf before; He was carried into a Boat, with Three Soldiers under the Command of an Officer, lower down the River, but ſoon after loſt his Senſes, and in my preſence expired. The next Day his Corps being put in a Coffin was carried aboard the *Golden Star*, being conducted by the Chief Officers there preſent, and Four Companies of Soldiers to the River ſide, who gave Three Salvo's with their Muſquets, as did the Cannon from the Fort and Ships, in order to his Interment at the *Receif*.

Towards Evening as I was going aboard our Ship the Boat overturned by the ſwiftneſs of the Current, and had I not been a good Swimmer, I had infallibly been drowned, The Maſter threw out a great Cable over-board, by the help of which, and God's Mercy I got ſafely into the Ship. The Soldiers in the mean while ſcowr'd the Country, and brought 700 Oxen, (of which there was great plenty) and 300 Calves into our Quarters, having been at Paſture in one of the adjacent Iſlands of the River, under the guard of ſome Soldiers; they were not extraordinary Fat, but tolerable good Meat. The Soldiers Huts were for the moſt part planted on the North-ſide of the Hill, which being compoſed of Branches and Leaves of Trees took Fire accidentally the 3d of *December*, with ſuch fury, that in a quarter of an Hour the whole Quarter was in a flame, notwithſtanding that the alarum was given immediately, by the beating of Drums and the ſounding of Trumpets; ſome Soldiers that were then ſwimming in the River, loſt all their Coaths by this accident. It was well it happened by Day; for if it had been in the Night it would have put us under a great conſternation, it being generally reported, that it had been done by Treachery. There was at that time a plentiful crop of Tobacco upon the circumjacent Fields, but was not quite fit for reaping, which muſt be done at a certain Seaſon, before the low Grounds are overflow'd. The Colonel deſired me to provide thoſe who had loſt all, with

1646. new Cloaths, and to deduct it out of their Pay; but I told him, that I being only a Factor could not do it without special Order from the Council, some having but little Pay due to them. The 25th of *December* we received Intelligence that the Enemy began to appear in a considerable Body, whereupon the Companies of Captain *Cousin*, *Schut*, *Gyseling*, *La Montayne*, and of a *Brasilian* Captain call'd *Tozee*, were sent in quest of them, with Orders, to set their Stables on Fire, and bring the Cattle to our Quarters. The next following *Monday* word was brought us, that our Troops were so narrowly enclosed by the Enemy, that it was feared scarce one of them would escape with Life. Whilst we were in a great Consternation, not knowing what Resolution to take, a *Brasilian* brought us the unwelcome News, that our whole Body was routed and dispersed, and Captain *Schut*, *Cousin* and *La Montayne*, kill'd upon the spot. He had scarce finished his doleful Relation before a *German* Soldier, who had escaped the Fight, by his bleeding Wounds, and his words gave us a Confirmation of what had been told us before, with this addition, that Captain *Gyseling*'s Lieutenant, *La Montaynes* Ensign, and one *Kilmet*, belonging to Captain *Schut*, had fought their way through the Enemy, with about 30 Soldiers, and would soon be here. This mishap was chiefly attributed to the Fool-hardiness of our Troops, who contrary to Colonel *Henderson*'s Command, having at once discharged all their Musquets against the Enemy, fell in Pell-Mell without any regular Order, with Sword in Hand upon the Enemy, which the Enemy perceiving, retreated back and drew them into an Ambush. Towards Night we saw several Soldiers miserably wounded with Darts come to our Quarters, some who had thrown away their Arms, were forced to cast Lots for their Lives, the misfortune of which fell upon a *Dutch-Man* and a *Brasilian*, who being tied to a Stake to be Shot to Death, were, however pardon'd by the Colonel. Captain *Gyseling*'s Lieutenant who came without his Arms to the Fort, was sent immediately to the *Recif*, where his Sword was broke over his Head, and he declared incapable of serving the Company for the future, notwithstanding he had done them faithful Service for seven years last past.

By this time I was sent for to the *Recif*, so, that after having taken my leave of the Colonel and Mr. *Dames*, I embark'd a board the *Bat* the 16th of *December*, and we were the same Evening with a fair Wind and Stream carried to the mouth of the River. It being a fine Moon-light Night, we catch'd abundance of *Zaggers* as we call them, a Fish of a very good taste, and continued our course with a brisk Gale: Not far from the Rivers Mouth we met with four of our Ships, who told us, they were to fetch Provisions, but in case they could not, were to return forthwith to the *Recif*. The 18th we advanced but little, the Ships being not out of sight of us, near the Rivers Mouth; but did catch more Fish than we were able to Eat. The 20th we were likewise becalmed, and we perceived the Moon to be half Eclipsed for the space of two Hours. The next following Day we sailed so near to St. *Antonio*, that we could see them walking along the Seashoar: Towards Night we discovered *Porto Calvo*, about 30 Leagues from *Rio St. Francisco*. We were often becalmed, but catch'd abundance of *Kings-Fish* and Codds, and saw Fires in many places along the Coast. The 24th of *December* we came so near to the Cape of St. *Austin* that we discovered five Ships and seven Row-Barges in the Harbour; we might have reach'd some of those that went a shoar with our Shot, had it not been for the Sand bank, which hinder'd our nearer approach. About Noon we came before the *Recif*, but it was so Foggy that we scarce could discover the Water-Fort, nevertheless we ventured in, and I got ashoar immediately, with an intention to give an account of the State of Affairs in *Rio St. Francisco*, to Mr. *Schonenbergh*, being conducted thither by Colonel *Shorpe*, who happened to meet me immediately after my landing.

1646.

Mr. Nieuhoff's return to the Recif.

The 27th of *October* the Enemy had laid two Ambushes in the way to the Fort *Prince William*, beyond the Redoubt *Luik*. They did not stir, till towards Noon, when perceiving a Company of our Soldiers marching along the Dike, they fired so briskly upon them, that they killed 11, wounded 12, and took three Prisoners; yet not without the loss of some on their side.

In the mean while the *Tapoyas* being much exasperated at the Murther of the before-mentioned *Jacob Rabbi* their Commander, had left our Party; The Council did what they could to appease them, imprison'd and banish'd *Garstman* the Author of it, and confiscated his Estate, notwith-

Debate concerning an Enterprise against the Enemy.

Another attempt of the Enemy.

The Tapoyas leave our Party.

notwithstanding which, the *Tapoyars* could not be prevailed upon to join with us, as before. 1646.

Debate concerning an Enterprise against the Enemy.

The 18th of *November*, Mr. *Van Goch* entred into a Conference with the Members of the Old Council, whether it might not be feisible to Embark what Forces we were able to spare on Board our great Ships, and to attempt to make a powerful Diversion to the Enemy by attacking him in some Place or other. But those of the Old Council having represented to him the danger of this Enterprise, if it should miscarry, whilst they were blockt up in the *Receif*, the further Debate thereof was deferred till the next day. It was then proposed, upon second Thoughts, That in case we could bring all our Forces together, something of moment might be undertaken without manifest hazard, whereby to oblige the Enemy to withdraw his Forces from the *Receif*; but Mr. *Van Goch* apprehending no small danger in case we miscarried, they came to no resolution for that time.

Another Debate for the same.

It being found by Experience, that all our Promises of Pardon had proved ineffectual; it was proposed by Mr. *Van Goch* the first of *December*, Whether it were not most Expedient to give no Quarter for the future; unto which it was answered, That very seldom Quarter had been given by us, and few Prisoners were taken, and that the Enemy had likewise kill'd most of our People that were fain into their Hands, but they judged it not convenient to refuse Quarter to all without Distinction, which would induce such of the Inhabitants as had remained quiet hitherto, to betake themselves likewise to their Arms.

The 23d of *November* we laid an Ambush for the Enemy near the Fort of *Affagados*, who being by some few, sent out for that purpose, engaged in a Skirmish, and pursuing our Men with great Eagerness under the Cannon of the Fort, were set upon by those lying in Ambush, who killed and wounded many of them.

The 12th of *December*, the Corps of the late Admiral *Lichthart* was Interr'd, one Company of the City Militia, and two of Soldiers appearing in Arms upon that Occasion, gave him three Salvoes with their Muskets.

News from Rio St. Francisco.

The 30th of *December*, the *Eagle* Yacht brought Letters to the Council, dated in *Rio St. Francisco* the 4th of *December*, intimating, That in an Island a little above the Fort, one Colonel *Rebellia* was arrived with 200 men from the *Bahia*; and that they expected another Reinforcement, as well from thence, as from the *Vargea*; That our People being sent higher up the River, had attackt some of the Enemies Troops, but they made their escape to the other side, leaving their Arms and Clothes behind them. 1646

The 2d of *January* 1647. Colonel *Shoppe*, who had been with 300 Fusileers in *Goiana*, return'd to the *Receif*, giving an Account, That he had taken a View of all the Rivers thereabouts, but met with no Enemy. 1647.

Shoppe receives news from Goiana.

The 5th of *January*, the Council received an Account of the beforementioned Action in *Rio St. Francisco*, *viz.* Five Companies of our Forces being sent to *Orambon*, to beat up the Enemies Quarters, they met with a Body of 100 Men, whom they attackt and put to flight; but soon after our Forces were attackt by a much stronger Body, who put them to the Rout, with the loss of 150 Men; of our Officers, one Captain was kill'd, and five taken Prisoners, *viz.* Captain *Samuel Lambart*, *La Montagne*, *Gerrit Schut*, *Kilian Taylor*, *Daniel Koin*, and three Lieutenants, *Joost Koyman*, *Anthony Baliart*, *Jeronymus Helleman*, and one Ensign.

Consultations concerning the State of Paraiba.

The 8th of *January*, Mr. *Van Goch*, in the Name of the New Council, advised with those of the Old Council, that it being resolved among them, to send for a considerable number of their Forces out of *Parayba*; in order to gather a Body of Troops for some important design, they desired to be inform'd concerning the present Condition of the said Captainship; and whether the City of *Paraiba* and *St. Andrew* might be defended by a small Garrison; whereupon those of the Old Council reply'd, That the Town of *Frederica* had no fresh Water but what they must fetch at a miles distance, and consequently might be cut off by the Enemy; the same thing might be done at the Passage leading to the Riverside; besides, that there was no Fortifications belonging to the place but the Monastery, which was of no great consequence, and the *Guarte Domaiges* Church which had been fortified by the Enemy in this War. As to St. *Andrew*, it was no more than a Sugar-Mill about four hours distant from the City of *Paraiba*, situate upon the Bank of the River; that the Communication of this Place with the Fort of St. *Margaret* might easily be cut off by the Enemy, as being likewise about four Leagues from thence, but it might be relieved from

1647. from the Water-ſide, and yet not without great difficulty. Mr. *Van Goch* told them, he would make his Report thereof to the Council.

The 12th of *January*, the Council received Advice, That the Enemy were with a ſtrong Body of Troops entred *Paraiba*, and advancing very near to the Sugar-Mill of St. *Andrews*, had in the Night time ſurpriſed ſome *Dutch* and *Braſilians*, to the number of 50 Men, Women and Children, of which they had kill'd ſome, and ript up the Womens Bellies.

The 13th of *January*, ſome Pamphlets were again diſperſed by the Enemy, containing in ſubſtance, That ſince the Inhabitants of the *Receif* were now beyond all hopes of further Relief, it would be their ſureſt way to come to an Accommodation; for they were reſolved to venture all before they would lay aſide their Deſign; but if all fail'd they would deſtroy the whole Country, and ſo leave it: They Exhorted them not to be deceived by the Inſinuations of thoſe who belonged to the Company; and call'd them Rebels; they being no more to be ſtiled ſo, than the *Dutch* themſelves, who had aſſerted their Liberty againſt [illegible].

The 17th of *January*, four Negroes belonging to one *Iſaac de Raſſier*, who had been taken Priſoners ſome days before in *Paraiba*, came over to us into the *Receif*, and brought Advice, That the Enemy, after having tarried but a little time in that Captainſhip, where they had kill'd five *Dutch* Men and ſome *Braſilians*, were retired from thence.

The Wooden Fort battered. The 22d of *January* early in the morning, the Enemy began to batter the Wooden-Fort near the *Baretta* from a Battery on the Bank of the Southſide of the River, which he continued the whole day, but deſiſted at night; the Garriſon having been reinforced about Noon with five Companies of Soldiers, and ſome Proviſions; becauſe Mr. *Hamel* one of the Members of the Old Council, did repreſent to Mr. *Van Goch*, that though the Fort it ſelf was ſo inconſiderable, as to be worth the trouble of defending it, by a good Garriſon, yet at this Juncture, when the Enemy had made his firſt attempt upon it; it would not be advisable to deſert it, for fear of giving Encouragement to the Enemy to attack the other Forts; But, that on the contrary, as long as they did meet with a brave Reſiſtance here, they would not be ſo forward to attempt others; eſpecially ſince we had the conveniency of relieving them with Boats at High Water, with Low-Tide by Land by the way of the Sandridge; and that we might annoy the Enemy with the Cannon from our Yachts, in his Trenches, as we had done that day. About the ſame time, a Map was ordered to be made, ſhewing the true Situation of the *Receif*, with the Turnings and Windings of the adjacent Rivers and Marſhes, as far as the *Baretta*, for the better Inſtruction of the Council. 1647.

Raiſe the Siege. The 24th of *January* in the morning, News was brought, That the Enemy had raiſed the Siege of the Fort of the *Baretta* the Night before, and carried off all their Cannon, being ſenſible, that as long as they could be annoy'd from the Sea-ſide, and we be able to reinforce them daily with freſh Troops, they could promiſe themſelves but ſlender ſucceſs: But beſides, that our People were to ſtruggle againſt the Enemy and Famine, they were frequently troubled with Deſertions, many of our Soldiers, nay even to the Serjeants, and other Officers, who begun to Deſpair of our Eaſe, running over to the Enemy, even at that time when the before-mentioned Ships the *Faulcon* and *Elizabeth* were in ſight of the *Receif*.

Now the Members of the Old Council began to prepare in good earneſt for their return to *Holland*, they had already in *December* 1646. ſollicited Mr. *Schonenbergh* Preſident of the New Council, to order ſome Ships to be got ready to Tranſport them thither, and the *Vlieſſingen* had been appointed for that purpoſe; But the ſame being not as yet return'd from Cruiſing, they apply'd themſelves the 25th of *January* 1647. to Mr. *Van Goch*, and told him, That whereas according to their Commiſſion, one of them ſhould return after the Expiration of three years, they had continued in *Braſil* theſe ſix years: Mr. *Kodde* having indeed been ordered to return about that time, but his Place not being ſupplied by another, he died, before his departure: That they had for theſe three years laſt paſt, ſollicited their return, and had two years ago received Promiſes of being relieved by others; which had not been performed till within theſe few Months, to the great prejudice of themſelves and their Families: Mr. *Van Goch* promiſed them to take effectual Care to have the Ships got ready, and to ſend for the Ship the *Vlieſſingen*, in order to their return home. At the time of the Acceſſion of the New Council to the Government, and the departure of *Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Bulleſtraat*, and

The Members of the old Council ſollicit their return.

1647. and *Peter Bas*, late Members of the Great Council, the following Forts remained ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of our *Weſt-India* Company.

A Catalogue of the Forts in the Lands of the Dutch.

The Fort *Keulen* at the Mouth of *Rio Grande*, provided with 28 Braſs, and one Iron Cannon.

The Redoubt of St. *Antonio*, on the North-ſide of the River *Paraiba*, with ſix Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort *Reſtangues* in an Iſland of the ſame Name, within the River *Paraiba*, with four Braſs and five Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort *Margaret* on the Southſide of the River *Parayba*, with 14 Braſs and 24 Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort *Orange*, in the Iſle of *Itamarika*, with ſix Braſs and 7 Iron pieces of Cannon.

Noſſa Senhora de Conceptiano, an old Battery upon the Hill of *Itamarika*, with two Braſs and eight Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Redoubt call'd Madame *de Bruin*, three Iron pieces of Cannon.

The Fort *Waerdenburgh*, alias the *Triangular Fort*, betwixt the *Brum* and the *Receif*; the firſt provided with four Braſs and five Iron pieces of Cannon; the laſt with fourteen Braſs Guns.

The *Land Fort* alias *St. John*'s, with 11 Iron Guns.

The *Water Fort*, at the Mouth of the River of the *Receif*, with 7 Braſs Guns.

The Fort *Erneſtus*, with five Braſs and three Iron pieces of Cannon, and the Battery with five Braſs and two Iron pieces of Cannon.

The *Receif*.

Maurice's Town, upon the Iſland of *Anthony Vaez*.

The Fort *Frederick Henry*, alias the *Quinquangular Fort*.

The Redoubt of Stone near this Fort.

The Redoubt *Kiik*, betwixt the Fort *Frederick Henry* and the Fort *Prince William*.

The Fort *Prince William* upon the River *Aſſagados*.

The Forts then in poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſes*, and taken by them from the *Dutch*, are theſe:

Forts in the hands of the Portugueſes.

Seregippo del Rey, *Rio St. Franciſco*, and *Porto Calvo*, being reduced by Famine, were raſed by the *Portugueſes*, being ſenſible that our People could not maintain themſelves there without erecting of new ones, which was not to be done without a vaſt Charge. Near the Point of *Tamandare*, the Place where the *Portugueſes* from the *Bahia* firſt of all landed their Men; and where afterwards their Fleet was beaten by ours, the Enemy laid the Foundation of a Fort, for the ſecurity of that Harbour, where Ships of great Burthen might ſafely ride at Anchor. 1647.

A Conference about Rio St. Franciſco,

The 23d of *January*, Mr. *Beaumont* was ſent by the New Council to Confer with the late Members concerning the preſent Condition of *Rio St. Franciſco*, and what was beſt to be done there: They anſwered him as before, That the Fort, as it was now, could do but little Service, and that therefore it would be worth our Conſideration, Whether the Propoſals made by them in Writing, might not now be put in practice. The ſaid Mr. *Beaumont* further propoſed, Whether it would not be requiſite to erect an Earthen Redoubt for the Defence of the *Baretta*; unto which thoſe of the Old Council reply'd, That conſidering the vaſt Charge, and the ſmall Benefit which could be expected from it, the ſame might be more conveniently built in ſome Place or other, to facilitate our paſſage into the open Country. *Beaumont* was of Opinion, That thereby the Enemy would be prevented from advancing to the Fort *Frederick Henry*; but the Old Members told him, That notwithſtanding we had now a Fort on the *Baretta*, we could not hinder the Enemies coming upon that Iſland near the Fort, unleſs we would keep a conſiderable Force there for that purpoſe; That we need not fear their Tranſporting any Cannon thither, becauſe their Retreat might be cut off at high Tide; neither could they from thence do any miſchief to the *Receif*, it being evident, that the Shot of our biggeſt Cannon in the Fort *Frederick William* could not reach the ſaid Iſland. The ſame Evening Mr. *VanGoch* and *Hack*, came to tell the Members of the Old Council, That the *Hollandia* and *Vlieſſingen* would be ready in a little time, in order to conduct them to *Holland*, the *Vlieſſingen* being ordered forthwith to return from the *Bahia*, whither ſhe was ſent a Cruiſing. *And the Baretta.*

By this time the Enemy had blockt us up ſo cloſely in the *Receif*, that on the Land ſide we durſt ſcarce look without the Gates; and a certain *Portugueſe* had prepared us a worſe Entertainment, having invited all our Chief Commanders abroad to his Daughters Wedding, during which time the Enemy were to have ſurpriſed the City; but this deſign being timely diſcovered by ſome *Portugueſes* and *Jews*, miſcarried. *The Receif cloſely block up.*

About the 15th of *October*, the *Portugueses* began to Rebuild the Fort *Bonifacius*, as it is call'd by them, but by us *Altena*, on the other side of the River. We had some notice of it by Deserters, but could not discover the Truth of it, because they kept us from advancing that way by their Cannon, and the place was surrounded on all sides with Woods; but as soon as they had caused them to be cut down, we discovered it both by sight and the roaring of their Cannon, which thundring incessantly against the City, caused such a Consternation, as is not eaue to be express'd, most People sheltring themselves in Vaults, to avoid the fury of the Enemies Cannon. Of this I saw a most miserable Spectacle in a certain young Lady, a Niece of the late Admiral *Lichthart*, who being come to visit one of her Acquaintance lately Married, had both her Legs shot off by a Cannon Bullet, which at the same time kill'd the new Married Woman upon the spot. At the outcry of these miserable Wretches I ran thither instantly, my House being just by, where I was an Eye-witness of their Misery, the poor young Lady grasping my Legs with such an Agony, that she could scarce be pull'd of with all the strength I had; it being a most doleful Spectacle for me to see the Floor covered with the Legs and Arms of these miserable Wretches; the poor young Lady died likewise within three days after. It was not long after that I narrowly escaped the same Misfortune; for whilst I was Talking [illegible] some of the Inhabitants of the Ci[illegible] I was going the Rounds, two of [illegible] were kill'd by a Cannon Bullet, [illegible] had both his Hands shot [illegible] lighting his Pipe. Nay, we [illegible] to remove all the Ships out of [illegible] Harbour for fear of being Sunk. Colonel *Shoppe* in the mean while had [illegible] himself Master of, and destroyed [illegible] *Portugueses* only having [illegible] themselves by flight; But by the many unsuccessful Encounters we had with the *Portugueses*, our Forces decreased, whereas theirs encreased, Colonel *Shoppe* was ordered to Command Colonel *Henderson* to leave *Rio St. Fran*[illegible] to join him in *Taverika*; but [illegible] but in little stead, being not [illegible] obliged to leave likewise *Ta*[illegible] the Relief of the *Receif*. All [illegible] consisting of about 1800 men, [illegible] now come to the *Receif*, (where [illegible] had not Provisions for above seven [illegible] left) it was several times taken into Consideration, what was best to be done at this juncture. Colonel *Shoppe* with some other Officers were of Opinion not to hazard an Engagement, our Forces being so much inferiour to the Enemy, but to stay for a more favourable opportunity; But it was carried by the majority to venture a general Salley for the relief of the *Receif*, the chief Command thereof being given to Colonel *Brink*, because Colonel *Shoppe* was not as yet cured of his Wounds he had received in a late Encounter. Our Forces marched towards Evening as far as *Guerapes*, a place fatal to us the year before by the defeat of our People, the Fields thereabouts being as yet covered with their Bones. The *Portugueses* no sooner perceived us to be upon the march, but they left the Fort *Altena*, of which we having got notice, possess'd our selves of it immediately; and thus drew the Thorn out of our Foot. But the 16th of *May* prov'd the most fatal of all we had seen for many years before in *Brasil*. For, though our Forces attackt the Enemy with bravery, and maintained the Fight with great obstinacy for some time, yet the Enemy flush'd with their number and late Success, with 2500 of their best Men, at last forced our Men to give way, and afterwards to fly, being pursued by 150 *Portuguese* Horse; so that both in the Fight and Flight, we lost above 1100 Men, among whom were Colonel *Brink*, and almost all the rest of our Commanders: We lost also 19 Colours, and all our Cannon and Ammunition, we had carried along with us. It was not till five days after before leave could be obtained to bury our Dead, which began to corrupt and stink most nauseously, by reason of the burning heat of the Sun. This was the last Effort we were likely to make in the Field; all our future care being for the Preservation and Defence of the *Receif*, unless we should be supplied with fresh Succours from *Holland*: but the same arriving but slowly, most People began to fear, that in case God Almighty did not send us some unexpected Relief, we should be at last forced to leave that Place likewise to the Mercy of the Enemy: The Great Council laying the Fault of our late Misfortunes upon the Council of War, and these again upon them, alledging, That the Soldiers were ill provided for, and wanted their Pay. As for my self, being sensible that things would be worse and worse every day, thought it the safest way for me also, to desire a Passport for my re-

turn to *Holland*, which at laſt, with much ado I obtained, and ſo prepared every thing for my Voyage. But before I leave *Braſil*, I ought to give you a ſhort account of the Products of the ſaid Country.

The Captainſhip of *Pernambuko* and *Braſil* in general being not only well ſtored with Cattle, but alſo with ſeveral ſorts of Herbs, Trees and Fruits, we will give you a ſhort view of them, and begin with the *Mandiba*, and its Root,

Mandioca Root

call'd *Mandioka*, unto which the *Braſilians* ſtand chiefly Indebted for their Suſtenance. The moſt parts of *America* are ignorant hitherto of Wheat or any other Grain, inſtead of which Nature has furniſhed them with a certain Shrub, the Root of which dried and powdred, and afterwards Boil'd and Bak'd as we do our Bread, is the common Food of the Inhabitants of *America*. This Shrub grows in vaſt Plenty every where, being by the *Braſilians* called *Mamiba* and *Mandiba*, and its Root *Mandioka*. There are divers kinds of it, diſtinguiſhed by the *Braſilians* by different Names, but the Root is in general called *Mandioka*. Their Leaves are ſmall, green, and long, pointed at the end, which grow upon large ſtalks or Branches, each of which has five, ſix, or ſeven Leaves, growing in a Cluſter, reſembling a Star, call'd by the *Braſilians*, *Mamkoka*. The Stock or Stem is diſtinguiſhed by certain Knots, not above an Inch thick, but generally, ſix, ſometimes ſeven foot high; from whence, Sprout forth ſeveral Branches, which producing again leſſer Stalk, bears the before-mentioned Leaves; It bears a ſmall Flower of a pale yellow colour, and of five Leaves only, with ſmall Stalks within, which at laſt turn to Seed. The Root *Mandioka* reſembles our Parſnip in ſhape, being two or three foot long, and about a Man's Arm thick, but grows thinner towards the bottom. Its outward Rind reſembles that of a Hafel-Tree, but its ſubſtance is white, affording a Milky ſharp Juice, which is pernicious to Beaſts. This Shrub grows in dry, barren and ſandy Ground, its Nature being ſo averſe to Moiſture, that they are obliged to Plant it only in the Summer Months, where it is moſt expoſed to the Sun. For this purpoſe it is, that the Inhabitants cut down the Woods on the Hills and in the Plains, which they burn, and ſo prepare the Ground for the Production of this Root; Theſe

Fields

1647. Fields are by the *Braſilians* called *Ko*, by the *Portugueſes*, *Roza*, or *Croka*, and by our People *Reſſer*. Theſe Fields are turn'd up into ſmall round Hills, like Mole-Hills; the *Portugueſes* call them, *Montes de Terra Cavada*, or *Hollowed Hills*, the *Braſilians*, *Koja*. Theſe Hills they make about two foot and an half aſunder, each being about three foot in Circumference, and half a foot high, that the Rain-Water may be carried off with the more eaſe. In each of theſe Hills they commonly Plant three ſmall Taks of this Shrub, of about nine, ten Inches, or a foot long, without Leaves, notwithſtanding which they grow and ſoon bear freſh Leaves, and in time produce new Roots; which cannot be tranſplanted, becauſe no Planes are they taken out of the Ground, but they begin to putrifie and ſtink. After theſe Taks have been about 14 days in the ground, they begin to bud and produce as many freſh Taks as they have Knots; Each of theſe Taks is about a Finger long, from whence ſprout forth many leſſer ones of a Purple colour. The Fields muſt be clear'd three or four times a year clear of the Weeds, which grow in great plenty amongſt it, and choaks it up, before it comes to its full growth. The ſmall Taks and Leaves of theſe Shrubs are mightily infeſted by the *Piſmires*, and likewiſe coveted by the Wild-Goats, Oxen, Horſes, and Sheep, for which reaſon they are very careful to Fence theſe Plantations, with Stalks and Branches of Trees: The Bees, Coneys, and ſome other *Braſilian* Creatures are mighty fond of the Roo:, which takes no harm, tho' the Shrub be ſtript of all the Leaves, provided the Root it ſelf be not touch'd. This Root does not come to its full Perfection till a year after the Planting of the Taks, tho' in caſe of neceſſity they may be drawn in ſix months, but afford but little *Farinha*. Each Shrub produces, two, three, four, nay ſometimes twenty Roots, according to the goodneſs of the Ground, and after they are come to full maturity, will keep two or three years under ground; but it is much more ſafe to take them up at the years end; for elſe many of them will rot; nay, if the Seaſon happens to prove very wet, they muſt of neceſſity be drawn tho' they are but half ripe. The Root, after it is taken out of the Ground, will not keep above three days, but ſtinks, take what care you can; for which reaſon, they ſeldom draw more at a time than they can make immediately into *Farinha* or Meal. That kind of *Mandioka*, commonly called *Mandibuka*, grows faſter and ripens ſooner than any other, and affords the beſt *Farinha*; It thrives beſt in ſandy and hot Grounds. But that kind which is moſt generally uſed is called *Mandiokparata*, and grows indifferently in all Grounds. The *Farinha* is prepared thus: The Root after it is taken out of the Ground is purged from its outward Rind by a Knife, and waſh'd in fair Water: Then the end of the Root is held cloſe to a Wheel of about four or five foot Diameter, which being covered round the edges with a Copper or Tin Plate full of ſharp ſmall holes, not unlike a Nutmeg-grater, and the Wheel being turn'd round continually, grates the ſaid Root into ſmall Particles which fall into a Trough underneath. The Wheel is by the *Braſilians* called *Ibecem Babaka*, and by the *Portugueſes Roda de Farinha*, or the Flower Wheat; The Trough the *Braſilians* call *Mukaba*, and the *Portugueſes*, *Kocho de rater Mandihoka*. But the poorer ſort are fain to be contented with a Hand-Grater, called *Tapiti*. The Root thus Grated is put into a Bag made of the Rinds of Trees about four Inches wide, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Eſpremendouro de Mandihoka*. This Bag with the Root is put into a Preſs, and all the Juice preſt out, (it having a venomous quality) which is by the *Braſilians* called *Manipoera*, or *Munipuera*, and by the *Portugueſes*, *Agoa de Mandioka*, i. e. *The Water of Mandioka*. The next thing to be done is to beat the Root through a Sieve, called by the *Braſilians*, *Urupema*; and then to lay it upon a Copper-Plate, or Earthen-Pan, over the Fire, and to ſtir it continually with a Wooden-Spoon or Spattle till it be quite dry. This Pan or Veſſel the *Braſilians* call *Vinovipaba*, and the Slice, *Vipucuitaba*. The *Farinha* before it being quite dry is called by the *Braſilians*, *Vitinga*, and by the *Portugueſes*, *Farinha Relada*; But when it is compleatly dried, and fit for keeping, the *Braſilians* call it *Viata* or *Viccia*, and the *Portugueſes Farinha Seca*, or Dry Meal; or *Farinha de Guerra*, War-Meal; becauſe it is moſt uſed in time of War. For the more it is dried the better it keeps, but never keeps good above a year; the leaſt moiſture being apt to taint it; which is the reaſon, that both the *Portugueſes* and we, in imitation of the *Braſilians*, bake Biskets of it, upon a Grate Iron, with hot Coals underneath, for the Magazines.

1647. *How the Farinha is prepared.*

The

1647. The Juice *Manipuera*, which is preſs'd out of the Root *Mandioka*, put into a Veſſel, gets in two hours time a white Settlement at the bottom, call'd by the *Braſilians*, *Tipioja*, *Tipiaka*, and *Tipiabika*: This dry'd affords a very White-Meal, called *Tipiocui*, which Bak'd into Cakes as before, call'd by them *Tipiacika*, Taſte as well as Wheaten Bread. This Juice is alſo boil'd to Pap, and Eaten, and ſerves likewiſe inſtead of Starch or Paſte. The *Portugueſes* take this Pap, mix it with Sugar, Rice, and Orange-Flower-Water, which they make into a Conſerve of a delicious Taſte; they call it *Marmelada de Mandioka*. The Juice *Mandiga* or *Manipuera*, is of a ſweetiſh Taſte, which is the reaſon the Beaſts covet it, but commonly Die ſoon after they have Drunk of it; it being pernicious, nay mortal, both to Man and Beaſt. If the Juice be kept twice 24 hours, it produces Worms, called by the *Braſilians*, *Tapuca*; yet it has been found by Experience, that this Juice loſes its pernicious Quality after it has ſtood 24 hours, there being many of the *Braſilians* who Boil and Drink it without any harm. The Root *Mandioka* is likewiſe immediately after it is taken out of the Ground, ſliced in pieces, and laid in freſh Water for four or five days, when it begins to be ſoft, it is called *Puba*, or *Mandiopuba* and *Mandiopulo*. This the wild *Braſilians* Inhabiting the Deſerts and Woods, Roaſt in the Aſhes and Eat; becauſe it is done without much trouble. The ſame *Mandiopuba* Toaſted before the Fire, is called *Kaarima*, which being afterwards beat to Powder with a Wooden Peſtel in a Mortar, they call *Kaarimacui*; of this they make a Pap with boiling Water, which ſeaſoned with ſome *Braſilian* Pepper, or *Nhambi* Flowers, affords a very good Diſh, eſpecially with the addition of ſome Fiſh or Meat, when it is called *Mingupitinga* by the *Braſilians*, who look upon it as one of their beſt Dainties. It is alſo very wholſome, for this *Kaarima*, and the Flower *Tipiaka*, boil'd in Orange Flower-Water, and Sugar to the conſiſtency of a Syrup, affords a very good Antidote. They make alſo a kind of Starch of the Flower called *Kaarima*, which they call *Mingaupomonga*; as likewiſe very fine Cakes, by mixing it with Water, Butter, and Sugar. There is a kind of Meal prepared from the Dregs of the *Mandioka*, or *Mandiopiba* Root, thus ſteept in Water, call'd by the *Braſilians*, *Vipiba*, and *Viabanun*, and by the *Portugueſes*, *Farinha Freſca*, or freſh Flour, and *Farinha d'Agoa*, or Water-Flower. It is very well Taſted, but will not keep above 24 hours. But if you make it up with Water into Balls or Rolls, and let them dry in the Sun, they will keep good for a conſiderable time: Theſe they call *Wapua* and *Miapeteka*. The *Tapoyars* and almoſt all the other *Braſilians* prepare it thus, and afterwards mix it with another Meal, called *Puta*, which affords it a more agreeable Taſte.

1647. The *Mandioka*-Root is likewiſe prepared thus: After it has been cleanſed and cut in thin ſlices, they beat it with a Wooden Peſtel, and ſqueeze the Juice of it out with their Hands only, which being dried they call *Tina* and *Mixakuruba*; Another way of preparing the *Mandioka*-Root is, to cut it into pieces, of about two Fingers long, and two Inches thick, which without being ſqueeſed, is expoſed to the Sun, and afterwards beat to Powder in a Wooden Mortar, call'd by the *Braſilians Tipirati*, by the *Portugueſes Farinha de Mandioka crua*, or the Flour of raw *Mandioka*: The pieces before they are beaten to Powder are very white, and may be uſed inſtead of Chaulk. Out of this Flour they make very good White Bread, and Biſkets, call'd *Mineta*, the laſt of which are chiefly uſed in the Camp; becauſe they will keep a great while.

Out of the Root *Apimakaxera*, the *Braſilians* boil a certain pleaſant Liquor not unlike our Whey, call'd by them *Kavimakaxera*. The ſame Root chaw'd and mixed with Water furniſhes them with another Liquor, they call *Kaon Karaxu*. The Cakes made from the Flour of this Root, laid in a Cask with Water, till it ferments together, affords them likewiſe a ſort of Strong and very good Beer.

All theſe different kinds of *Mandioka* Roots, if they be eaten freſh prove mortal to Mankind, except that call'd *Aipiumkaxera*, which roaſted may be eaten without danger, and is of a good taſte. But all ſorts of Beaſts both wild and tame ones, don't only feed upon the ſaid Roots and Leaves, without the leaſt hurt, but alſo grow Fat with them, notwithſtanding that the Juice of both is mortiferous as well to Men as Beaſts. The Negro's and *Braſilians* bruiſe the Leaves of the *Mandiba* in a Wooden-Mortar, which being boil'd they put Oil or Butter, over it and eat it like as we do our Spinage, this is ſometimes done by the *Portugueſe* likewiſe and the

1647. *Dutch*, who make a kind of Sallet of the ſame Leaves. The *Braſilians* prefer the Bread made of the *Mandioka*-Root before ours, but is not ſo natural to the *Europeans*, it being, if uſed in a great quantity, pernicious to the Nerves and Stomach, and corrupts the Blood. About three Buſhels of this Meal, (at the rate of two Gilders *per* Buſhel) will ſuffice a ſtrong labouring Man, for a whole Month, and a piece of Ground planted with this Root, produces four times the quantity, as if it had been ſown with Wheat. There is a certain kind of *Mandioka*-Root call'd *Putinga*, by the *Braſilians*, the Flour of which cleanſes and heals old Ulcers. This Root is likewiſe found in the Ille of St. *Thomas*; and in thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*, *Cuba* and others thereabouts, and in moſt parts of the Continent of *America*; the Inhabitants of which call it *Tuka* and *Kaſſave*, and thoſe of *Mexico Quauhkamoth*, and the Bread which is made of the Flour, *Kazabis*, *Kazabi*, or *Kakavi*. The *Mandioka*-Root is originally the natural product of *Braſil*, and from thence tranſplanted into other parts of *America* and *Africk*. Its Flour furniſhes all the Inhabitants of *Braſil*, as well the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch* as the Natives and Negro's with Bread, which next to Wheat is the beſt of all, ſo, that our Soldiers would rather chooſe to have their allowance in *Farinha*, than Wheaten Bread out of the Magazines. Since the War in 1645, the price of the Farinha was riſen to three or four Gilders *per* Buſhel, which, as it tended to the utter deſtruction of the Sugar-Mills, ſo, by ſpecial Orders from the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, all the Inhabitants of the open Country were enjoined under a ſevere penalty to plant a certain quantity of *Mandioka* Yearly, in proportion to their Abilities; by which means the price of the Farinha was ſo conſiderably abated, that three Buſhels were Sold for two Shillings ready Money, at the *Recif*, and for leſs in the Country.

Kaaco or Herba viva. *Braſil* produces a certain Herb call'd *Kaaco* by the *Braſilians*, by the *Europeans* in *Latin Herba viva*, becauſe it ſeems to ſhrink, when you touch it, and ſo it does likewiſe about Sunſet; its Seed has been tranſmitted into *Europe*, where it grows to its full perfection.

The *Kalabaſſes* are a kind of Pompions, their Rind, if dried, being ſo thick and ſtrong, as to ſerve for materials for Cups, Porringers, and ſuch like Utenſils. But what is moſt ſurpriſing, is, that they always grow of a different ſhape, ſome being long, others round, others oval, ſome thick before, others at the end. They Bloſſom and bear Fruit once a Month, the Bloſſom being Yellow mix'd with Green; the Pulp is white at firſt, but turns to a Violet colour; They are of a tolerable pleaſant taſte, but very unwholeſome, by reaſon they are too aſtringent. 1647.

The Tree Imaraka. The Tree, call'd *Imakaru* by the *Braſilians*, is of a middle ſize, its Trunk round and its Bark Grey, covered with ſmall Thiſtles of the ſame colour. Its Branches ſprout forth on the top, with broad Leaves of an Oval Figure, edged likewiſe with ſmall Thiſtles or Thorns. There is alſo another kind of *Imakaru*, much larger than the former, call'd *Kakaba* by the *Braſilians*, and *Kardon* by the *Portugueſes*. This ſprouts forth firſt of all in the form of a large Octangular Leaf; upon which grow croſswiſe many Thorns; This produces other Leaves of the ſame kind, each being three, nay ſometimes ſix Foot long, and of the thickneſs of a Mans Arm. By degrees the firſt Leaf turns into a Woody ſubſtance, of a greeniſh colour, but ſomewhat Spungy; thoſe Leaves that grow next to this Stem are inſtead of Branches, which produce other Leaves. The Stem bears only one large white Flower, the Fruit of which is of an Oval Figure, and of about twice the bigneſs of a Hens-Egg, of a dark brown colour, and fit for uſe. This Tree grows to a great hight. There is alſo another kind of *Imaraka*, being altogether the ſame with the former in reſpect of its largeneſs, Bloſſom and Fruit, except that its Leaves are of a Triangular Figure.

Pako Kaatinga. What the *Braſilians* call *Pako Kaatinga*, the *Portugueſes* commonly call *Canodo Mato*, or *Wild Reed* or Canes. The Stemm or Stalk is like that of other Canes, about an Inch thick, containing a white Marrow or Pith, of a ſweetiſh taſte; on which grow Leaves of Eight or Nine Inches long and Three Inches broad, ſhaped like a Tongue, ſmooth and pale Green on one, and covered with a white woolly ſubſtance on the other ſide. The Fruit of which is not unlike a Pine-Apple, about Ten Inches long, grows on the top of the Stemm; it is divided into ſeveral partitions which opening by degrees, a pale Grey Flower appears betwixt each, containing underneath Twenty or more Grains of a black ſhining Seed. The Stalk chaw'd draws the Rheum from the Head, and breaks the

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1647. the Stone in the Bladder. It is look'd upon as an excellent Remedy againſt the involuntary emiſſion of the Seed, throughout *Braſil*, and cures it in Eight Days time.

The Tree and Fruit Kasjou. All over *Braſil*, but eſpecially in the Iſle of *Itamarika* grows a certain Tree call'd *Kasjui* or *Kasjou*, bearing a Fruit of the ſame name. Its Leaves are dark Green, broad and round, interſperſed with many ſmall Veins. It bears two different Bloſſoms and Fruits. The white Bloſſom which appears in the lower Branches, produces a Juicy Spungy Fruit like an Apple; of a very cooling and aſtringent quality: But the red Bloſſom on the top a kind of Cheſnut. The *Braſilians* draw no ſmall advantage from this Tree; out of the Apples they make a very good Cyder, call'd by them *Kasjoumy*, which is ſowriſh, but if mix'd with Sugar makes it as pleaſant as *Rheniſh* Wine, and has this excellency, that tho' it ſoon ſiezes the Head, yet it paſſes off without any harm. The other Fruit they eat like as we do our Cheſnuts.

Pinoguacu or Papay. Among the products of the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies* is a Tree call'd *Papay* by the *Javaneſes* and *Dutch*, and *Pinoguacu* or *Mamoeira* by the *Americans*; and ſometimes intitled with the Name of the *Melontree* by our People, by reaſon of the reſemblance of its Fruit to our Melons. This Tree is of two different kinds, to wit, the Male and Female. It grows and periſhes again in a ſhort time; its Trunk being ſo ſpungy that it may be cut as eaſie as a Cabbage Stalk; The Leaves it bears are very large and broad, not unlike our Vine Leaves, growing on long Stalks round the top of the Tree, and covering the Fruit, which hangs in a knot, and is Green at the firſt, but turns Yellow at laſt, reſembling in ſhape a Pear, but of the bigneſs of our ſmall Melons, unto which its Pulp reſembles both in colour and taſte, when come to maturity, but whilſt they are Green, they are boil'd with Meat, and give it a tart taſte.

The Red Pepper, known by the Name of *Braſil Pepper*, and call'd *Chili Lada* by the *Braſilians* grows on knotty Stalks of about five or ſix Foot high; the Rind being a dark Green, diſtinguiſhed with white rings; from whence ſhoot forth ſmall crooked Branches of a Hands breadth in length, bearing a ſmall white Flower; which produces a Green Husk, and turns Red by degrees as it Ripens, with a certain Seed within it, being as hot and biting upon the Tongue as the common brown Pepper, and ſo does the Husk. In the *Eaſt-Indies* they preſerve it and call it *Aetzar*; and uſe it raw in their Fiſh Sawces. In *Braſil* they cut two or three of theſe Husks whilſt they are Green in Slices, and mix them with Oyl and Vinegar, or ſome Limon Juice, to acuate their Appetite; but it is too hot for thoſe that are not uſed to it; which is allayed by a good quantity of Salt. This kind of Pepper grows likewiſe in the *Eaſt-Indies* in the Iſland of *Java*, in *Bengala* and ſeveral other places. I have ſeen it alſo in ſome of our Gardens in *Holland*. There is another Shrub which grows frequently in the *Eaſt-Indies*, not unlike this in ſhape and bigneſs, which bears a Yellow Flower; it is call'd *Halika Kaber* by the *Arabians* or *Alkekengi*, and ſufficiently known in theſe Parts. The Flower produces a ſmall Bladder which contains the Fruit and Seed, they are not ſo big as ours. The *Indians* and *Chineſes* mix it with a certain Fruit call'd by them *Poma d' Oro*, *Tamatas* by the *Portugueſes*, and *Melanſana* by the *Italians*; they alſo eat it with *Chili Lada* or *Braſilian* Pepper. The *Portugueſes* cut the *Poma d' Oro* and the Husk of the *Braſilian* Pepper in thin Slices, which being mix'd with Oyl and Vinegar they eat as a Sallat, and look upon it as a proper Remedy to cut the rough Flegm of the Stomach, a diſtemper very common in thoſe Parts. The *Braſilians* as well as the *Dutch* chaw this Pepper for the ſame purpoſe, but it is very burning upon the Tongue.

Sugar-Canes or Reeds. The Sugar-Canes or Reeds, call'd by the *Braſilians Viba*, are the product both of the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies*; but grow in great plenty throughout all *Braſil*, but eſpecially in the Captainſhip of *Pernambuke*. They are of two different kinds: One bearing ſmall, the other larger Leaves. The laſt, which is accounted the beſt, ſprouts up into a long Stem of the thickneſs of a Child's Arm, the Leaves growing all on the top in a cluſter, being of an Oval Figure, and a dark Blue colour. The Rind is diſtinguiſhed by certain joints or knots; The other kind bears ſmall Leaves from the top to the bottom. The Sugar-Canes are propagated from their ſmall Sprouts, which being put in the Ground like our Vines, grow up to the height of Twelve Foot; if they are planted in good Soil, and are kept free from Weeds. Six Months after they have been planted, a brown Seed appears on the top, then

1647. then it is fit to be cut, for if they ſtand longer in the Ground, their Juice diminiſhes, dries up, and turns ſowre. The Juice if taken immediately after it is drawn, cauſes a looſeneſs. The low Grounds are much more convenient for the planting of Sugar-Reeds than the Hills, eſpecially near the River ſide, where the Banks are often over-flown by the Stream. There are a certain kind of winged Worms, call'd *Guirapeakoka* by the *Braſilians*, and *Pao de Galinha* by the *Portugueſes*, which are great Enemies to the Sugar-Canes, eſpecially in moiſt Grounds, where they gnaw and conſume the Roots. The Sugar, which is the product of theſe Canes, is not procured without a great deal of toil and labour, in which for the moſt part are employed Slaves, under the tuition of certain Overſeers, appointed by the Maſters of the Sugar-Mills; who were for the moſt part *Portugueſes*, the *Dutch* being hitherto not arrived to the utmoſt perfection in that Art. In the Captainſhip of *Pernambuko*, many fine *Ingenho's* or Sugar-Mills, with their adjacent Plantations were erected for this purpoſe, [illegible] all to above 100 in number, [illegible]bourers, Negro's and other [illegible]ves, thereunto belonging, to near 40000. The whole Yearly product of Sugar of the *Dutch Braſil*, is computed to be betwixt 200000 and 250000 Cheſts.

In the year 1642. one *Gillin Venant* brought ſome Indigo-Seed from the *American* Illands into *Braſil*, who having certain Lands aſſigned him near the ſmall River *Mercera*; and being provided with all other Conveniencies by the ſpecial Command of the Great Council, erected ſeveral Plantations for the producing of *Anil* or *Indigo*: But it being found by Experience, That the Piſmires conſumed moſt of the Leaves, the ſaid Mr. *Venant*, by employing many Labourers and Negroes to deſtroy theſe Piſmires with Burning and Digging, at laſt ſo well cleared the Ground, that the *Indigo* came to its full Perfection, ſeveral Patterns of which were ſent into *Holland*. Mr. *Venant* having made an Agreement with Mr. *Chriſtopher Eyerſhettel* to inſtruct him [illegible] moſt neceſſary Points relating to the Coagulating the Indigo, he was treating with the Great Council concerning certain Grounds for the Planting of Indigo, to that there was a fair proſpect of bringing this Deſign to a conſiderable Perfection here, if the ſame had not been prevented by the inteſtine War.

The Wild *Anil*, which grows in *Braſil* in great Plenty, has a great reſemblance to the true Indigo in outward appearance, but affords no good Colours. Some pretend to have ſeen alſo a kind of Wild-Cochenille in *Braſil*, and the Ground would produce good ſtore of Cotton, but that the Inhabitants draw much more Profit from the Sugar-Plantations. 1647.

Some Ginger is likewiſe planted in *Braſil*, but not in ſuch quantities as to be Tranſported into other Parts, no more than the *Mechoacanna*, *China*, and ſome other Medicinal Roots; and the *Herba de Cobra* or *Herba de Noſſa Senhora*, which is lookt upon as an infallible Remedy againſt the Gravel; and the Root called *Paquequanha*, which is the Univerſal Medicine of the *Braſilians*. There are alſo many tranſplanted hither from other Parts, as Ginger, Tobacco, Rice, Cotton, Turkey-Wheat, *Anil*, or Indigo, and the Sugar-Reeds were firſt of all tranſported by the *Portugueſes* from the *Canary* Illands. The Fruits in daily uſe among the Inhabitants, are, *Ananas*, *Bananas*, *Mangaba*, *Akaju*, *Arakon* great and ſmall, *Guajaba*, divers kinds of *Murukuja*, *Ibapiranga*, *Mazaxanduba*, *Akaja*, *Aratiku*, *Guitakori*, *Biringela*, *Mamaon*, *Coco-Nuts*, and ſeveral ſorts of *Indian* Figs. The Roots chiefly in uſe, are, the *Batatas*, *Nhambi*, and *Umbi*, and the *Indian* Acrons, called *Tembi*, which are of a delicious Taſte. *Drugs.*

The whole Country of *Braſil* is exceeding Fertile and pleaſant, being watered by many Rivers and ſtanding Waters, moſt of which ariſe from the Hills, and paſs through ſpacious Plains, the laſt of which are clayey and marſhy Grounds, (called *Vargea's* by the *Portugueſes*) which produce all ſorts of Fruit: but eſpecially Sugar-Canes in great Plenty. Their Meadows and Paſture Grounds do not appear ſo pleaſant in the Summer, as in the Rainy Seaſon, when they are very green; Wheat and Rye grow ſoon Rank here, which is occaſioned partly by the Nature of the Soil, partly by the heat of the Sun; to prevent which they never let their Grounds lie Fallow, and Manure them with Sand inſtead of Dung; The ſame muſt be obſerved with all other Foreign Seeds here, that require to be kept a conſiderable time under Ground. In *February* and *March* (which is the Rainy and Winter-Seaſon of this Climate) they Sow their Seeds, and that towards Evening, not by Day time, or about Midnight. They take great care not to Plant any thing too *Fertility of Braſil.*

1647. too deep under Ground; for whatever is Planted beyond the Sun-Beams, ſeldom produces any Fruit, which our People have learned to their Coſt. There is a remarkable difference betwixt the Seeds and Fruits which are produced on the Hills, and thoſe of the marſhy Grounds, as to their time of Ripening; tho' the Coco and Palm-Trees are tranſplanted here without the leaſt regard to their Age, Bigneſs, or the Seaſon, and grow very well. Moſt of their own Trees and Shrubs bear Flowers and Fruit throughout the whole year, ſo that at one and the ſame time, you enjoy the Benefit of the Spring, Summer, and Winter; The like is obſervable in the Vines, Citron, Limon, and other Trees, brought by the *Portugueſes* from *Angola* into *Braſil*, and in ſeveral Roots, Pot-Herbs, and other Fruits, tranſplanted thither by the *Dutch*. Thoſe who covet Ripe-Grapes throughout the whole year, do only Prune their Vines at divers times, which produce a fine Grape, and a Wine as ſweet as Moloſſes. The worſt is, that they are much infeſted by the Piſmires, which ſuck all the Juice, and leave nothing but the Husks to the Owners; Several other ſorts of Trees have been tranſplanted thither from *Holland*, which thrive extreamly, and bear very good Fruit.

The ſtanding Waters of *Braſil* are for the moſt part covered on the Surface with green Shrubs and Herbs, that they appear rather like Land than Water, and Feed both Land and Water Fowl. At the Entrance of moſt of their Rivers, (where you meet with vaſt quantities of Oiſters and Crabs) the Country is ſo overſtockt with a certain kind of a Tree, call'd *Guapa aba*, or *Mangle*, by the *Braſilians*, that they render it impaſſable for Travellers. In ſhort, the whole *Braſil* is well ſtor'd with Trees, Shrubs, and uſeful Woods, there being ſcarce a place, either in the Vallies, or Riſing Grounds, which are Clayey, or among the Hills, which don't produce ſomething that is uſeful, and that in ſuch Plenty, that the *Portugueſes* after their firſt arrival here, were forced to cut their way through theſe Trees with incredible Pains and Charge. The Hills furniſh alſo great ſtore of Wood, which is of a very good Scent, and is uſed by the Dyers; as for inſtance the *Braſil* Wood, which is from hence tranſported into *Europe*.

Brazil-wood.

The Stem or Trunk of this Tree is knotty, of a very agreeable Scent, and ſometimes two or three Fathoms thick: Its Leaves are dark-green, and ſmall Thorny at the end, and grows on ſmall Stalks; the Bark, which is about three Inches thick, is generally taken from the Trunk, before it is fitted for Sale: It ſprouts from its own Root, and produces neither Bloſſom nor Fruit. Moſt of theſe Trees grow about 10 or 12 Leagues from the Sea-ſide, where they cut them down, take off the Bark, and carry them upon Waggons to the Sea-ſhore, from whence they are tranſported into *Europe* for the uſe of the Dyers chiefly; The *Braſilians* call this Tree for its Excellency's ſake, *Ibirapitanga*. After the *Dutch* had conquered part of *Braſil*, they found great ſtore of this Wood ready cut and fitted for uſe by the *Portugueſes*, who ſold it to the *Dutch* Company; ſince which time it was cut down promiſcuouſly by the *Portugueſes* as well as the *Dutch*, and ſuch vaſt quantities of it were tranſported in 1646, and 1647, that the Members of the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, Mr. *Henry Hamel*, *Bulleſtrate*, and *Codd*, being made ſenſible of the deſtructive Methods that were made uſe of in cutting this Wood, which muſt in time have tended to the utter Extirpation of theſe Trees, did by their Proclamation regulate theſe Abuſes. They have another kind of very fine Wood in *Braſil*, called by the *Portugueſes*, *Pao Santo*, as likewiſe thoſe call'd *Gitayba*, *Vio Wood*, *Maſſaranduba*, Cedar, and divers other Woods fit for Cabinet-Work. The Tree called *Tataiba* by the *Portugueſes*, the Wood of which, the *Portugueſes* call *Pao Amaretto*, affords a yellow colour for the Dyers. The Bark of the Tree *Araiba* is of an Aſh colour, but boil'd in Water gives a Red Tincture. The Tree *Jakauranda*, or *Jatuviba*, or the White-Cedar, as well as ſeveral other Trees, furniſh the Inhabitants with Materials for Building, being very hard and durable. The *Braſilians* make alſo Matches and a kind of Hemp out of the Bark of ſome Trees.

The moſt Barren-Places of *Braſil* do produce a certain kind of Trees without Leaves, which they call *Timbo* or *Tibo*; out of theſe they make Hoops, by reaſon of their Flexibility, and the Bark ſerves the Ship Carpenters inſtead of Hemp. *The* Timbo, *or* Tipo.

The *Braſilians* light their Fires by ſtriking two pieces of Wood, of the Trees *Karaguata Guacu* and *Imbauba* together, as we do with our Flint-Stones and Iron. The firſt is a Tree of an admirable Nature: Its Stem grows 14 or 15 foot high, which being come to its full Perfection, bears *Their Fuel.*

1647. bears yellow Flowers on the top, and abundance of large, long and thick Leaves. Out of the Stem they make Sticks to hang their Matraſſes on, the Leaves afford the Fiſhermen ſtuff for Yarn to make Nets of; and out of the Leaves iſſues a certain unctuous Liquor, which ſerves inſtead of Soap. The Trees and Woods of *Braſil* are never ſeen to be covered all over with Leaves at a time; but whilſt ſome caſt their Leaves, you ſee others bring forth new ones; nay, ſometimes one Tree is half covered with Leaves, and bare on the other ſide. *Braſil* likewiſe abounds in Shrubs and Reeds, ſome of which creep along the Grounds, whilſt others Twiſt themſelves up to the top of the higheſt Trees; which affords a very agreeable Spectacle at a diſtance, and a pleaſing ſhadow to Men and Beaſts, tired with the Heat, Hunting, or any other Exerciſe.

Oranges. Among other Fruits, *Braſil* produces very fine Oranges of divers Kinds; The other Vegetables, which beſides the *Mandioka* Root, ſerve for the Suſtenance of the Inhabitants, are, Rice, Millet, *Patatas*, *Ananas*, *Bananas*, Melons, Pompions, Water-Melons, Cucumbers, Beans, Figs, *Bakovas*, *Marakuja*, *Mangavas*, *Arataku*, *Ape*, Cabbages, Radiſh, Lettuce, Purſley, Parſley, Chervel, Carrots, &c.

The Akaju. Nothing is ſo much in requeſt among the Braſilians, as the *Akaju*, a kind of Wild Apple, which turniſh them both with Food and Drink, being very Juicy; ſo that this Tree ſeems by kind Nature to have been Planted here for the peculiar Comfort of the Inhabitants: It ſpreads its Branches round about in a great compaſs, but does not grow to that height as many other Trees in this Country: Its Wood, which is very ſolid, is very fit for the Building of Ships, from whence iſſues a very clear Gum in the Summer-Seaſon. Its Leaves which are red, reſemble thoſe of our Walnut-Trees, eſpecially when they firſt ſprout forth in the Spring, but are of a much finer Scent, which they never loſe but by being Diſtilled. The Bloſſom is a Flower conſiſting of five ſmall Leaves, which grow to the number of about a hundred in one cluſter; each of theſe Flowers has a ſtalk, with a ſmall head in the middle. At their firſt coming out, which is in *September*, they are very white, but turn ſoon after to a Roſe colour; They are very odoriferous, and fill all the circumjacent Grounds with their agreeable ſmell. This Tree bears a double Fruit; *viz.* an Apple, and a Cheſnut: The Apple is of an oval Figure, very Juicy; its Pulp ſpungy, full of Kernels, and of a tartiſh Taſte. The Juice taints Linen with a certain colour, ſuch as we call Iron-Molds, which is never to be taken out, but returns as often as theſe Trees ſtand in Bloſſoms; It is of a whitiſh colour after it is firſt preſt out, and tartiſh, but changes both its colour and taſte by Fermentation, and becomes very ſtrong. The Rind of the Apple, which is very thin, is white, mixt with red. The Cheſnut, which grows on the top of the Apple in the ſhape of a Lambs Kidney, is covered with a thin Skin, over which grows a thick aſh-colour'd Shell, full of a hot, ſharp, and burning Oil, which bites the Tongue; To correct which, they Roaſt the Cheſnut in the Aſhes, break the Shell with a Hammer, and Eat the Pit or Kernel, which taſtes better than a common Cheſnut, and will keep good for ſeveral years. The *Braſilians* are ſo fond of this Fruit, that they often fight for it; then they encamp among theſe Trees, and remove not till they have conſumed all thereabouts, unleſs they are forced thereunto by the Enemy. They number the years of their Ages by this Tree, becauſe it bears Fruit but once a year, which ripens towards the latter end of *December* or in *January*, there being none to be found on the Trees after *February* in *Pernambuko*. About the time the Sun returns back from the Tropick of *Capricorn*, it commonly Rains in *Braſil*, which the Inhabitants call the *Rains of Akaju*; for, if the ſame happens to be moderate, they promiſe themſelves great plenty of this Fruit. The Cheſnuts are hot in the ſecond degree; if Eaten raw, with Wine and Salt, they taſte like Walnuts; but if Roaſted or Preſerved with Sugar, they are of a delicious taſte. The Oil which is taken out of the Shell, is an excellent Remedy againſt the Hair-Worm; It is hot in the third and fourth degree, and frequently applied to Cancers and other malignant Ulcers. The Gum, powdred and taken in a convenient Vehicle, opens the Obſtructions of the Womb. The Juice of the Apple turniſhes them with good Cyder.

There are many ſorts of Palm-Trees to be met with in *Braſil*, ſome of which grow wild, ſome are planted and cultivated by the Inhabitants. Among the firſt the Palm-Tree call'd *Pindava* by the *Braſilians*, which grows very tall, claims the preference, of which there are

1647. are whole Woods to be ſeen in the open Country. In the more remote and unfrequented places, grows a certain Palm-Tree, called *Kawanatham* and *Anachekairi* by the *Braſilians*, and by an *Arabick* word among the *Portugueſes Tamar*, or Date, which this Fruit reſembles. The Tree grows as high as a common Date-Tree, its Wood is Red and very ſolid, but of no great uſe. The Bark is Grey, which from the ground upwards to a certain part of the Tree is diſtinguiſhed by many Scales, which are largeſt at the bottom, and ſmall by degrees, till about the middle of the Tree they quite diſappear; theſe Scales being nothing elſe but the remnants of the Branches, which fall off by degrees, as the Tree grows higher; and continue only towards the top, ſpread round about the Stemm, like the *African* Date-Tree, but much finer. Each of theſe Branches is about two or three Foot long, flat on two ſides, and covered with ſmall Thorns, they grow to a vaſt thickneſs. At the end of each Branch grows one ſingle Leaf, which is very large and Green, pleated like a Fan, and about the middle divided into ſeveral other Leaves, like thoſe of the common Date-Tree; each of theſe laſt is about two Foot long. Betwixt thoſe Branches, on which grow the Leaves, ſpring forth other Branches of four or five Foot in length, and theſe again are full of other white Sprouts, which bear Flowers, with three pale Yellow Leaves; Theſe produce a Fruit of the bigneſs of an Olive, which is Green, bitter and not eatable, but turn black when they ripen, which is in *February*. The *Braſilians* call this Fruit *Tiraſe*, and eat it raw; but our People never took any fancy to it. With the Leaves they cover their Huts, and make Baskets of them. The Palm-Tree called *Pindava* by the *Braſilians*, has inſtead of the Bark a white and rough Wooden ſubſtance, which contains a Spungy, Sulphurous ſubſtance, out of which the *Braſilians* prepare a ſtrong Lee. This Tree is for the reſt but of ſmall uſe, being rather eſteemed for Ornaments ſake, by reaſon of its heighth and fine ſpreading Branches, which however furniſh the inhabitants with Leaves to cover their Hutts, and to make Baskets of; The *Portugueſes* Plant them near their Walks and Arbours, and round their Churches. The Leaves of this Tree do not hang downwards like thoſe of the Coco-Tree, but ſtand upright. Juſt by theſe Leaves ſprout forth certain Branches, on which hang bunches of Flowers, which produce the Fruit, reſembling in ſhape and bigneſs one of our largeſt Hen-Eggs, being ſharp at the end, and faſtned to the bunch on the other like the Pine-Apple. The outſide is of a Green Yellow colour, inclining to a Cheſnut; being compoſed of a hairy ſubſtance like that of the Coco-nuts, but not near ſo thick, ſcarce exceeding in thickneſs two Egg-Shells Under this Shell is an inſipid Saffron Yellow Pulp, which however is uſed by the Negro's, who eat it with Farinha Within this Pulp is a hard Nut, of an Oval Figure, not unlike the Coco-nut, of the ſame thickneſs, but without holes; it contains a Pith or Kernel, as white and big as a Walnut, but is not near ſo ſweet as the Coco-nut; they are eaten both by the Natives and Strangers, who are furniſhed with them throughout the whole Year; and called by the *Braſilians Inajamiri*, *i. e.* the ſmall Coco-nut. The Kernels of theſe Nuts furniſh them likewiſe with a white cooling Oil, which is uſed inſtead of our Oil of Roſes, and when freſh drawn mix'd among their Sallets, but when decay'd in their Lamps. The Shell affords an Oil of the ſame nature, but not altogether ſo cooling. Out of the top of the Tree flows a fine and Odoriferous Gum, uſed here inſtead of *Gum Arabick*; They alſo pick a certain Pith or Marrow out of the top, which has a taſte like our Walnuts, and, when eaten with Bread and Salt, is accounted very nouriſhing. 1647.

There alſo grow Coco-Trees in *Braſil*, call'd by the Natives *Inajagnacuba*, and the Fruit *Inajagnacu*. They are very different from the juſt now mentioned *Pindava* Tree, their Trunk or Stem being ſeldom ſtraight, but commonly crooked, ſometimes from Seven to Fourteen Foot thick, and Fifty Foot high; it is without Branches, having only Fifteen or Twenty Leaves round the top, each of Fifteen Foot long. They have alſo good ſtore of the common Date-Trees both Male and Female. The vaſt quantity of Piſmires wherewith *Braſil* abounds, are great Enemies to all the products of their Grounds, which they endeavour to deſtroy by Fire and Water; it is further to be obſerved, that ſome Fruits as well as Creatures, which are accounted Venomous in *Europe*, are commonly eaten in *Braſil*, as on the other hand certain things are Poiſonous there, which are not in *Europe*. For they have a kind of Froggs and ſome Fiſhes which are extreamly Coco-Trees.

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treamly Poisonous; whereas a certain sort of great Pismires and Adders, Toads, Worms and wild Rats are eaten by the Natives, without any harm.

The Food of the Brasilians.

The most universal Food of the *Brasilians*, is the Flour made of the *Mandioka* Root, call'd by them *Vi*, and *Farinha de Mandioka* by the *Portugueses*, as has been shewn more at large before. They feed also upon the Flesh of several wild Beasts and Birds; Crabs, Crawfishes, Fruits, Herbage; Their Meat whether boil'd or roasted they eat half raw. They boil in Earthen Pots, call'd *Kama*, which they make themselves. Their Flesh they Roast thus: They dig a hole in the Ground, the bottom of which they cover with Leaves of Trees, and upon them lay the Meat to be roasted, which being covered with the same Leaves they throw Sand or Earth upon them. Upon this they light a good Fire, which they continue till they think it sufficiently roasted. If they hit it right, it eats very well, exceeding in goodness all other roasted Meats, they call it *Biarbi*. Their Fishes [illegible] roasted or boiled they eat with [illegible], that is Salt and Pepper. They boil their Crabs or Crawfishes without Salt, and eat them with *Inquitaya*. Small Fishes they wrap in Leaves, and Roast them in the Ashes. They take the Flour of the *Mandioka* Root with their three hindermost Fingers of the Right Hand, and so throw it into the Mouth; in the same manner they do with Beans and such like things; They eat often, both by Day and Night; they having no set times for their Meals, without the least noise, or any Drink, which they reserve till after they have done. They seldom use any Spoons, but instead of that their Fingers, or some Oyster-Shell or other serves their turn. The Flesh of several wild Beasts is much in esteem among the *Brasilians*; as for instance, that of the great and lesser Wild-Boars; they have a bunch like a Camel on their backs, and are very good Food, as well as the Flesh of the River Pigs, call'd *Kapiverres* by the *Portugueses*, which is of a very agreeable taste.

Their Drink.

The most general and most wholsome Liquor used among the *Brasilians*, is their River, or Fountain-Water, which by reason of its coolness is a great refreshment to such as are tired by the Heat, or the Fatigues of other Exercises; This is chiefly to be understood of their Spring-Water, which, tho' used here in great quantities, never causes any griping in the Guts, or other inconveniencies in the Bowels, but on the contrary occasions a good Appetite, and is soon evacuated by sweating.

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The Waters of the Rivers *Paray* and *Paratybi*, are accounted a good Remedy against the Stone and Gout, which is the reason that many arrive to the Age of above 100 Years, who Drink nothing but those Waters, and are never troubled with any of those Distempers; For those who are advanced in Age, are as nice in the different tastes of those Waters, as the *Europeans* in their Wines; and they look upon those as indiscreet, who use the Waters without distinction. For, since most of their Springs arise among the high Eastern Hills, they receive no addition either from the Snows, or any Metallick bodies, and being well digested and purged from their Dregs by the heat of the Sun-beams, they are very clear and wholsome; tho' it must be confess'd, that, in the Winter Months some Waters, by reason of the Rains, are not fine and cool, as during the Summer-Season. The Negro's make sometimes a nasty mixture of black Sugar and Water only, without the least fermentation, which they call *Garapa*; This as it is very cheap, so both Men and Women fit at it for 24 Hours together, spending their time in Drinking, Singing and Dancing, but seldom Quarrel, unless they have conceived some jealousie of one another. Sometimes they add to it some Leaves of the *Akaju*-Tree, which by reason of their hot quality make it the more heady. The *Portugueses* and *Dutch* frequently make a kind of Sorbette of Water, Sugar and Limons. Others pour Water upon certain Herbs, others put a Limon only in Water. But besides these, the *Brasilians* know how to make Wines or Cyder out of several Roots and Fruits, which they Drink at their Merry meetings; especially of the *Bakovas*, *Ananas*, *Mangaba*, *Janipaba*, *Karaguata*, &c. For tho' the Vines here bear Grapes three times a Year, nevertheless are they not sufficient to furnish them with Wine. They make a kind of Cyder, call'd by them *Kooi*, of the Apple *Akaju*; These they Stamp in a Wooden Mortar, and squeese the Juice out with their Hands, which, after it is settled, they strain; it appears at first like Milk, but turns to a pale colour in a few Days; its taste is tartish, and apt to seise the Head, if drunk in any quantity; after some time it turns sowre, and makes very good Vinegar. The Wine

1647. Wine or Liquor call'd by the *Braſilians* *Apy*, is made two different ways: Firſt, the Slices of the Root *Aipimakakara* (a kind of *Madioka*) are chaw'd by Old Women, till they are as fluid as a Pap; which they call *Kavaku*; This they put in a Pot, and boil it with a good quantity of Water, ſtirring it continually till they think it fit for expreſſion, which done, they call it *Kawaraku*, and drink it luke-warm. Or elſe they take the ſame Root purged and ſliced in thin pieces, which they ſtamp and boil with Water as before, which produces a whitiſh Liquor, not unlike our Butter-Milk or Whey; They drink it likewiſe warm, its taſte being agreeable enough; they call it *Kacimakaxera*; tho' both kinds are generally comprehended under the name of *Apy*. The Liquor call'd *Lakoby* is made out of the Fruit of the Tree *Pakobete*. What the *Portugueſes* call *Vinho da Millo*, is a Liquor call'd *Abaty* by the *Braſilians* and made of Barley or *Turkey* Wheat, call'd *Maiz* by the *Indians*; The Liquor *Nandi* has alſo derived its name from that excellent Fruit call'd *Nana* of *Amanas*, being the ſtrongeſt of all their Wines or Cyders. There is another ſort of Liquor call'd *Vinho da Batatas* by the *Portugueſes*, becauſe it is made of the Root *Batatas*: The Natives call it *Jetici*. Thus the Liquors call'd *Beeutingui* and *Tipiaci* are both made out of the *Farinha* of the *Mandioka*-Root; *viz.* of the *Beju* and *Tepioja*.

The *Braſilians* are alſo great admirers of *French* or *Rhenish* Brandy, call'd by them *Kacitata*, and ſwallow it very greedily as often as they can come at it. They are no leſs fond of Tobacco, the Herb of which they call *Petima*, and the Leaves *Petimaoba*. After they have dried the Leaves in the Air, they lay them before the Fire, to render them the more fit for cutting. They Smoak in Pipes made of the Shell of the Nut *Indoba*, or of the *Urukuruba*, *Jocara*, *Ajua* or ſuch like; to wit, they cut a hole in one end of the Shell, take out the Kernel, and after they have poliſh'd them, put a Wooden Pipe, or a piece of Reed in the hole. The *Tapoyers* uſe very large Pipes made of Stone, Wood, or Clay, the holes of which are ſo big that they contain a handful of Tobacco at a time. Sometimes the *Braſilians* make uſe of our *European* Pipes, call'd by them *Amrupetunbuaba*, and *Broken Katimbaba* by the *Portugueſes*, and *Katgeboom* by the *Dutch*. Whenever the *Tapoyers* (eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the Villages, deſcended from the *Tapoyers* call'd *Kariri*) prepare the Liquors *Akavi* and *Apy*, it is done at the ſame time; Then a Day being appointed for a general merry meeting, they meet early in the Morning at the firſt Houſe of the Village they belong to, where they conſume moſt of the Liquor, and make themſelves merry with Dancing; This done they go to the next Houſe, where they play the ſame Game, and ſo from Houſe to Houſe, till nothing be left or they can Drink no longer. When they find themſelves overcharged with Liquor, they Spew, and fall to drinking again, and thus he who can Spew and Drink moſt, is accounted the braveſt Fellow of the Company.

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On the Coaſt of *Braſil*.

On the North-Weſt Coaſt of *Braſil*, *Salt-Pits.* are ſeveral conſiderable Salt-Pits: That near the Houſe, called the *Deſert* is about three or four Leagues diſtant from the River *Aguaiarra*, of which one Branch extends to the Eaſt, and diſcharges its Water in this Salt-Pit with a Spring-tide, which is here commonly with the New Moon. It is about 550 Paces from the Sea-ſhore, and receives no other Water but from the River *Aguarama*. There is no Bay or Harbour near it, but only a flat ſandy bottom for about half a League diſtance from the Shore, where you may Anchor at three Fathom deep. The Land-Wind which conſtantly blows on this Coaſt, commonly ceaſes towards evening, ſo that the Veſſels take the opportunity of the night to Load Salt. This Salt-Pit produces every month a certain quantity of Salt, provided they be careful to ſhut their Sluces as ſoon as the ſame is fill'd with Water, for elſe they are in danger of loſing what they had got before, by the next high-Tide. To the Eaſt of this Salt-Pit are the famous Rocks call'd *Baxos*, which at low Water may be ſeen from thence; they extend about three Leagues deep in the Sea, but don't begin till about a League from the Shoar, betwixt which and the Rocks, there is a paſſage, where you have ten foot depth at low Water. It Ebbs here with the loweſt Tide about eight Foot, and a Weſt-South-Weſt-Wind raiſes the Water to the higheſt.

About five or ſix Leagues to the Weſt of the Houſe call'd the *Deſert*, is the great Salt-Pit *Karwaratama*, which receiving its Water from the Sea, and being detained by Sluices, produces very good Salt in three Weeks time. Five Leagues further to the Weſt is the River

1647. *Maritonia*, the second in rank in those Western Parts, but has not above twelve Foot Water at high Tide. On its East point, not above half a League within the Mouth, is a very convenient Salt-Pit. These Salt-Pits are computed to be manageable with the assistance only of 10 or 12 Negroes, 10 Christians, and about 30 *Brasilians*, and to afford 2000 Tuns of Salt *per Annum*, which may be transported from thence into the other Parts of the *Dutch Brasil*, in small Barks, during the Summer season. About half way betwixt *Rio Grande* and *Siara*, as likewise in *Siara*, near the River *Wapanien*, are likewise several *Salina*'s or Salt-Pits.

Traffick of Brasil. The chief Traffick of *Brasil* consists in Sugar, Brasil-Wood, and such like: as also in Tobacco, Hides, Preserves, Ginger, and Cotton, which grows Wild here; Some Indigo was likewise planted there before my departure; but among these, the Sugar and Brasil-Wood are Staple Commodities. For since the Tobacco began to be transported into *Holland* from the *American* Islands, the Planting of it was neglected in *Brasil*, where Labourers Wages being excessive high, they could draw much more profit from the Sugar, of which, according to computation, betwixt 20000 and 25000 Chests were yearly made only in the Sugar-Mills of the *Dutch Brasil*, if the Harvest proves very good.

The Inhabitants of *Brasil* may at present be divided into Free-born Subjects and Slaves; and these again consist of divers Nations, both Natives and Foreigners. The Free Inhabitants of *Brasil* were the *Dutch*, *Portugueses*, and *Brasilians*, the last the Natives of the Country. But the *Portugueses* did not only surpass all the rest, at least ten to one in number, during my abode in *Brasil*, but also were in possession of all the Sugar-Mills and Lands, except what was possess'd by a very few *Dutch*, who had applied themselves to Sugar Planting, but were for the most part ruin'd by the intestine War, being forced to leave all behind them in the Country: Besides those of the Free Inhabitants, who made it their Business to Manure the Grounds, there were many Merchants, Factors, and Handycrafts Men: The Merchants sold their Commodities generally with vast profit, and would have questionless been Rich Men, had they not vented their Goods upon Credit to the *Portugueses*, who were resolved never to Pay them, as the event has sufficiently shewn. The Handicrafts Men were able to get three, four, five, nay six Gilders a day, so that many return'd very rich to *Holland*. Those that kept Publick Houses and Chandlers Shops were likewise great Gainers here, and carried off abundance of ready Money. The Officers in the Company's Service, whether Civil or Military, were likewise punctually paid, which made many who had lived in the Country, before the beginning of the Civil War, and had served the Company before, take Service again, who were all entertained according to their respective Qualities, and former Stations.

Free Inhabitants of Brasil.

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Among the Free-Inhabitants of *Brasil* that were not in the Companies Service, the *Jews* were the most considerable in number, who had transplanted themselves thither from *Holland*. They had a vast Traffick, beyond all the rest, they purchased Sugar-Mills, and built stately Houses in the *Recif*. They were all Traders, which would have been of great Consequence to the *Dutch Brasil*, had they kept themselves within the due Bounds of Traffick.

The Jews.

The Slaves of *Dutch Brasil* were either Negroes or Natives of the Country; the last of which were either bought in *Maranhaon*, being Prisoners of War, or from the *Tapoyars*, who likewise had made them Captives, and otherwise, according to their Custom, would have put them to Death. For, it being resolved immediately, at the first Entrance of the *Dutch* in *Brasil*, that none of the Natives should be made Slaves, (except they were either Bought from the *Tapoyars*, or brought from *Maranhaon*) the *Brasilians* were settled in certain Villages to enjoy their own Liberty, under certain Limitations, and Permission was given them, to assist the *Portugueses* in the Management of their Mills and Grounds, for certain Wages appointed for that purpose; by which means many *Aldeas* or Villages were fill'd with *Brasilians* in *Paraiba*, and *Rio Grande*, who during the time of our Government enjoyed the Sweets of a perfect liberty.

Of the Natives.

Vast Numbers of Negroes of divers Nations were entertained in the *Recif*, and the open Country, for the Manuring of the Ground, and Working in the Sugar-Mills of the *Portugueses*, which could not be done without them, by reason of the extremity of the Heat of the Climate, and the incredible Toils they are fain to undergo; so that in my time near 40000 Negroes were employed in the Sugar-Mills betwixt *Rio Grande* and *St. Francisco*. Most of these Negroes are

Negroes.

are brought hither from the Kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Guinea*; A black shining Skin, flat Nose, thick Lips, and short curl'd Hair, is their chief Beauty. The lustiest and most laborious used in time of good Trade, to be Sold in *Brasil* for 70, 80, or 100 pieces of Eight, nay sometimes for 1400 or 1500 Gilders, but these understood something more than ordinary: But when Trade began to decay, they were Sold for 40 pieces of Eight. There was scarce a *Hollander* of any Substance, but what had several of these Slaves. They are most miserably and beastly treated by the *Portugueses*, tho' at the same time it must be confess'd that it is absolutely necessary, they should be kept under a strict Discipline: For they are full of Rogueries, Superstitious to the highest Degree, and Sorcerers, they would often pretend to tell us what Ships were at Sea from *Holland* bound for *Brasil*, tho' they were yet on the other side of the Line, and how to recover stolen Goods. I remember, I happened once to be at a Friends House of mine, when I saw an old Negro enter the Kitchen, who came thither to Cure a Negro Slave of his Illness, which he told us was occasioned by Witchcraft. He made the Patient rise from his Chair, and taking a piece of Wood from the Fire-Hearth, he ordered him to lick three times with his Tongue, that end which was burning Hot with the glowing Coals. The same end of the Wood he afterwards extinguish'd in a Bason of Water, and rubb'd the Coals in it, till it turn'd as black as Ink. This he ordered the Sick Negro to drink off at a Draught, which he did accordingly, and was immediately seized with a slight Griping in the Guts. This done he rubbed both his sides, and taking hold with his Hand of a piece of Flesh and Fat above the Hip, he made an Incision there, with a Knife, he pull'd out of his Pocket, of two Inches deep, out of which he drew a Bundle of Hair and Rags, with a little of the black Water that was left, he washed the Wound, which soon after was healed, and the Patient Cured. They are very dextrous at Swimming and Diving, and will fetch a single piece of Eight from the bottom of the Sea, where it is very deep. They are also excellent Fishermen, and get a great deal of Money by it. They tie three or four great pieces of Wood together, this they manage with one Oar, and upon it go a good way into the Sea, where they catch great quantities of Fish with their Hooks, and so return. It happened in my time, that a certain Negro, who was very expert in Fishing, was Sold three times, in a little while; This he took so much to Heart, that the next time he went thus out a Fishing, he tied a Stone to his Leg and drowned himself. Another Negro having conceived a hatred against his Master, cut his Throat, cut out his Tongue, and made a House-of-Office of his Mouth; according to his own Confession; he was broken alive upon the Wheel, which he endured with an incredible obstinacy. A Negro Woman was brought to Bed in my time, of a Child, the Hair and Skin of which were not black, but Red. I saw also a Young Lad, Born from Negro Parents, whose Skin was white, and his Hair and Eye-brows the like, but curl'd, with a flat Nose, like the other Negro's. Sometimes I have seen Old Negro's with long Grey Beards, and Hair, which looks very fine.

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The Natives of *Brasil* consist of divers Nations, distinguished by their Proper Names, to wit; The *Tubinambos*, *Tobajaras*, *Issiguaras* and *Tapuijas*, or *Tapoyers*, or *Tapoyers*. The three first use one and the same Language, and differ only in the Dialect; but the last are subdivided into several Nations, differing both in manners and Tongue. The *Brasilian*-Men, which lived among us and the *Portugueses*, are middle-sized, strong and well made, with broad Shoulders. They have black Eyes, a wide Mouth, with black curl'd Hair, and a flat Nose; the last of which is not natural to them, but the Parents, looking upon it as a great Beauty, squeeze their Childrens Noses flat, whilst they are very Young. They Paint their Bodies, and some likewise their Faces with divers Colours, they have generally no Hair about the Mouth; tho' some have black Beards. Their Women are likewise of a middle Stature, well Limb'd, and not ill featur'd; they have likewise a black Hair, but are not Born black, but by the heat of the Sun-beams, acquire by degrees, a Yellow Brown Colour. The *Brasilians* come soon to maturity, and arrive to a great Age, and that without Distempers; they also seldom become Grey; which is likewise observable in many *European* Inhabitants here, who come to the Age of 100 or 120 Years. This must be chiefly attributed to the temperature of the Climate, which is such, that in former times many *Spaniards* that laboured under some lingring

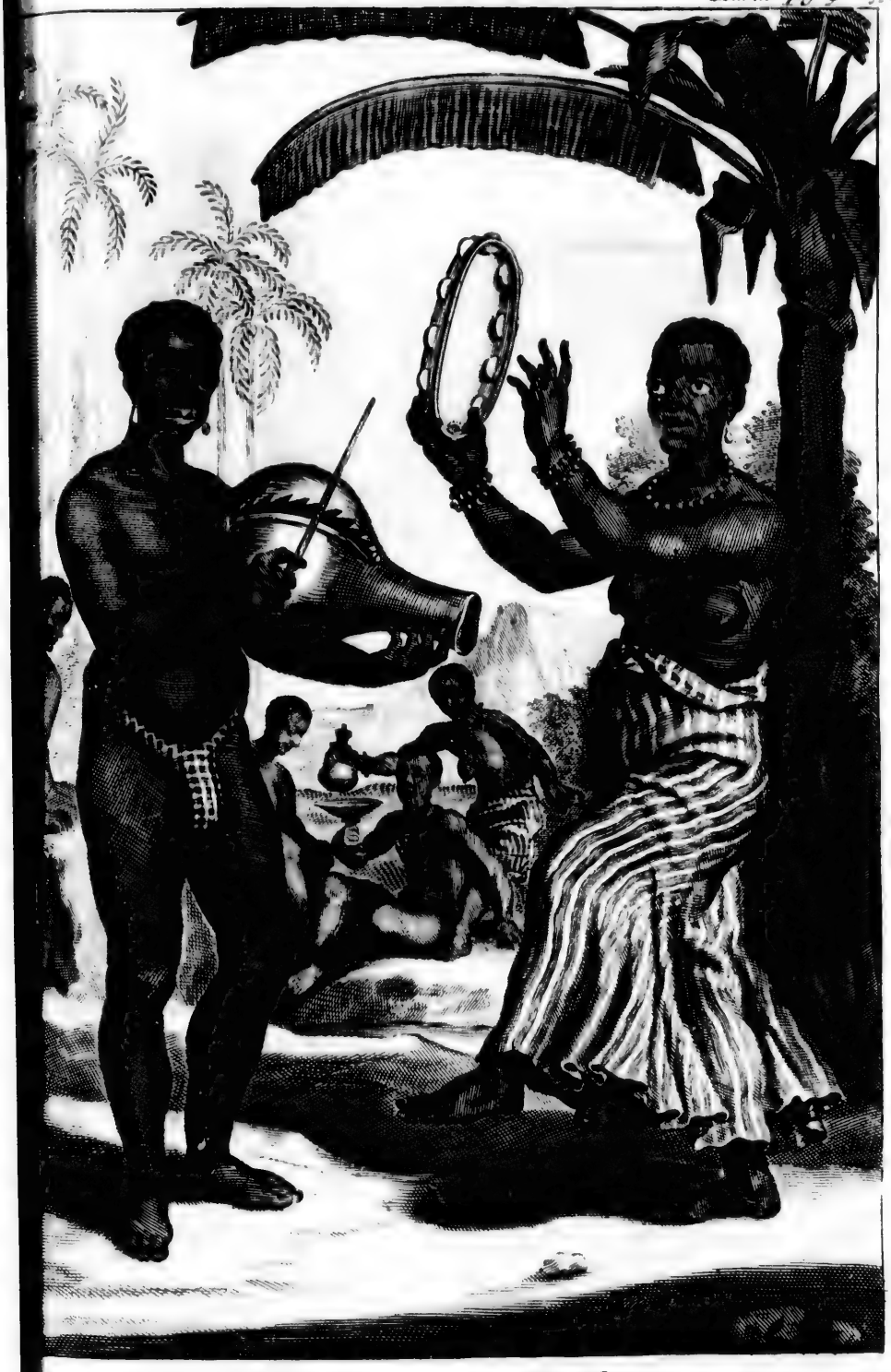
The Brasilians.

1644 ring Diſtemper, whether in *Spain* or the *Eaſt-Indies*, uſed to come to *Braſil* to partake of the benefit of that excellent Air and Water; 'Tis true, moſt of the Children of Foreigners are troubled with lingring Sickneſſes, ſo that ſcarce one in three arrives to a ſtate of Manhood; but this muſt not be attributed to the Air, but rather to the bad nouriſhment. Few Criples or crooked People are to be met with among the *Braſilians*, they being generally very ſtraight and nimble, which is the more admirable; becauſe they never do their Children up in Swathling Cloaths, except their Feet, looking upon it as unwholſome.

Before the *Dutch* got footing in *Braſil*, the *Portugueſes* had made all the Natives their Slaves, and look'd upon it as the greateſt piece of Policy, quite to extirpate them; which they did ſo effectually, that whereas about 100 Years ago the Captainſhips of *Rio Grande* alone, could raiſe 100000 fighting Men, ſcarce 300 were to be met with in 1645, and 1646. which had created a mortal hatred in the *Braſilians* againſt the *Portugueſe*; tho' it muſt alſo be confeſs'd that the late War, and ſome Epidemical Diſtempers did ſweep away many of the Natives. The remainders of them liv'd in certain *Aldeins* or Villages, aſſigned them for that purpoſe, where they had their Plantations; beſides which they ſerved the *Portugeſes* in their Sugar-Mills, for a certain Monthly Pay, which furniſhed them with Clothes and other Neceſſaries. Their Huts are made only of Wooden Stalks, covered with Palm-Tree Leaves. They can't endure the Yoak of Slavery, nor any toil, eſpecially the *Tapoyers*; They live very quietly among one another, unleſs they get Drunk, when they ſometimes Sing and Dance Day and Night. Drunkenneſs is a Vice belonging to both Sexes here, of which they are ſo fond, as to be paſt remedy; tho' this occaſions often Quarrels and other enormous Vices among them. They are likewiſe much addicted to Dancing, which they call *Guan*; they have ſeveral ways of Dancing, one of which is call'd *Urukapi*; they commonly Sing whilſt they are Dancing. The Children divert themſelves with divers ſorts of Games, one is call'd *Kurupirara*, another *Guabipaie*, and a third *Guabiguaibibuku*. They will Sleep ſometimes a whole Day and Night, and would not ſtir then, if they did not want Victuals. Near their Hammocks they keep a Fire Day and Night, in the Day to dreſs their Victuals, in the Night, to allay the rawneſs of the Air, which here is colder than in moſt parts of *Europe*, becauſe Day and Night is almoſt of an equal length here, throughout the Year. 1647

Their Cloath.

The Inland *Braſilians* of both Sexes, go quite naked without the leaſt covering. But thoſe inhabiting nearer to the Sea-ſhoar, who converſe with the *Dutch* and *Portugueſes*, wear only a Shirt of Linnen or Callico; tho' in my time, ſome of the chiefeſt among them, began to take a Pride to Cloath themſelves after the *European* manner. The Wife conſtantly follows her Husband, whereever he goes, even in the War. He carries nothing but his Arms, but the poor Woman is loaden like a Mule or Sumpter-Horſe. For, beſides a great Basket which is tied to her back, (call'd by them *Patigua*) ſhe has another upon her Head, with all the Houſhold Stuff in it; or a great Basket with Flour; beſides which ſeveral other ſmaller Veſſels hang on both ſides, wherewith they take up Water for their Drinking. The Child is carried in a piece of Callico, which is faſtned to her, and hangs down from her Right Shoulder. It lies there with its Legs wide open, one being ſtretch'd croſs the Mothers Belly, the other over her Shoulder. After all this ſhe carries a Parrot or Ape in one Hand, and leads a Dog in a String with the other. Thus they proceed on their Journey, without any further Proviſion, except a ſmall quantity of *Farinha*; The Hedge or open Fields ſerve inſtead of Inns, which furniſh them with neceſſary Food, as the Rivers and Springs with Drink; and ſo does the Tree call'd *Karageata*, which contains always ſome Rain-water within the hallowneſs of its Leaves, to the great Relief of Travellers, who in ſome barren places, do often not meet with a River or Spring for twelve Leagues together. Towards Night they hang their Hammocks on Trees, or elſe faſten them to Stalks; Neatly they make a Fire to Dreſs their Victuals, and againſt the Rain defend themſelves with Palm-Tree Leaves. When they are at home, the Husband goes commonly in the Morning abroad, with his Bow and Arrow, to Shoot ſome Wild-Beaſt or catch Birds, or elſe to the Sea-ſide or next River a Fiſhing, whilſt the Women are employed in the Plantations; ſome Women go abroad with their Husbands and carry home the Prey. The Wild-Beaſts are caught by



Negros Playing upon Kalabasses.

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1647. by them in a different maner; ſome they Kill with Arrows, others they catch in Pits dug for that purpoſe, and covered with the Leaves of Trees, under which is hidden ſome Carrion, the ſcent of which draws them to the Pit; This they call *Petaku*. They make alſo certain Wooden Traps, and uſe divers other ways of catching the Wild-Beaſts, each of which they diſtinguiſh by their proper names. To catch Birds they uſe three ſorts of Snares or Nets; call'd by them *Jukana*; The firſt ſort catches the Birds by the Feet, this they call *Jukanabipraua*; The ſecond entangles them by the Neck; which they call *Jukanajupraua*; The third enſnares their Bodies, call'd by them *Jukanapitereba*. They kill the Fiſhes with Arrows, or catch them with Fiſhing-Hooks, their baits being commonly Worms, Crabs or ſome ſmall Fiſhes. They bait the Water where they intend to Fiſh, with the Leaves of *Japikai*, or with *Timpotiana*, *Tinguy*, or with *Tinguiri*; ſometimes with the Fruit call'd *Kururuape*, the Root *Magui*, or the Bark of the Tree *Anda*, which make the Fiſh ſwim on the ſurface of the Water, like dead, when they take them with a kind of a Sieve, call'd by them *Urupema*, made of Cane, or Reed, which they call *Uruguiboandipia*. Their Sea-Fiſh they catch with Iron Hooks, the bait being ſome Carrion; they go a good way into the Sea, only upon three pieces of Wood, faſtened together, which they call *Igapeda*, and the *Portugueſes Jangada*; The Wood is commonly of the Tree *Apiba*. 1647.

Their Houſhold Stuff.

The *Braſilians* are not burthened with much Houſhold-Stuff; Their Hammocks being their chiefeſt care in this kind; they call them *Ini*, are wrought of Cotton, like Net-work, of about ſix or ſeven Foot long and four broad. When they are going to Sleep, they faſten them either to two Beams of their Huts, or elſe in the open Air, to two Trees, and ſome diſtance from the Ground, for fear of ſome obnoxious Creatures, and to avoid the peſtiferous exhalations of the Earth. The *Tupoyers*, call'd *Kariri* have very large Hammocks, of twelve or fourteen Foot long, which contain four Perſons at a time. The *Portugueſe* Women make ſome very fine Hammocks, wrought with divers Figures in them. In lieu of Diſhes and Cups they uſe the *Kalabaſſes*, cut in the middle, which are painted without, with a certain Red colour,

[illegible] within with black. [illegible] and Mugs, are like- [illegible] of divers kinds called [illegible], and *Kribuka*. One of the [illegible] of these *Kalabasses* hold 30 or 35 [illegible]; this the *Brasilians* call *Kuyaba*; but when cut through the middle, it is called *Kuipeba*. The poorer sort make certain Knives, they call *Ituque*, of Stone, [illegible] of Cane, which they call *Taquo-* [illegible], but the better sort use *Dutch* Knives. Their Baskets they make of Palm-Tree Leaves, they call them *Pati-* [illegible]; they have also some made of Reed or Cane, these are with one general Name call'd *Karamoboa*. They make also large broad Baskets of Reeds and Branches twisted together: These they call *Panaku*, and are chiefly used for the carrying of the *Mandioka* Root. In their Journeys they always make use of the *Patigua*, but the *Panaku* is used by the Slaves and Negroes in the *Receif*, for the conveniency of Carriage.

The Arms of the *Brasilians* are only Bows, Arrows, and Wooden Clubs. Their Bows, which they call *Guirapara* and *Virapara*, are made of very hard Wood, called *Guirapariba* and *Virapa-* [illegible]. The Bow-strings are made of Cotton twisted, and by them call'd *Gui-* [illegible]; The Darts they call *Tiba*, and are made of Wild-Cane. The Points of these Darts are either of Wood hardned, [illegible] of Fish Teeth call'd *Jacru*, or of Bones or Cane well sharpned; some have several Points, others but one.

Being not in the least acquainted with Arithmetick, they compute the number of their Years and Age by the Chesnuts which grow on the Fruit *Akaju*, which Chesnuts they call *Akaguakaya*, as likewise *Akajuti* and *Itimabara*, of which they lay one by every year, this Tree producing Fruit but once each Season, viz. in *December* and *January*. They begin the Computation of their Years with the Rise of a certain Star, call'd by them *Taku*, or the *Rain-Star*, which is always there in *May*; they also call the Year by the same Name.

The most barbarous of the *Brasilians* inhabiting the Inland Countries, scarce know any thing of Religion, or an Almighty Being. They have some Knowledge remaining of a general Deluge, it being their Opinion, That the whole Race of Mankind were extirpated by a general Deluge, except one Man and his own Sister, who being with Child before, they by degrees repeopled the World. They know not what God is, nay, they have no Word expressing the same, unless it be *Tiba*, which signifies as much as something most Excellent above the rest; Thus they call the Thunder *Tubakununga*, *i. e.* A noise made by the Supream Excellency; for *Akununga* implies as much as a Noise. They are unacquainted with Heaven or Hell, tho' they have a Tradition among them, That the Souls don't Die with the Bodies, but that they are either transplanted into Devils or Spirits, or else enjoy a great deal of Pleasure with Dancing and Singing, in some pleasant Fields, which they say are behind the Mountains. These Fields are enjoyed, by all the brave Men and Women, who have kill'd and eaten many of their Enemies; but such as have been Idle, and never did any thing of moment, are tortured by the Devil, unto whom they give many Names, *viz. Anhanga*, *Jurupari*, *Kurupari*, *Taguaiba*, *Temoti*, *Taubimama*. They have however some sort of Priests among them, whose Business is to Sacrifice, and to foretell things to come, these are especially consulted when they are to undertake a War or Journey: They call them *Paye* and *Pey*. They dread Spirits to the highest degree; they call them, *Kuripira*, *Taguai*, *Macachara*, *Anhanga*, *Jurupari*, and *Marangigona*, tho' under different Significations: For *Kuripari* implies as much as the God of the Mind or Heart. *Macachara* the God or Patron of Travellers; *Jurupari* and *Anhanga*, signifie the Devil; *Marangigona* implies as much as the *Manes* or Remainders of the Soul after Death; which are so much dreaded by the *Brasilians*, that some of them upon an imaginary Apparition of them, have been struck with sudden Death. They don't perform any Worship or Ceremony to those Spirits, except that some pretend to appease their Wrath by certain Presents they fasten to certain Stakes fixt in the Ground for that purpose. Some of the *Brasilians* acknowledge the Thunder for the Supream Being, others the *Lesser Bear* in the Firmament, others some other Stars. The *Potiguaras*, a Nation among the *Brasilians*, are accounted such Sorcerers, that they Bewitch their Enemies even to Death: They call this manner of Witchcraft *Anhamombikoab*. The *Brasilians* that lived among the *Portuguese* and *Dutch*, did in some measure follow the Christian Doctrine, but so coldly, that few, when they come to an advanced Age, shew much Zeal for it: because the Fundamental Articles of our Faith, are not easily Imprinted in them, unless

1647. unleſs in their tender years, and when they are remote from their Parents. However ſeveral of the *Dutch* Miniſters, *viz.* Mr. *Doreſlaer*, and after him Mr. *Thomas Kemp*, have had good ſucceſs in converting many of the *Braſilians* in the *Aldeas* or Villages, where they Preached, the laſt of theſe two being well verſed in the *Braſilian* Tongue. Neither were *Dionyſius Biskareta*, an honeſt old *Caſtilian*, and *Johannes Apricius*, leſs remiſs in performing their Duty, to inſtruct theſe Infidels. There were likewiſe three *Dutch* Schoolmaſters among them, who taught their young People to Read and to Write, but theſe were forced to leave their *Aldeas* or Villages during the laſt inteſtine Commotions raiſed by the *Portugueſes*.

Their Diſtempers and Remedies.

Many Diſtempers which are common in *Europe* are unknown in *Braſil*: They uſe nothing but ſimple Remedies, and laugh at our Compoſitions. They are very dextrous in applying their Remedies, eſpecially their Antidotes: They draw Blood by Suction with Horn Cups, by Scarification, or opening a Vein; inſtead of a Lancet, they uſe the Tooth of a Lamprey, call'd by them *Kakaon*; without which no body ſtirs abroad. So ſoon as any one of their Acquaintance is faln ill, they all meet, each offering his Remedy, which he has found good by his own Experience: Then they begin to cut and ſlice the moſt muſculous Parts of the Body, either with the Thorns of the Tree *Karnaiba*, or with Fiſhes Teeth, till they have drawn as much Blood as they think fit; and for that purpoſe ſuck the Wounds with their Mouths, by which means they pretend to draw all ill Humours from the affected part. Vomiting they procure by means of the Leaves *Karnaiba*, which being twiſted together, they force down the Patients Throat. When all theſe pretended Remedies prove ineffectual, they proceed to no others; but after ſome Conſultations, quite deſpairing of his recovery, knock him on the Head with their Clubs, looking upon it more glorious, to be thus bravely delivered from their Miſery, than to expect Death till the laſt gaſp. They Exerciſe as much Barbarity upon the Dead Carcaſſes of their Friends as of their Enemies; upon the firſt out of Love, againſt the laſt out of Revenge, for, they tear them to pieces with their Teeth, and Eat the Fleſh like a dainty Bit.

The *Braſilian* Women are extreamly Fruitful, have very eaſie Labours, and rarely Miſcarry: For no ſooner is a Woman delivered, but up ſhe gets to the next River, and without any further help, Waſhes her ſelf there: In the mean while the Husband keeps the Bed for the firſt 24 Hours, and is made as much of as if he had been lately brought to Bed. The Mothers lament the Death of their Infants, with Howling and Crying for three or four days. 1647. *Their Child-bearing.*

They receive their Friends after a long Journey with open Arms and Tears, and beating their Foreheads againſt their Breaſts, in remembrance of the Miſfortunes they have undergone during their abſence. Tho' the *Braſilians* were always ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the Race of Men Eaters, yet by their Converſation with us, and other Nations, many of them have laid aſide their Barbarity, and are become as affable and civilized as moſt of the *European* Nations. *How they welcome their Friends.*

The *Tapoyars* inhabit the Inland Country of *Braſil* to the Weſt of theſe Countries in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, betwixt *Rio Grande*, and the River *Siara*, as far as *Rio St. Franciſco*. They are divided into ſeveral Nations, diſtinguiſhed both by their Language and Names: For the *Tapoyars* bordering upon the utmoſt Confines of *Pernamboko*, are called *Kariri*, under their King *Cerioukejou*; the next to them the *Karirivaſu*, whoſe King was *Karapoto*; then the *Karirjou*, and ſo further the *Tararyou*; the laſt of which were beſt known unto us, *Janduy* or *John Duny* being their King; tho' ſome of them lived under the Juriſdiction of one *Karakara*. Divers were govern'd by other Kings, *viz. Prityaba*, *Arigpaygn*, *Wabaſewayug*, *Tſering*, and *Dremenge*. Thoſe under King *John Duny* inhabit to the Weſt beyond *Rio Grande*, but change their Habitations pretty often: About *November*, *December*, and *January*, when the Fruit *Kajou's* begins to ripen, to come towards the Seaſide, becauſe little of it is to be met with in the Inland Countries. The *Tapoyars* are very tall and ſtrong of Body, exceeding both the *Braſilians* and *Dutch* both in Strength, and Tallneſs by the Head and Shoulders. They are of a dark brown colour, black Hair, which hangs all over their Shoulders, they only Shaving it on the Forehead as far as to the Ears. Some are Shaved according to the *European* Faſhion; the reſt of their Bodies they keep without Hair, even without Eye-brows. Their Kings and great Men are diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar by the Hair of their Heads, and *The Tapoyars*

their

their Nails; the firſt their Kings wear Shaved in the ſhape of a Crown, and [illegible] long Nails on their Thumbs: [illegible] or other Officers of Note, wear long Nails on all their Fingers, except the Thumbs; for long Nails is accounted a peculiar Ornament among them. The *Tapoyars* are very ſtrong; Prince *Maurice* being one time in a Humour to try their Strength and Skill in Fighting with a Wild Bull, caused one to be brought within his outward Court, which was ſurrounded with Pallizadoes, in order to engage two *Tapoyars* appointed for that purpoſe. There was a great Concourſe of People to ſee this Spectacle, when on a ſudden two *Tapoyars* of the reſt with their Wives being on-lookers, or ſpectators) came in ſtark-naked, without any other Arms but their Bows and Arrows. The Bull ſaw them no ſooner enter, but he made towards them, who being extreamly nimble, avoided the ſtrooks he made at them with great dexterity, and in the mean while ſo gall'd his Flanks with their Arrows, that the Beaſt roar'd moſt terribly, and being all in a Foam, ſet upon them with all his vigour; which they avoided by retiring every foot behind a Tree that ſtood in the middle of the Court, and from thence continued to pierce his ſides with their Darts, till finding the Beaſt begin to languiſh by the loſs of Blood, one of the *Tapoyars* got upon his Back, and laying hold of his Horns, threw him upon the Ground; and being ſeconded by his Comrade, they both kill'd the Bull, roaſted him under-ground, with a Fire above it, according to their Cuſtom, and feaſted upon the Meat, with the other *Tapoyars* there preſent.

The *Tapoyars* of both Sexes, from the King to the common Fellow, go quite naked, only that the Men hide their Privities, by tying the Yard in a little Bag or Net made of the Bark of Trees; This they cloſe up with a ſmall Ribon, call'd [illegible]; when they want to Piſs [illegible], and are more Cautious in covering their Privities, than ſome of the *Europeans*: In the ſame manner do the reſt of the *Braſilians* inhabiting the Inland Countries. The Women of the *Tapoyars* cover their Privities only with a handful of Herbs, or a ſmall Branch of a Tree with the Leaves on them: This they thruſt barely under a ſmall Cord or Rope which is faſtned round their middle like Girdles: In the ſame manner they

1647. they cover their Backsides, but so carelessly, that both before and behind, great part of both is exposed to view; they change it every day. The Men wear also a kind of Garland made of the Feathers of the Bird *Guara* or *Kaninde*, upon their Heads, from which certain Feathers of the Tail of the Bird *Arara*, or *Kamed*, hang down behind upon the Back; Some only tie a Cotton string round their Hands, in which some red or blue Feathers are fastned behind; this they call *Akanbuaçaba*. They have also Cloaks made of Cotton-Thread, and Woven like a Net; in each of the holes they stick a red Feather of the Bird *Guara* and intermix them with black, green, and yellow Feathers of the Birds *Aakuyuba*, *Kazinde*, and *Arara*, which lie as close together as Fish Scales: There is a kind of Cap on the inside of this Cloak, which with the rest covers the Head, Shoulders, and the Body, somewhat below the middle; so that it is worn both for Ornament and Conveniencies sake, it being proof against the Rain; they call these Cloaks in their Tongue, *Guara Abaku*. They also fasten certain Combs of Birds, with Wild Honey, to their Foreheads; these they call *Aguana*.

If their Fathers or Mothers die, they pull every Hair out of their Heads; They have holes in their Ears, so big, that you may thrust a Finger into them; in this they wear either a Bone of an Ape, call'd *Nambipaya*, or else a piece of Wood, wrapt up in Cotton-Thread. The Men have holes in their under Lips, in which they wear either a Crystal, Smaragd or Jasper of the bigness of a Hasel-Nut: This Stone they call *Metara*, and if it be green or blue, *Metarobi*; but they are most fond of the green ones: They have also holes in their Cheeks on each side of the Mouth; in these the Married Men wear a piece of Wood of the bigness and thickness of a good Goose-Quill: Sometimes they wear a Stone in it, called *Tembekoareta*: In the holes of their Nostrils, some have also such like sticks of Wood, which they call *Apiyati*: Their Bodies are all over painted with a certain Juice of brown colour, squeezed out of the Apple *Jan papa*; this is even used among the Women and Children. Besides this, they stick Feathers of divers colours, with Wild-Honey or Mastick, to the Skin of their Bodies, which make them appear at a distance like large Birds; this they call *Akamongui*. Thus they adorn their Arms with Garlands made of red and yellow Feathers of several Birds, call'd *Aguamiranga*; sometimes they mix Corals among them, which they call *Arakoaya*. They make also a kind of Bracelets of the Rind of the Fruit *Aguay*, these they wear round their Legs, and make a noise when they are a Dancing. Their Shooes are made of the Bark *Kuragua*, and call them *Miapakabas*. Some Nations of the *Tapoyars* use no Bows or Arrows, but throw their Darts with their hands, but the *Kariri* have Bows. Their Clubs are made of very hard Wood, are broad on the top, and full of Teeth or Bones, well sharpned at the end. Round the handle they wind a piece of Callicoe, or some other Stuff, and at the end a bush of Feathers of the Tail of the Bird *Arara*; such another bush is fastned round the middle; they call them *Atirabebe*, and *Jatirabebe*. Their Trumpets, which they call *Kanguenka*, are made of Mens Bones; but those called *Nhumbugaku*, which are much larger, are of Horn; they have also another sort made of Cane, called *Meumbrapara*. The *Tapoyars* are not so good Soldiers as the rest of the *Brasilians*, for upon any smart Encounter, they trust to their Feet, and run away with incredible Swiftness. They neither Sow nor Plant, not as much as the *Mandioka*-Root, their common Food being Fruits, Roots, Herbs, and Wild-Beasts, and sometimes Wild Honey, which they take out of the hollow Trees. Among all other Roots they are extreamly fond of a certain kind of wild *Mandioka*-Root, which rises up to the height of a small Tree. Its Stem and Leaves resemble the other *Mandioka*-Root, but it is not near so good; The Inland *Brasilians* call it *Cuguaçuremia*, but those inhabiting near the Seashore *Cuaçumandiba*.

They eat also Mens Flesh; for if a Woman happens to Miscarry they eat the Child immediately, alledging, that they cannot bestow a better Grave upon it, than the Belly, from whence it came. The *Tapoyers* lead a kind of Vagabond Life, like some of the *Arabians*, though they always remain within their certain bounds, within the compass of which they change their Habitations according to the different Seasons of the Year; they dwell for the most part among the Woods, and live upon Hunting, in which perhaps they excel all other Nations; for they will Shoot a Bird flying with their Arrows. So soon as a Woman has Conceived, she abstains from her Husband; after she is brought to Bed, she goes into the next Wood, where she cuts the Childs Navil string,

1647. with a Shell, boils it afterwards with the After-burthen, and eats them both. She washes her self and the Child every Morning and Evening, neither does her Husband keep her Company, as long as she gives Suck, unless he has but one Wife. If a Woman be discovered to have had an unlawful commerce with another Man, her Husband turns her away, but if they are catch'd in the act, he may kill them both. The Mothers take extraordinary care, that the Nuptials of their Daughters are not consummated till after they have had their Monthly times, which they give notice of to their Physicians, and these to the King, who then gives them License to go to Bed with the Bridegroom, who pays his acknowledgment to her Mother, for the care she has taken of her Daughter. If a Young Maiden be Marriageable, and yet not courted by any, the Mother Paints her with some red Colour about the Eyes, and thus carries her to the King, who orders her to sit down near him upon a Carpet, and blows the Smoak of Tobacco in her Face. After which he thrusts his Yard into the Womans Privities, and if any Blood comes forth, he licks it up, which is esteem'd a singular Honour among them. For the rest of the *Tapoyers*, are the worst of all the other *Brasilians*, being ignorant of any thing that relates to God or Religion; neither will they receive any Instruction of that kind. They have certain Priests or rather Sorcerers, who pretend to foretel things to come, and to raise Spirits, which they say appear to them in the shape of a Flye, or any such like Insect: When these Spirits disappear, the Women make most horrible cries and lamentations, in which consists the main point of their Devotion. They avoid Night journies, for fear of Serpents and other Venomous Creatures, neither will they set on a Journey till the Dew be dried up by the Sun-beams. Several Nations of the *Tapoyers*, especially those under King *John Duwy*, liv'd always in a good correspondence with the *Dutch*, unto whom they afforded at divers times considerable Assistance; tho' they did not submit to their Jurisdiction, but were governed by their own Kings. King *John Duwy* had Sixty Children by Fifty Wives, tho' sometimes he had not above Fourteen Wives at a time; These *Tapoyers* having [illegible] hatred to the *Portugueses*, used [illegible] them wherever they could meet [illegible] And thus much may suffice concerning the Manners, way of Living, Cloaths, &c. of the Natives of *Brasil*; I will now proceed to give you an account of my Voyage back into *Holland*. 1649

The Author return to Holland

Being sensible, as I told you before, that things grew worse and worse every Day with us, here, I with much ado got leave to depart, and accordingly the 23d of *July*, 1649. I went aboard the Ship call'd the *Union*, Mann'd with 8[illegible] Sailors, under the Command of Captain *Albert Jants*, a Native of *Groningen*. We set Sail the same Day in Company of the *Blue Eagle*, and a Yacht call'd the *Brasilian*. We left the City of *Olinda* to the South-West in the evening; the 25th we were under three Degrees six Min. with a North-North-East Course, we sail'd that Day about 28 Leagues. The next Day we pass'd the Line, with very fair Weather and Wind; we continued our course without any remarkable accident till the first of *August*, when about Noon, we found our selves under 9 Deg. 46 Min. having sail'd 29 Leagues in the last 24 Hours. The same Evening we saw the first time the North-Pole-Star, after we had pass'd the Line. The 2d of *August* we sail'd 23 Leagues with a fresh gale, and found our selves under the 11th Deg. 13 Min. We continued this our course with a fair Wind, till the 16th of *August* when we were becalmed, we did not advance above 6[illegible] Leagues that Day, being under the 26 Degr. we found it exceeding hot. The 20th of *August* we had but a slender South-East-Wind, we found our selves under 29 Degr. 45 Min. we were much troubled with heat, for want of the cool Land Winds, that the Knives in the Cabin were so hot, that no body could hold them in his bare Hands, nor any one could touch the Deck of the Ship with his Hands or Feet. We continued our course thus till the 29th, when being under 38 Deg. 46 Min. we made about Eight Leagues that Day. The 3d of *Sept.* being under the 40th Degr. 18. Min. we espied a Sail which we found to be a Vessel bound for *Virginia*. Towards Evening we were forced to stay sometime for the *Brasilian* Yacht, she having lost one of her Masts. The next following Day in the Morning we discovered the Island of *Corfu*, whither we directed our Course.

Corfu and *Floris* are two of the N[illegible] Islands, the *Dutch* commonly call the *Flemming Islands*. The biggest is *Tercera*, being about 16 Leagues in compass. It is very Rocky, but fruitful, producing a considerable quantity of Oxen, and abounding in Canary and other Birds. [illegible] is a Spring that turns Wood into [illegible]

1469. and several Hot-Springs, in which you may boil an Egg. The Ground seems to be full of Concavities, which is the reason of the many Earthquakes here, which over-turn and destroy Houses, Men and Beasts. The Island call'd the *Peake*, has a Rock, which reaches to the very Clouds, and which as some suppose, may be parallell'd for its heighth to the Peake of the *Canary Island* it self. Betwixt the Coast of *Brasil* and the said Islands the Compass bears due South and North. We were gone Eight degrees further to the West, than we intended. About Noon, we found our selves under 40 Deg. and 34 Min. We continued our course without any remarkable accident, till the 16th of *Sept.* when we supposed our selves to be not far from Land, which we discovered the same Evening to the North, North-East of us. The 17th we were becalmed, and catch'd more Fish than we were able to eat. The 18th we discovered the Isle of *Wight* to the North of us, whereabouts one of our Ships was separated from us; not long after we saw the Point of *Dover*. The 19th we pass'd by *Dunkerk* and *Ostend* with a brisk gale, and about Noon safely arrived in the Road of *Flussingen*. I got immediately ashoar, and after having refreshed my self for five Days, I went to *Middleburgh*, where I likewise continued five Days. From thence I continued my Journey over *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, *Delft*, and *Harlem* to the famous City of *Amsteldam*, from whence I undertook this *West-India* Voyage 1640. From *Amsteldam* I went to *Zwell*, the Birth-place of my Father *John Nieuhoff*; and so to *Benthem*, my Native Country, where I met with my Parents in good health, after so many fatigues of a tedious Voyage; whilst I was at *Benthem* my Father Died 1651. the 15th of *May*, in the 85th Year of his Age, being lamented by all, by reason of his good Qualifications.

Some troublesome People laid the loss of the *Dutch Brasil* at the door of the Members of the *Great Council*, viz. *Henry Hamel*, *Adrian Bullestrate*, and *Peter* [illegible], who left *Brasil* 1647. It was [illegible] that the before mentioned Contracts made with the *Portugueses* had [illegible] great opportunity of a Re[illegible], for which it was said the [illegible] had received great Sums of [illegible] it being evident, that the [illegible] Members of the Great Council [illegible] Cognisance of that Affair [illegible] their departure. *Nov.* 6. 1646. and in *March* 1647. they were fully cleared of these Accusations, the same having been transacted by special Orders of the Council of XIX. in *Holland*; besides, that the Revolts which were about the same time in agitation, in *Angola*, *Africa*, and the Island of *Ceylon* in the *East-Indies*, where no such Contracts were made, do sufficiently testifie that the foundation of this intestine War, was laid in *Portugal*, long before the Contracts were set on foot. What is more surprising, is, how the *Portugueses*, considering we were pretty well provided with Forts and Garrisons, durst think of such an Attempt; but the reason is plain, for what they wanted in strength or otherwise, they were supplied with from the *Bahia*.

1649.

The Motives that induced the *Portugueses* to this Revolt, were the recovery of their Liberty, the difference of their Language and Manners from ours; but especially of Religion, which, our People endeavoured to establish in *Brasil*; these with some other concurring circumstances, such as our present weakness, and the disposition the States were in at that time, to be fairly rid of *Brasil*, gave them sufficient encouragement for this attempt. It has been the opinion of some that the first sparks of this Rebellion might soon have been quench'd by seising some of the heads of the *Portugueses* Faction; but it being apparent from the Records, that nothing was left unattempted upon that account, tho' without any considerable success, the same cannot be imputed to the neglect of the Government; The true reasons of the loss of *Brasil* were the slender Garrison, and the inconsiderable number of *Dutch* inhabiting there; nothing being more obvious, that a conquered Country [illegible] be maintained, either by a sufficient Military Force, or strong Colonies [illegible] last of which was the constant practice of the Ancient *Romans*, who [illegible] back them with good Armies [illegible] conquered Nations in Obedience [illegible] ther way of establishing themselves in a conquered Country, tho' a very [illegible] rous one, was introd[illegible] and *Portugueses* in *America*, who by destroying the Ancient Inhabitants, and planting Colonies of their own, saved [illegible] selves the [illegible] Forts and Garrisons for [illegible] Neither of these was suf[illegible] ved by the *Dutch* after their Conquest [illegible] the *Dutch Brasil*; For, according [illegible] Agreement made with the *Portugueses*, the last were left in the entire and quiet possession of all the Sugar-Mills, Plantations, and

and Grounds thereunto belonging, 1649. whereby the *Dutch* Subjects were in a manner excluded from getting any conſiderable footing in the open Country, eſpecially, ſince ſuch of the Sugar-Mills as happened to fall into the Companies hands, by Forfeitures or otherwiſe, were Sold promiſcuouſly to both Nations, and commonly at ſuch exceſſive Rates, that the *Dutch* durſt ſeldom venture upon them; The Taxes laid upon every thing belonging to the Sugar-Mills, and upon the Sugar it ſelf, being ſo great, that little profit was to be reapt from thence, unleſs the Sugar ſold at a very dear Rate; whereas on the contrary, we ought after the Example of the *Spaniards*, to have endeavoured to draw our Subjects into *Braſil*, by the granting of conſiderable Immunities of Honour and other Advantages. The Military force of the *Dutch* in *Braſil*, was likewiſe not duely regarded; for whereas according to a juſt Eſtimate made in 1641. by Count *Maurice*, 7076 Men were abſolutely requiſite to maintain the *Dutch* Garriſons there, the States *Their want of Forces.* of *Holland* inſtead of following his Directions, did after the Concluſion of the ten years Truce with *Portugal*, order the Great Council of the *Dutch Braſil*, to reduce their Forces there to 18 Companies of 150 Men each; and tho' ſeveral Remonſtrances were made upon that head to the contrary, the truth of which was verified by the event; yet the Succours ſent from *Holland* arrived ſo ſlowly, that after my departure things grew worſe and worſe every Day, and the *Dutch* had loſt all their ſtrong holds, 1654. For the *Portugueſes* began to blow up the *Receif* by Sea, with Sixteen Ships, and to beſiege it by Land, 1653, in *December* with ſuch ſucceſs, that our People being conſtrained by Hunger, and the Garriſon refuſing to Fight, were forced to ſurrender the place with all its circumjacent Forts to the Enemy; ſince which time the *Portugueſes* have remained in the entire Poſſeſſion of *Braſil*; the ſame being confirmed to them by the Peace made the 6th of *Aug.* 166[illegible], betwixt *Portugal* and the States of the United Provinces, in which, among others theſe following Points were agreed upon.

That the Crown of *Portugal* ſhall be obliged to pay to the States the Sum of Eighty Tuns of Gold, either in ready Money, or Sugar, Tobacco or Salt, or elſe Aſſign the ſaid Money upon the *Portugueſe* Cuſtoms.

That the places taken on each ſide, ſhould remain to thoſe, who were then in Poſſeſſion of them.

And that a free Trade ſhould be allowed to the *Dutch* in *Portugal*, *Africa* and *Braſil*; without paying any more Cuſtoms than the Native *Portugueſe*

FINIS.

Mr. *JOHN NIEUHOFF's*

REMARKABLE

Voyages and Travels

TO THE

EAST-INDIES.

AFTER a ſhort ſtay in my Native Country, I reſolved to take a view of the *Eaſt-Indies*; and accordingly Embarked at *Amſterdam*, on Board the Ship call'd the *Calf*, carrying 24 Guns, under the Command of *Cornelius Juſt*. The 23d of *Auguſt* 1653. we ſet Sail from the *Texel*, in Company of four Ships more, *viz.* The *Peace*, the *Lamb*, the *Golden Drake*, and the *Naerdam*, Steering our Courſe towards the North of *Ireland*, not thinking it ſafe to paſs thro' the Channel of *England*. The 24th we Steer'd our Courſe North by Weſt, under 54 deg. 56 min. towards Evening we caſt Anchor at 13 and in the Night found 17 Fathom Water. We continued the ſame Coaſt the 25th, under 55 deg. 59 min. 23 Fathoms Water; and from thence further till the 29th, under 28 deg. 24 min. Then we ſteer'd North East Courſe with a brisk Gale. The 30th with break of day, we diſcover'd at about 6 Leagues diſtance *Hetland* lying at the Northern Point of *Scotland*, and found our ſelves about Noon under 60 deg. 3 min. Latitude, and 18 deg. 49 min. Longitude. The 1ſt of *September* we were under the Latitude of 62 deg. 40 min. and 19 deg. Longitude: We Steer'd our Courſe with a brisk Gale to South Weſt by Weſt, paſt the *Faire* Iſlands and *Hetland*. The 2d being overtaken by a violent Storm, loſt ſight of one of our Ships call'd the *Lamb*, under 61 deg. 11 min. We continued the ſame Courſe till next day, when about Noon we diſcovered the Iſle of *Kinda*, under 59 deg. at 6 Leagues diſtance to the South Weſt of us, the Iſland lying to the Weſt of *Scotland*. Thus we purſued our Voyage, for the moſt part with ſtormy Weather till the 13th, when we loſt our ſmall Sail at the Prow of the Ship: We found our ſelves about Noon, under 50 deg. 1 min. the Weather continuing very Stormy, but on the 17th under 46 deg. 27 min. all our Rigging was torn to pieces by a violent Storm, in which we got out of ſight of all our Company. The 19th we deſcryed two Sail which we gueſs'd to be our own, as one of them prov'd afterwards to be the *Lamb*. The 20th we continued our Courſe with a brisk Wind to the South Weſt, and under 43 deg. 25 min. diſcovered the *Cabo Finis terre*, or the point of the Lands end of *Spain*; at about 5 Leagues diſtance, as we ſuppoſed. The ſame Evening we met with the Ship the *Lamb*, which as the Maſter inform'd us, had loſt ſight of the Ship the *Peace*, in the laſt Storm; and had her Main-maſt and all her Sails brought by the Board. Thus we Sailed forward with a ſtrong Gale till the 30th, when we found our ſelves under the 37 deg. 20 min. and diſcovered the *African* Coaſt about five Leagues to the South-Weſt of us, with a variable Wind. The *ſecond* of *October*, we continued the ſame Courſe under the 28 deg. 51 min. of Latitude, and 57 deg. of Longitude; all a-long the Iſle of *Lancerotta* one of the *Canary* Iſlands, we deſcry'd a Ship, but were not near enough to ſee what ſhe was. The next day we found our ſelves about 40 Leagues to the North North-Eaſt of the Iſlands *Fretevanture* or *Forteventura* under 27 deg. 45 min. and ſail'd thus in 24 hours, 4 Leagues among the *Canary* Iſlands. The 7th a brisk North Wind carryed us near 20 Leagues forwards to the 19 deg. 14 min. In the Evening we found but 14 Fathoms Water, and a ſmall Bird ſettled upon our Ship, tho' we judged our ſelves above 100 Leagues from Land. The 9th we were under 17 deg. 41 min. and towards Evening ſaw Land to the South-Weſt of us. The 10th with break of day, we diſcover'd the

1653.

1653. *The Isle of St.* Vincent.

the Isle of St. *Vincent*, one of the Salt Islands, about 5 Leagues to the South-West; we Steering our Course South-West, betwixt this Island and that of St. *Anthony*. About Noon we cast Anchor in the Bay of St. *Vincent* at four Fathom Water, in a Sandy Bottom; and provided our selves the same day with a whole Boat full of fresh Water and 7 Goats; I went in another Boat to the Isle of St. *Anthony*, to fetch some fresh Provisions, but could get none. The 15th our Ships Crew catch'd 10 Tortoises, and those of the *Drake* as many. The 18th I was sent a shoar to Complement the Governour of St. *Vincent*, who received us very kindly, and furnish'd us with an Ass to carry us back to the Harbour. All this while we catch'd abundance of Fish; and the 20th sent some on Shoar with some Toys, which they exchanged with the Inhabitants of St. *Vincent*, for Oranges, Limons, Bakora's and Pompions. The same day the Ship the *Rose* bound for *Brasil*, came to an Anchor in the same Bay. Mr. *Wittschut* the Elder Commander in Chief of the Land Forces came on Board us, being much surprised to meet with me there. Being by this time provided with as many necessaries as we were able to get, we were ready to set Sail, but were detained by contrary Winds till the 25th. The Isle of St. *Vincent* is a Rocky and Barren Island, affording nothing but a little Grass for the sustenance of wild Goats. It is about 5 Leagues in Circuit, under the Command of a *Portuguese* Governour, who was then a *Mulat*, one born of a Christian Father and a Negro Mother. 1653.

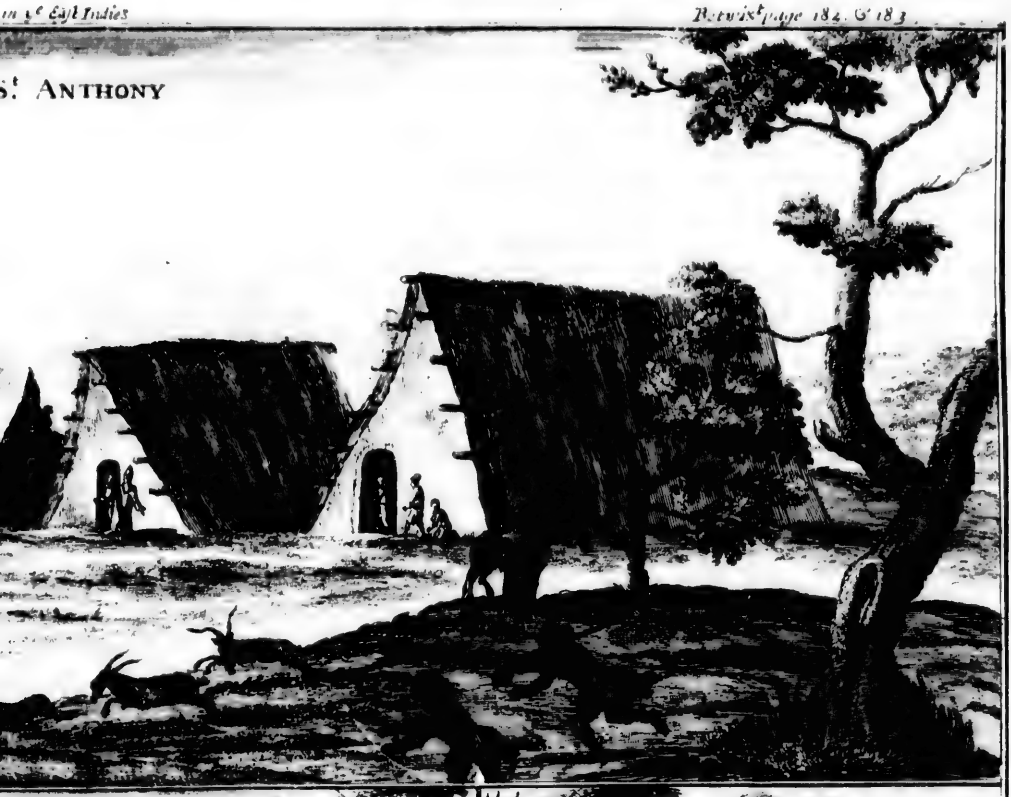
The Inhabitants here are Negros, transplanted hither from several Parts to catch wild Goats, the Skins of which they send to *Portugal*, and the Flesh they can't consume they throw away. They lead a wretched Life without Women. All their Water is brackish, and of a taste like Salt-petre, except what they gather at the Foot of the highest Rock in Baggs of Goat-skins, which being always covered with Clouds on the top, sends a considerable quantity of Rain Water down to the bottom by small natural Channels. The Governours Residence is on the other side of the great Rock, not far from the Sea shoar, near 3 Leagues from the Harbour. His Officers live in Hutts covered with Tortoise-shells, among Trees, the shadow of which defends them against the ex-

1653.

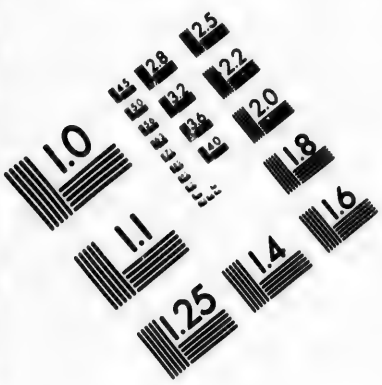
S.t ANTHONY

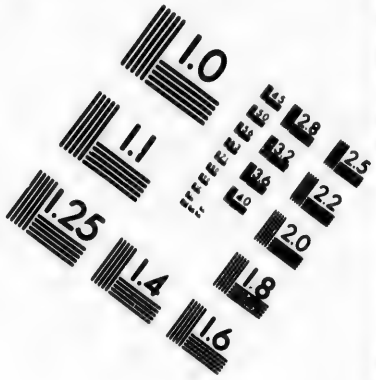
S.t VINCENT

St ANTHONY



VINCENT





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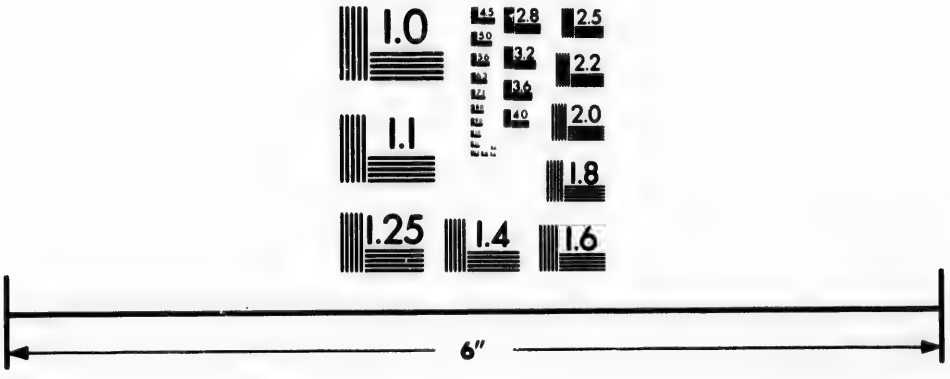

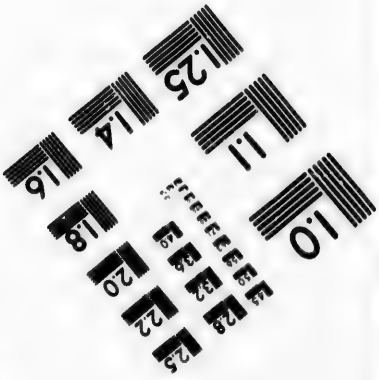

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1653.

The Isle of St. Vincent.

1653. excessive heat of the Sun-beams: I went in company of some belonging to our Ship, up to the top of the highest Rock to take a view of the Countr ; my Companions stay'd about half way, but I with much a-doe got to the top, where I had a full Prospect of the Island, but lost my Hat by the violence of the Wind, and was forced to lay upon my Belly for fear of tumbling down the Precipice. The Inhabitants relate a ridiculous story of a King's Daughter turn'd into a Serpent here. As I was coming down and met with the rest of my Companions in the place where I left them, we saw at some distance a great number of Crows, which made us hasten thither, and found them busie in picking the flesh of a living Tortoise which was turn'd upon her back; we found above 300 Eggs within her, which one of our Company kept for his own use, but the flesh was carried on Board for the use of the Sick.

The Isle of St. Anthony. The Island of St. *Anthony* lies at about 3 Leagues distance, just opposite to St. *Vincent*. On the foot of the East Point of this Island, is a small Sandy Bay, fit for small Vessels only, call'd by the *Portugueses*, *Et Pracaden siniao*, whereabouts are about 30 Hutts inhabited by *Portugueses* and *Negroes*, who sustain themselves most by Fruit; of which they had no great store formerly, but of late years they have great plenty, which were transplanted thither by the industry of the *Portugueses*; the Isle being full of high barren Rocks. The Vines bare here twice a year, as well as most other Fruit-trees; They abound in Wild-foul of all sorts, but especially in Wild-Goats. We found the heat so excessive about Noon, that it was insupportable: At our first Arrival, they refused to supply us with refreshments, but after some time they began to be more pliable, and furnish'd us with what Fruits we wanted.

The Salt Islands. These Islands commonly call'd the *Salt Islands*, being Ten in number, are thus call'd from the great quantity of Salt they produce, and lies about 160 Leagues from the *African* Coast, being first discovered by the *Portugueses* 1572, who inhabit there to this day.

We set Sail again the 26th with a moderate North-North East Wind, and pass'd by the *Ilha Blanco*, or *White Island*; so call'd from its *White Colour*, being the last of the Ten, under 15 deg. 11 min. At first we had a brisk gale, but were soon be-calm'd, and advanced very little that day and night. The next following day we had a more prosperous Wind, and discovered Land the next Morning, at about 10 Leagues distance under 14 deg. 16 min. The 3d of *November*, we advanc'd no more than 3 Leagues, because the Wind slackned under the 8 deg. 11 min. Thus we continued our Course, but very slowly till the 18th, when we found our selves under 5 deg. being forced much farther to the East than we expected: We were continually afflicted with Calms till the 1st of *December*; so that oftentimes we did not make above 3, 4 or 6 Leagues a day, and without meeting with any thing remarkable, found our selves under 2 deg. 15 min. The 8th in the Morning we pass'd the Line, and the next day were under 50 min. Southern Latitude, and under 353 deg. 10 min. Longitude: Here we were overtaken by a violent *Travado* from the East, with violent Storms and Rains, which much endamaged some of our small Sails, being about Noon under 1 deg. 37 min: We often saw small black Clouds, which in an instant increased prodigiously, and were the certain forerunners of Tempests. For the rest we had favourable Wind and Weather all this Month, and found our selves under 33 deg. 52 min. of Southern Latitude; and under 358 deg. 36 min. Longitude, the Sun setting 14 deg. 3 min. North-East; in the mean while our Ships Crew began to be much afflicted with the Scurvy, for want of fresh Water. The 1st of *January* we sail'd with a moderate Gale under 34 deg. 58 min. about 39 Leagues in 24 Hours. The 3d we pursued our Course East to the North, under 35 deg. 38 min. Latitude; and 6 deg. 29 min. Longitude: The 6th we continued the same Course with a very brisk Gale under 35 deg. 4 min. till the 22d, with strong Winds and tempestuous Weather; when in the Morning under 31 deg. 36 min. we discovered Land at about 3 Leagues distance, to our no small satisfaction; we found 58 Fathoms Water and a Rocky bottom; and in the Afternoon 55 Fathom Sandy Ground; we were forced to return deeper in Sea, and in the Afternoon approached nearer the Shoar, but were forc'd to turn back again into the Main. The next day about 7 or 8 Leagues from the Continent, we found a Sandy bottom at 80 Fathoms depth, and saw abundance of Birds; we had very Misty Weather for some time, during which we lost the *Drake*. The 25th towards Evening, we got sight again of the *Drake* about 7 or 8 Leagues from the Shoar, under 32 deg. 38 min. without being able to Fathom the bottom of the Sea. We continued this sailing To and From the Shoar till the 28th, but could not make the *Cape of good Hope*, tho' we advanced within a League of the Land among the Rocks, not without great danger, being then under 32 deg. 58 min. we were therefore oblig'd to choose the Main again, to our great

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great diſſatisfaction, being ſo diſabled by ſickneſs, and eſpecially the Scurvy, that we had ſcarce hands enough left to manage our Ship; Our Surgeon was a *German* by Birth, a very able Perſon, but never uſed to the Sea before, was ſo much ſurpriſed at it, that he confeſs'd he never had ſeen the like, and that few of them would recover; but I told him, that in Caſe we could make the Cape, he would find a remarkable alteration in a weeks time, as ſoon as they touch'd the Land, and received ſuitable refreſhment, which accordingly proved true. The 29th and 30th it was very tempeſtuous weather, when we loſt ſight again of the *Drake*; we were forced to keep the open Sea till the 2d of *February*; when we found our ſelves under 34 deg. 39 min. Southern Latitude, and 30 deg. 32 min. Longitude. The 3d being overtaken by a ſtorm from the South-Eaſt, we were forced to leave the ſhoar again, which continued the next day with ſuch violence that we loſt our Main-ſail. The 4th we purſued our Courſe with a briſk Gale under 33 deg. 40 min. when we again diſcovered Land at about 6 or 7 Leagues diſtance. Towards Evening we came within a League of *Daſſen* (*Doe Iſland*) at 60 Fathoms depth, but were forced to put to Sea again, the ſhoar being all a-long very Rocky here: Thus we made To and From the ſhoar till the 8th, when we ſaw the *Table Mountain* about 9 Leagues to the South-Weſt of us, and the Iſle of *Daſſen* 2 or 3 Leagues to the N. W. we found hereabouts 35, 36 and 40 Fathoms water, about half a League from the ſhoar in a Sandy bottom; we did all we could to make the *Robben Iſland* (*Ralbet Iſland*) but being becalmed, were fain to put to Sea again. The 9th we were not above 2 or 3 Leagues from the *Table Mountain*, and about Noon being favoured with a briſk S. W. Wind got happily into the *Table Bay*, where we caſt Anchor at 5 Fathoms depth in a Sandy bottom. Here we met with the Galliot the *Fan Zoment* Maſter. Mr. *Rietbeck*, *Dutch* Governour of the *Cape of good Hope*, ſent us immediately a Chaloop with Fiſh on Board, and a Pilot to conduct us into the Harbour. We had loſt 8 of our Ships Crew in this Voyage, and had about 40 ſick, beſides which the reſt were ſo much afflicted with the Scurvy, that unleſs we had received ſome ſeaſonable refreſhments, we could ſcarce have held it out much longer. I went immediately a ſhoar in Company of the Captain *Cornelius Juſt*, and brought back good ſtore of Muſtard-leaves which were dreſs'd for the Ship's Crew. Much about the ſame time the Fiſcal came a-board us, to forbid all Commerce with the *Hottentotes* or Natives, and to tarry a ſhoar, without ſpecial leave from the Governour; we were alſo ſupply'd with more freſh water, which is very good and eaſie to be got thereabouts. The 12th we ſaw the Ship the *Drake* making the Bay, but was forced to caſt Anchor behind the *Robben Iſland*, by reaſon of the violence of the Wind; we were then buſie in fiſhing, but the Wind blowing hard from the Land ſide, could catch none. The 14th the Tempeſt being ſomewhat allay'd, we approach'd as near the ſhoar as we could; when we got ſight of the Top of the *Table Mountain*, which is very often covered with ſmall Clouds, a certain preſage of Tempeſtuous weather. The ſame day we went to our former Employment of fiſhing, and catch'd as much in one draught as the Chaloop was able to carry, the Governour having 14 Wheelbarrows full for his ſhare. They were for the moſt part Mullets, which ſwim in ſhoals along the ſhoar of this Bay. It was not till then the *Drake* came into the Harbour, having loſt 20 of her Crew and 50 ſick, and the reſt being ſo much diſabled by the Scurvy, that according to their own confeſſion, if it had laſted thus 14 days longer, they muſt have left the Ship to the mercy of the Wind and Sea: we were all this while very buſie in fiſhing as often as the Weather would permit; but the 19th it blew ſo hard, that we were forced to make uſe of all our Anchors. The 22d we ſpent in providing our ſelves with freſh Water and fewel, the laſt of which our Carpenters cut down near the banks of the Salt River. The 23d. I in Company of ſome others went croſs the Mountain as far as the *Freſh River*, to ſee whether we could meet with ſome Wild-fowl, we ſaw ſome Negros with about 300 head of Cattel, but at the firſt ſight of us they retired. The Fields hereabouts were all covered with white Lilies and Tulips; we ſaw alſo abundance of Partridges. Being informed that a *Rhinoceros* was fallen into the Boggs, the Governour *Rietbeck* ſent ſome Fuſileers thither to kill him, but the Muſquet ball not being able to penetrate his thick hide, they were forced to cut a hole in it firſt, and ſo to ſhoot it to death; the Horn is preſerved there to this day, and ſometimes uſed inſtead of a Cup. The 1ſt of *March* we had very fair Weather, notwithſtanding which, few of our Ship's Crew were fond to go on ſhoar, every thing being there at an exceſſive rate; as for inſtance, a quartern of *Arack* was ſold for Six pence; of Brandy for Twelve pence; a Water-melon about the bigneſs of a Coco-Nutt for half a Crown. The next day being informed that a Whale was got on ſhoar in the *Salt River*, the Governour and his Lady, our Maſter of the Ship and I, went thither

Violent Scurvy.

They Arrive in the Table Bay.

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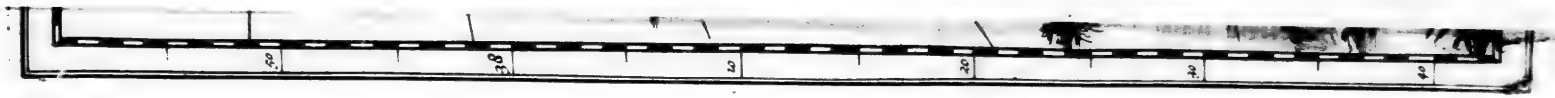
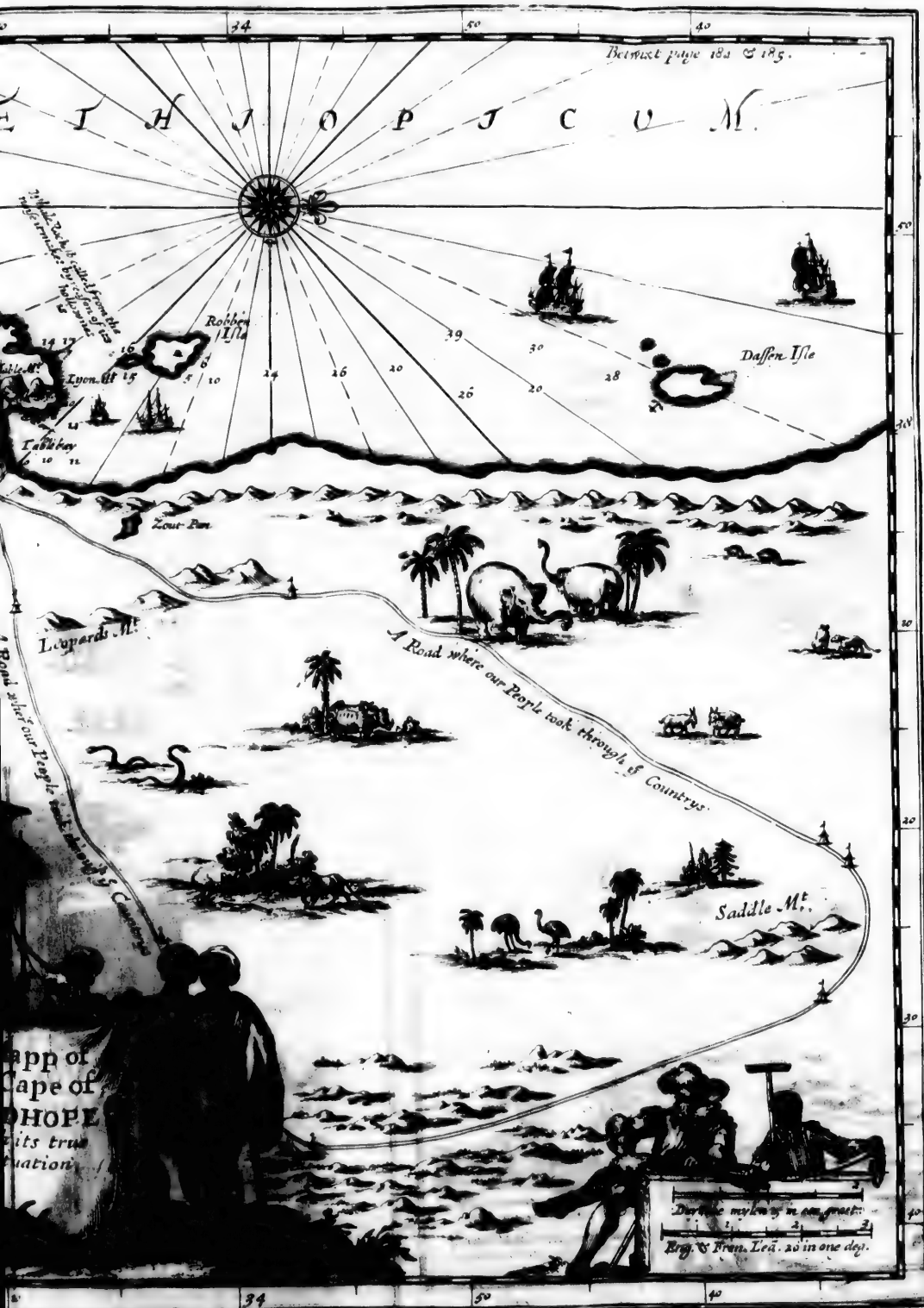
The Ship the Drake enters the Bay.

They take a view of the Country.

A Rhinoceros killed.



M A R E Æ T H
Wood bay
Inaccessable Mountains
Good Pasture ground in this Valley
A Ridge of Stony Rocks
Wood valley
Table Mt
Lyon Mt
Grounds not fit for Tillage
Table bay
Very Good Grounds
Table Bay
the Line where they intended to have cutt through the ground
Barron Grounds
Downs
A Rock
Leopards Mt
A Road wher our People
Barron Grounds
Table Mt
Wind Mt
Lyon Mt
A Mapp of the Cape of GOODHOPE with its true Situation


Betwixt page 182 & 185.
E T H I O P I C U M.
Robben Isle
Lyon Mt
Table bay
Dassen Isle
Zout Pan
Leopards Mt
A Road where our People took through of Countrys.
Saddle Mt.
Eng. & Fren. Leā. 20 in one deg.

1653.

The Cape of Good Hope.

Table Bay.

The Fort.

1653. thither to see it, it was a very large one; we got upon the back of it whilst the Trumpet sounded merrily, and the Negros were busied in cutting great pieces of the Flesh which they buried in the Sand in order to eat them. The 6th the Governour sent some of his Soldiers to the *Hottentots*, to endeavour to exchange some of their Cattel for Copper, Tobacco-pipes and such like bubles, but they retired at first sight. The 9th it was very calm and fair Weather, which made most of our Crew go on shoar to wash their Linen, having received orders to be ready to sail the next day; for which reason also good store of Cabbage and two Sheep were brought a Board, a slender Provision for such a number of Men, but it was impossible to get more for that time. During our stay here, we fetch'd daily two sacks full of Cabbage and Mustard-leaves, which being boiled with Bacon, was served twice a day, this being the best refreshment we were able to get. The *Cape of Good Hope* is situate under 34 deg. 2 min. Southern Latitude, which lets out into the Sea like a Demi-Island being to the North joined to the Continent by a strait neck of Land, with a Bay on each side, very convenient for Anchorage. The *Table Bay*, which has borrow'd its Name from the *Table Mountain*; is about 4 Leagues in compass, so that a whole Fleet of Ships may safely enter, or go out with any Wind, except the North-West Wind. Near the shoar of this Bay upon the Banks of the *Fresh River*, the *Dutch East-India* Company has erected a Quadrangular Fort, call'd the *Good Hope*, well provided with Artillery and a good Garrison, in which, at this time Mr. *Rieebeck* was Commander in chief; and had his Habitation there, with a well-planted Garden of about 15 Acres round about it. Upon the banks of the *Salt River* is likewise a small Redoubt. Behind the Fort of *Good Hope*, all along the banks of the River, are many fine Plantations or Gardens, which produce Cabbages and such-like Herbages, being cultivated by certain *Hollanders* who have settled there, and pay only a small annual acknowledgment to the Governour for the use of their Grounds, which are for the most part Clay, and consequently fruitful, tho' in some parts they are likewise Rocky and Sandy. Near the Sea shoar is great store of small Wood, tho' the Natives assure us, that deeper in the Country they have Trees of a vast bigness. Their Gardens produce likewise Olives, Oranges, Apricocks, and Peaches; the Fields Fruits and some Herbs and Flowers; nay, they would bear very good Wheat, Rye, Rice, and Barly were they manur'd as they ought to be. Their Field-herbs are great and small, some with knotty roots, Houttleek and some other Pot-herbs, besides Tulips and White-lilies, &c. They have also here a certain Root which the *Hottentots* roast and eat instead of Bread, and sometimes make Flower of them; some taste like our Potatos or Chesnuts, tho' they have others that are much sweeter, not unlike our Annifeed. The *Dutch* have planted many Thousands of Vines on a Hill adjacent to the Fort, they bear very plentifully, but the Wine is of a Crab-like taft. The worst of all is, That the Winds which arise from the Clouds in the Mountains, blow in the Summer, especially about *July*, with such violence, that they tear up all by the Roots, at which time it is very dangerous Landing at the Cape. For the rest the Air is very wholesom here, being always clear, and neither too hot nor too cold. Their Winter is in *June* and *July*, when it Freezes sometimes, that you may see Ice of the thickness of the back of a large Knife. In *October*, *November* and *December*, there blows always a South Wind, which produces a cool Air, as the North Wind does in *Holland*; and in this Season they are troubled with violent Rains, which however renders their Ground very Fruitful.

The Cape of Good Hope.

Table Bay.

The Fort.

1652. This Country likewise abounds in all sorts of Wild and Tame Creatures: They have here Birds they call *Pinguyns*, *Flamingos*, *Antenayas*, *Alkatraces*, *Fayfons*, *Gavestryns*, *Garagians*, &c. The *Pinguyns* are short legged and may soon be taken, but are not to be forced from their Nest without a good stick, because they will bite and defend themselves there to the utmost. They abound also in Partridges and Pheasants, Geese, Quails, Crows, Sparrows of divers kinds; Rock-ducks with yellow necks, Teal, Wood and Water Snipes, and a kind of Demi-Ducks; there is also a sort of black Birds here of the bignes of a small Goose or large Duck, call'd by us Cormorants, wild Peacocks, blew, white and black Cranes. The white ones are indifferently large, the black ones of the bignes of our Sea Gulls, living for the most part in the Marshes; they have a kind of reed Birds with red necks and legs, Monkeys, Hawks of divers kinds, Ravens, Magpies and very large Ostriches, which can reach with their long necks a man on Horse-back. They are gray, and run with their Wings spread as swift as a Horse; they live upon herbs, but sometimes devour likewise Stones, Copper and Iron. They have likewise certain Birds not unlike our Geese, which lay eggs without yelks, as big as a common Goose egg. They are so full, and taste so much like Fish, that they are not eatable. Another kind of Geese they have somewhat less than ours, tho' their legs

What Creatures are here at the Cape.

1652.

are larger, with gray ſpots all over their Bodies; they are not to be tam'd, becauſe they kill any other Bird that comes within their reach.

The Pinguwyns. Formerly the Sea ſhoar uſed to abound with certain Birds call'd *Pingmyns* both black and white, their ſkin is very hard and are of the bigneſs of an ordinary Gooſe. They live both upon Land and in the Water; they have a fin on each Foot, which makes them ſwim very ſwiftly after their Prey the ſmall Fiſh, which is the reaſon their Fleſh is of a rank taſte, and ſcarce eatable, unleſs it be ſeven times boil'd in freſh Water and afterwards fry'd with butter; they make their neſt and lay their eggs in hallow places in the Sand.

The Flamingos. The *Flamingos* is a very fine bird, reſembling a Crane, but with a Crooked bill. They are Pale red, tho' ſome of their Feathers are half white and half black, but the uppermoſt Feathers which cover the reſt, are of a Roſy colour.

Their Oxen are very fat and thick ſet, with long crooked horns, tho' ſome have their horns bent back cloſe to the neck; others have no horns at all, they are generally a foot and a half taller than our Oxen. Among other Creatures they have here thoſe they call *Sea Cows*, being much bulkier than an *European Ox*. They are without Horns, but have long ears and round eyes, with a ſhort tail, thick legs and feet like an Elephant. They have no hair upon their Bodies, but prodigious large Teeth. They feed upon Graſs, which they find in the Marſhes near the Lakes, where they duck under Water as long as they pleaſe; ſo that they are ſeldom to be ſeen or catch'd. The *Sea Cows.* flesh is like other Beef, but ſomewhat Courſer; when it is ſalted, it appears and keeps like the ordinary *Dutch* ſalted Beef.

They have likewiſe here what they commonly call *Iron Figgs*, with long ſpikes, which by drawing the skin together, can ſhoot at thoſe that come too near them, with ſuch force, as to wound them Mortally. A dead Lyon was once found here, with ſuch a ſpike ſticking in the breaſt, which had queſtionleſs cauſed his death. The skin is hung up, and to be ſeen in the Fort to this day. They abound alſo in Hares, Wild-Goats and Rabbets; and deeper into the Country they have Tygers, Lyons, Wolves, Leopards, Rhinoceruſ's, Deer, Cows, Calves and Rock-Does. They have plenty of Sheep which the Inhabitants exchange for Copper, Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, and ſuch-like Baubles. They bear no wool, but hair like our Goats; their leggs are long and the Tail conſiſts of one long and thick piece of fat which weighs ſometimes 20 pound and above.

On this Cape is alſo a certain Creature call'd a *Jackal*, being betwixt a Fox and a Dog, with gray hair, it roars frightfully in the night time, being very greedy after men's fleſh, ſo that it will digg ſome times ten foot deep to come at a dead Carcaſs. It is ſaid to be the moſt quick-ſcented of all Creatures, and by its ſcent to diſcover any Carrion that is near at hand to the Lyon. Among others they have likewiſe a certain wild Beaſt in ſhape and bigneſs like an Elephant, but with two horns on the top of the noſe; its tail is likewiſe like that of an Elephant, but has a buſh of black hair on the head where it joins to the neck, with two ſtreight and round horns, with ſhort Mouſe-coloured hair all over the Body. On the top of the *Lyons Mountain*, (ſo call'd from its reſemblance to a ſleeping Lyon) are great numbers of Baboons, which are ſo unlucky, that they will ſometimes with ſtones, force thoſe who aſcend the Mountain, to turn back. However moſt of your ravenous beaſts, ſuch as Lyons, Leopards, Wolves, Jackalls and Tygers, are but rarely to be met with near the Sea-ſhoar, where they are almoſt rooted out by the Inhabitants; a certain reward being ſet for every one that kills any of theſe beaſts, of which ſeveral skins hang up in a Gallery of the Fort. They have alſo Sea and Land Tortoiſes in great quantities, and the Woods furniſh them with plenty of Hony, which the Bees hide in the deepeſt hollowneſs of the Trees. Neither are they without Dogs which are commonly of a red Colour, and have ſhort tails.

1653.

The Jackalls.

There is here a certain kind of Fiſh call'd by the *Dutch* the *Hottentots Fiſh*, becauſe the *Hottentots* are very dextrous in taking them. They are very fine Fiſhes and taſt like our Codds. Formerly they uſed to catch abundance of Seals, but now moſt of their Fiſhes are unknown to us. In the *Table Bay* are alſo Whales in abundance, but they are too lean to afford any conſiderable quantity of Oyl. Near the Sea ſhoar you meet with the Fiſh call'd by the *Latines Torpedo*, by the *Greeks* in the ſame ſence *Narce*, by the *Spaniards Hugia*, and by the *Dutch Kraek Fiſh* or *Lazie Fiſh*; not becauſe of its lazineſs in ſwimming, but of its hidden qualities, which as its reported, conſiſts in this, that when it finds it ſelf in diſtreſs, it ſends forth a certain juice, which ſeizes the Fiſher-men with a Cramp in all their Limbs. The Inhabitants here are call'd *Hottentots* by the *Dutch*, by reaſon of their ſtammering.

The Hottentot's fiſh.

The fiſh Torpedo.

The men here appear for the moſt part naked, having only a kind of a Cloak made of Doe, Sheep, or Rabbet skins ſowed together, hanging from their ſhoulders, down to their buttocks, faſtned under the chin with a

The Hottentots and their Habits.

1653. a ribbond, with the rough ſide outward in the Summer, and the ſame turn'd inſide in the Winter. When they are Travelling they wear over this another Cloak with the rough ſide outwards. Their ſhooes are made of Rhinoceros skin without any heels, tyed together on the middle of the feet with two leather ſtraps. In the night time, or in rainy weather, they wear Caps of Lamb skins with the woolly ſide inwards. Their Privities they cover with a piece of Tygers skin or ſuch like, which is ty'd behind with two leather ſtrings. In their hair, which is ſhaved in ſome places of the head, they twiſt ſmall Copper plates, Horns, and pieces of Coral. The Women wear Cloaks of Lamb skins like the Men, with the rough ſide inwards, tho' ſomewhat longer; beſides which they cover their Bellies and Buttocks, as alſo their Privities with another four-ſquare skin. On their heads they wear Caps of Doe, Sheep, and Rabbet skins, ty'd round about with a broad Sheep skin ſtrap. Their ſhooes are the ſame with the Men. Such Men or Women as are rich in Cattel, greaſe not only their Bodies and Faces, but likewiſe their Cloaks and Caps with Suet, but the Poor wear no Cloaks at all; ſo that greaſineſs is among them both an Ornament, and a token of Riches. In both ears they wear ſtrings of Coral, each weighing commonly four Ounces; about their Necks Copper-Beads, round the Arms they wear an Ivory ring, and a ſtreight Copper ring about their Wriſts. When the Women go a-broad, they commonly have an empty leather bagg hanging down from their ſhoulders, in which are only ſome baubles, but if they have a young Child it is carried in this bagg. They wear ſtinking guts twiſted twice or thrice round their legs for an Ornament; or elſe dry'd guts, which ſerve them as a defence againſt pricking of Thorns, and make a rattling noiſe when they are dancing and merry making. The Men wear them likewiſe about the neck, and hang their Tobacco-pipes and other Toys in them.

Their Arms. The Arms chiefly uſed among the *Hottentots* are Javelins, being ſticks of 3, 4, or 5 foot long, pointed at the end with a ſharp broad piece of Iron; theſe they make themſelves, and uſe them with great dexterity. They have alſo ſome Bows and Arrows, but are as yet quite ignorant of the uſe of fire Arms. When they go abroad they carry this Javelin, call'd by them *Aſſagaye* in one, and an Oſtrich Feather, or a ſmall ſtick with a wild Cat's tail on the end, in the other hand, wherewith they defend themſelves againſt the Gnats and other Inſects.

Their Food. The *Hottentots* are very naſty and aukward in eating; for they are ignorant of any thing that relates to Cookery, but devour raw pieces of fleſh or carrion, as greedy as dogs. The guts themſelves they ſwallow down without waſhing or dreſſing, after they have only ſqueezed them a little. For want of carrion they eat dead ſtinking Fiſh, ſuch as they meet with near the Sea ſide, Muſſels and ſuch like. They kill no Cattle except it be rendered unfit by Sickneſs or Age, except it be a ſheep againſt a Wedding Dinner. The fleſh of Sea-dogs or Rabbets is a dainty with them, which they devour either quite raw without cleanſing, or ſometimes broil it a little upon Coals. They cut and eat the Bacon of dead Whales which happen to be caſt a ſhour with great eagerneſs, nay they drink the Oyl which is drawn from thence by the heat of the Sun, like Water. Some bury pieces of this Bacon in the Sand for their future uſe. However their beſt and daily food are certain roots, not unlike our large Potato's, which the Women digg up near the Rivers and in ſome other places, thoſe they eat either broil'd or boil'd. They are very eager after our Wheat or Rice bread which is baked there, and willingly exchange it for Cattle.

Their Drink. Their chief drink is Water, or Milk which their Cattle affords them. 'Tis incredible how fond they are of Brandy or *Spaniſh* Wine, but a ſmall quantity makes them drunk, when they baul out fearfully and are very unruly.

Their Complexion. Thoſe Inhabitants near the Cape are of a brown Olive Colour, like the *Mulats*; which however is not their natural Complection, but acquired by Art, for they broil certain herbs with greaſe, wherewith they beſmear their bodies and faces, to make them ſwarthy; it having been found by experience, that a Girl, which was carried into the Fort immediately after ſhe was born and brought up there, proved of the ſame Complexion with the beſt of our *European* Women. They are of Opinion, that in caſe they don't frequently beſmear themſelves thus from that time of their birth, they ſhall be ſubject to the Dropſie, a diſtemper to which many of the *Africans* are moſt ſubject, as the *Abyſſines* have one thigh ſwell'd twice as thick as the other. Upon the arrival of our Ships on the Cape, they get into the Cooks room, and with the fat and black of the Kettle, beſmear their hair and faces to make them ſhine the better; this being look'd upon as a great piece of Beauty among them, tho' it makes them ſmell very rank, eſpecially if they put greaſe into the gaſhes which they make in their skin for that purpoſe, when you may ſmell them at 100 yards diſtance.

Their Conſtitution and Habit of Body. They are generally lean, ſhort and ugly; yet they have black quick eyes and very good white Teeth. Their Noſes are ſomewhat flat

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flat, tho' not always, and the Lips, especially the uppermost, very thick. Their Foreheads are broad, but wrinkled, and the hair of the Men is curl'd and short like Lambs wool, but very nasty and greasy. The Women have thicker hair than the men, the last of which pull out all their hair upon their chin. The Men have very well made Legs, but slender Calfs, and are so nimble as to be able to out-run a strong Bull, and stop him in his full career. The Women especially have very fine and small feet, with flat Bellies and round Buttocks; their hands are very well shaped, but their fingers and nails very long. The Mens Privities or Yards are very large, but have only one stone; for so soon as a Male Child is born, the Mother cuts out the right stone to make it the more fit for running, and afterwards gives it some Sea water and Tobacco. The Women, especially those that are married, have long breasts which are always bare, and when they are suckling their Infants, hang backwards over their shoulders. The inside of the Womens Privities are so relaxed, that they hang out. Their chiefest Riches consist in their Cattle, which they never kill, but when forced thereunto, either by sickness or age of the Beast.

Their Tongue.

They stammer much in their speech, and bluster out their words like a Turky-Cock; they make use of no letters, neither do they know what writing and reading is; some however have been taught to speak, read and write *Dutch*, which shews them to be apprehensive enough. For the rest of the *Hottentots* are so very stupid, that they are not able to form to themselves the least Idea of attacking or defending a strong hold; a House of Brick, such as is proof against fire, being as profitable against them as the best Fort; for if you enclose them in a House, and only shut the doors and windows fast, they are as safe here as in the strongest Prison, having not the least sense to open them for their deliverance; in which they are inferior to Beasts, which commonly endeavour to deliver themselves from Bondage. Notwithstanding the *Hottentots* are so stupid, and in my Judgment, the most wretched Nation upon Earth, there are some among them, that want not cunning, especially if they are brought up to it, an instance of which we saw in our time, in two young fellows, who being carried from hence to *Batavia*, where they were instructed in speaking, reading and writing of *Dutch*. One of them was employed as a Servant by the General Director, *John Maet Zuicker*, and after some time was sent back to the Cape to serve as an Interpreter there. I met with him at my first return from the *East-Indies*, among the *Hottentots*, and ask'd him whether he would not rather be with us where he lived much better? he told me, he would rather be with his own Country men. I understood afterwards, that this fellow had proved the occasion of great mischief and differences among the *Hottentots*, and, that several had been kill'd in the Quarrel on both sides. At last he fell again into the hands of the Commander of the Cape, who banish'd him to the *Robben Island*, where he dyed. Theft they punish with a Bastinado, and so they do Murther, not out of any regard to God Almighty, but for customs sake. They talk of one *Hiemanna*, who has the disposal of Rains and Fair Weather, but they pay no adoration to him.

Their Stupidity.

Their Marriage.

Marriage is in pretty good esteem among them, tho' a Man Marries as many Wives as he pleases. The Maid as soon as she is bethrothed performs the Oath of Fidelity in the following manner: The Mother cuts off the first joint of her Daughters little finger, which is tied to her future Husband's finger, this they bury, and afterwards kill a Cow for their Wedding dinner. The Maids are distinguish'd from the Married Women, by green twiggs which are twisted round their leggs; these are taken off at the Wedding day, and instead of them the dry'd guts of the Cow kill'd for the Wedding dinner, put on; these when they Dance make a noise, which seem very agreeable to them.

They have something of Religion.

'Tis true, the *Hottentots* are the most Barbarous upon Earth; notwithstanding which, I can't agree with those that will not allow of any religious Worship among them; it being the opinion of all Learned men, that no Nation is so Barbarous, but what has something of Religion, be it True or False. For they adore the Moon with unusual outcrys: and it is not improbable but that they pay the same devotion to the Sun, because they follow its Course as much as is possible, by changing the Pasture of their Cattle; for when the Sun comes to the Tropick of *Capricorn*; it has been observed that they feed their Cattle on the South-East side of the Rivulet, but when the Sun returns to the Tropick of *Cancer*, they go to the North side; if it happens to rain very hard, they shelter themselves in their Huts, seem to be fearful, and don't creep out till it be fair weather. Then they begin to be very merry, lifting up their heads and eyes to Heaven, which is Interpreted by us as a kind of thanksgiving: for, when they are asked why they hide themselves during the rain; they answer, That the *Great Captain* being incensed against them, does punish them with this Element, which he knows to be contrary to their Nature. By this *Great Captain*, they

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questionless understand the *Supream Being*; for if you speak to them of *God*, they are unwilling to hear it, and Punish such among them as make use of it; alledging that it is not sufficient to express the Glory of the *Supream Being*. If you talk of the Devil, they point to the Ground. Concerning the Resurrection, they are of opinion, that those that die near the Cape, shall a-rise again behind the Mountains: But perhaps all this they may have learned from the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*. They frequently skirmish with one another, commonly for the conveniency of Pastorage, so that sometimes 6 or 7 are left dead upon the spot.

Divers Nations of the Hottentots.

The *Hottentots* are divided into several Nations, known by different Names. Those Inhabiting near our Fort, are by the *Dutch* call'd *Cape-men*, but in their own Tongue *Chouriequa*; they are the most cunning of all the rest, by their frequent Commerce with the *Dutch* and other *Europeans*; they live for the most part upon Roots, Fish and Mussels. Somewhat deeper in the Country live those, commonly call'd *Tobacco Thieves*, because they used to steal the Tobacco out of the Fields, which is the reason the *Dutch* plant no more Tobacco there; in their own Tongue they are call'd *Korrochaukon*. There is another sort call'd *Chemakwa*, much more Potent and Richer than the *Cape-men*, yet don't approach in Power to the *Kochukwas*, who living still deeper in the Country, are accounted many thousand strong, and have vast herds of Cows and Sheep; they were then under the jurisdiction of two Captains, the first call'd *Odosoy*, the other *Monomana*. The first of these two had Married the Sister of our Interpreter's Wife in the Fort; and being invited thither by Mr. *Rietbeck*, the Governour, he at last, after much inquiry concerning his Quality, for fear of demeaning himself, gave him a visit. They rid out together a Hunting, when *Odosoy* had the misfortune to be set upon by a fierce Lyon, who certainly would have torn him to pieces, had not his followers kill'd the Lyon with their Javelins; however he did not escape without being sorely wounded on the neck, the flesh was all torn from one of his shoulder blades, and his face all miserably maul'd: Being judged past recovery, the Governor offered him his own Surgeon, but he would not accept of him, trusting more to those of his own Nation; tho' the skill of these Surgeons among the *Hottentots* reaches no farther than to cure a green wound, which they scarce ever perform without leaving a great dent or seam. They carry their remedies about them, and commonly have a Parrot or some such Creature (not unlike our Mountebanks) a-long with them. Their herbs they keep in Tortoise-shells, but the roots, claws, teeth, and horns of Beasts (these being the Ingredients of their Physical Preparations) are fastned to a string which they in the same manner as our Tooth-drawers hang about the neck.

There is another Nation of the *Hottentots* call'd by the *Dutch Sardinia-men* or *Saldanhas* (from a Bay of that Name) the Natives call them *Krijegockwa*. Some of the *Hottentots* relate, that to the North-East of those call'd *Kochukas*, there is a Potent Nation dwelling in stone-houses, that they are not as black, and governed by the same Laws we are. Some suppose them to be a People inhabiting the Mountains of the Moon, but considering they are said to understand Gold and Silver, and to agree in many other things with the *Europeans*; our People judge them to be a Colony of the *Portugueses* that have Transplanted themselves thither from *Mozambique*. The *Dutch* have several times attempted to find out a passage thither by Land, but without Success, having always been forc'd to turn back for want of Water. They also talk much of two other Nations call'd *Hongumqua* and *Grooman*. The *Hottentots* or Inhabitants here are not subject to one Head, and what reverence they pay to their Captains, is more out of custom than any sense of Duty; they have no fixt Habitations, but lead a vagabond life like the antient *Scythes* and *Arabians*, carrying their Wives and Children a-long with them. They are not very desirous of Gold and Silver, unless some few that Converse with the *Dutch*, and know the conveniency of buying from them what they stand in need of; for otherwise Copper is in greatest esteem with them. Boats they have none, being extreamly fearful of Water, and therefore venture seldom further than to their knees. They are of a very lazy temper; most of their Traffick consists in Cows and Sheep, which they exchange for Copper and Corals; but after the bargain is struck, they expect an additional Present of Tobacco, Pipes and Brandy, which has been introduced among them by Foreigners. The Sea-men do also sometimes swap with them for Ostrich Feathers, and small Tortoise-shells, call'd *Harego*. It is to be admired how they should make so much account of Copper, which they daily tread under their feet, it being certain that very good Copper-Mines are to be found hereabouts. The *Dutch* have at divers times attempted several Land Journeys into the Country; as for instance, in the Year 1660 when they discovered two new Nations, *viz.* The *Illunha* and *Namakkawa*; they supposed to have not been very far from the *Portugueses*, because they thought to have heard

1652. a Cannon-shot of any distance. The Inland Country swarms with wild Fowl, such as wild Geese, Ducks and Teal, but they are so shie, as not to come within reach of a Gun, which is the reason that the Governour's Hunts-man set up small Huts of green boughs, from whence he shoots them, this being the only way to come at them. Among the Mountains are abundance of Rocks, and some of them contain Fresh water in their Concavities. Several of our People [illegible] were going one day up the Mountains to take a view of the circumjacent Country, found a Certain Rock-stone of 4 Fathom long, and one and a half Broad being Hollow in the middle, of the depth of a quarter of a Yard, where they met with good store of true fresh Water. Here are Ostriches of an extraordinary bignels; they are so swift as to out-run a Horse when they set up their Wings, and thus by the help of the Wind are forced forward, no otherwise than a Ship under sail. Their large legs and foot are a great addition to them, by the help of which they trot on with such a force and nimbleness that like a Horse running down a Hill, they are scarce to be stopt. The same way of setting up their wings, has been observed in the tame Swans. But before we leave this Cape, I will give you a short account of the *Lyons Mountain*, the *Table Mountain* and *Table Bay*, as likewise of the *Robben Isle*.

The Table Mountain. There are two very high Mountains near this Cape, viz. The *Table Mountain* and the *Lyons Mountain*. The first is so call'd from it's standing on the top like a Table, being about two Leagues High, but small in Circumference, and for that reason of very difficult access. It is divided from another adjacent Mountain, call'd the *Devil's Mountain* by a vast Cliff. Towards the Sea side it is bare, without any Grass or Trees, but on the Land side you see very agreeable Woods, with many tall streight Trees fit for Building, and towards the foot abundance of lesser Trees for Fuel. Among the rest are great store of wild Almond-Trees, but the Fruit is very bitter; and if we may believe the *Hottentots*, Poisonous, wild Pine-Trees are here likewise in abundance, they grow very tall, but bear nothing but a [illegible]

Table Bay. The *Table Bay* lies in the Latitude under 34 deg. and some min. about 5 Leagues more to North, this being the most Southern Point of *Africa*. It is a very fine Bay, tho' on the South side of the *Robben Island* are some rocks call'd the *Whale*; a large Ship may Anchor in this Bay, from 9 to 7 Fathom Water, but Yachts at 4 or 5 Fathom in a good Sandy Ground. There is however no trusting to a Single Anchor, by reason of the blustring South-East Winds which blow often here.

1652. *Robben Island.* At the entrance of the *Table Bay* you see the *Robben Island*, thus call'd from the vast quantity of *Sea Rabbets*, *Sea Rabbets* which are found here. It is not very high, and about two Leagues in Circumference. In the Town some Rabbets have been put by the Inhabitants which thrive very well. The ground produces a certain herb in great plenty; it has yellow leaves almost like Cowslips which fatten the sheep exceedingly.

Dassen Island. To the North-East of the *Robben Island* lies the *Dassen Island*, under 34 deg. 23 min. It has got its name from the vast numbers of *Dassen Dees* which formerly were found there, but are of late Years much diminish'd. It is about a League in Compass, and produces likewise many Sea-Rabbets and Pinguwyns. It is Inhabited by four Families only with their Slaves, whose chief employment it is, to breed Piggs and Poultry, and to draw Oil from the Sea-Rabbets, which they sell to the Inhabitants living in and near the Fort. Before the Bay of *Saldanha* are several small Islands, where those of the *Dassen Island* have their liberty of Fishing and Hunting; they catch vast quantities of Partridges, Mullets and other Fish. The two chief Rivers of this Cape, are the *Salt* and *Fresh Rivers*. Besides these, there is another Rivulet which arising from among a Neighbouring wood, exonerates it self in the *Salt River*. It is not above 12 or 14 foot broad, but very deep. Not far from the Source of this, arises another Rivulet among the Marshes near the *Hlack Bay*. It runs South-East thro' the Downs, which extend as far as *Cabo falso* and discharges it self into the Sea.

The Cape of good Hope. No place in the World is more subject to Storms than the *Cape of good Hope*, so that it would be impossible for Ships to abide here, *Storms.* had not Nature provided against these inconveniences by the several commodious Bays that are here. Among these the Bay of *Saldanha*, commonly call'd *Sardinia* is none of the least Consequence, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor without the least danger, and were it not for the want of fresh Water, it might claim the preference before the *Table Bay* it self. The Winds blow generally throughout the Year very hard here, but especially the South-East Wind which blows from *October* to *April* call'd the *South-East Monzon*, and tears so terribly thro' the Cut, betwixt the *Table* and the *Devil's Mountain*, that except the Country and Ground were very smooth and hard here, it would be impossible for any Ship to ride it out; From *April* until *October*, the North-West Wind blows with not much less violence, call'd

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the *North-West Monzon*) but yet not altogether so fierce as the South-East Wind, there its violence is more observable on the Land-side of the Cliff. The main difference betwixt these two Winds here, is, that the South-East Wind always produces dry weather, whereas the North-West Wind brings rains which are very pernicious to the Fruit.

[illegible] what [illegible] to dis[illegible] the [illegible] Cape.

So soon as you come near the sight of the Cape, under the 34 deg. of Southern Latitude, you meet with certain Signs and Tokens, by which you may discover whether you are far from Land or not. I don't much wonder that some of the Ancient Authors who have given us an account of the *Indies*, affirm, that when they were at a loss to find out whether they were near Land or not; they used to let fly some Birds, and according to their flight, to direct their Course. Tho' this is out of date now, yet certain it is that the Birds are the best guide as to those who sail to the *East-Indies*: For at a great distance from the Cape, whilst you are yet in the open Sea; you meet with a peculiar kind of small Sea-Gulls, which foretel you your approach to this Cape. But as these come a-broad sometimes above 100 Leagues or more at Sea, they are but uncertain forerunners, but when you see another kind of large spotted Sea-Gulls appear, by those that are acquainted in these Seas call'd *Cape-Birds*, with speckled wings, you may hope to see Land in a very short time, and if you meet with some Turtle Doves, this puts it beyond all doubt. If you find Anchorage at 40 or 50 Fathoms depth, in a white Sandy Ground mixt with red, you may conclude your self to be upon the Sand-ridge of the Cape *d'Aguillas*, tho' you see no Land. If you come to the West of the *Cape of good Hope*, you will find, besides the aforementioned *Cape Birds*, certain hollow roots growing among the Rocks in the Sea, [illegible] which swim upon the Water; [illegible] *Portugal* [illegible] call them *Tombas*, and they [illegible] to be met with in vast quantities in the [illegible] *Bay*, just under the Fort, which the Chaloops and Boats are very careful to a[illegible] [illegible] so entangled together, that [illegible] no breaking thro' them with oars: [illegible] likewise found in the Seas of *Japan* and [illegible] great esteem among the Inhabitants, who [illegible] Pickles of these leaves, and use them [illegible] *Europeans* do Cucumbers, or the *In[illegible]ans* their *Achyar*.

The *Hottentots*, a barbarous Generation, [illegible] so in-natur'd at that time, that they would not exchange an Ox or any other sort of fresh Provisions with us, nay they made the [illegible] ring or places where we used to fetch our fresh Water, muddy; we fell rough upon some of them, but they being much stronger than we, pelted us with stones and made us retire; I was at that time with a Gun upon the *Table Mountain*, but could not come time enough to their assistance, but the next day several of us went well arm'd to give them another visit, and to fire at them in case they pretended to make any opposition, but they no sooner discovered our Arms, but fled with Wife, Children and their [illegible].

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Their departure from the Cape.

After we had stay'd there about three days a-shear, we set sail the 13th. of *March* from the Cape, steering our Course West-ward, in hopes to get sight of the Ship the *Drake*; but not meeting with her, we chose the open Sea, and advanced about 60 Leagues from the *Table-Bay*, under 34 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude. We continued our Voyage with pretty good success till the 18th. when about Noon we found our selves under 38 deg. 26 min. Southern Latitude, and 23 deg. 27 min. Longitude. The Compass shew'd due South and North. The two next following days proved very rainy and blushy, and the 27th. it Thundred and Lightned very hard, with strong Winds and much Rain, which ending at last in a violent storm, oblig'd us to take in all our Sails, under 39 deg. 20 min. Southern Latitude: The 1st of *April* we found our selves far to the North, being forced by the stream, and the weather continued windy and rainy, as it had been ever since the 27th of *March*; we found our selves then under 39 deg. 21 min. of Latitude, and 95 deg. 30 min. of Longitude, and had sail'd 36 Leagues in the last 24 hours. The same Night the Winds began to rise to that degree, that we were fain to take in our main sail, which continued to the 3d. when the Compass was changed to 15 deg. N. W. The 7th we sail'd 44 Leagues with a moderate Gale, under 38 deg. 13 min. The Rains and strong Winds continued till the 12th in the morning, when it began to clear up, and sail'd that day and night 46 Lea[illegible] 36 deg. 30 min. Latitude, and 9[illegible] min. Longitude. Then it began to [illegible] stery weather again. The 15th we found the Rising of the Sun at 24 deg. N. W. [illegible] being the first time since the 4th of the last Month, by reason of the strong weather. About Noon we were under 25 deg. 14 min. of Latitude, and 104 deg. 40 min. Longitude, having sail'd 34 Leagues in 24 hours. Towards Evening it began to be calm, but continued not long, the Winds and Rains infesting us by turns, till the 1st of *May*, when we found our selves under 12 deg. 18 min. Latitude, and 124 deg. 46 min. Longitude: We then proceeded in our Voyage with a good brisk Gale till the 3d, when in

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They are [illegible] of Sumatra.

in the night we were overtaken with a violent Travado with Thunder and Lightning which continued till the next following day. The 6th of *May*, early in the Morning, we discry'd the Coast of the Isle of *Sumatra*, about 4 or 5 Leagues from us, and to the Leward, a sail under 5 deg. 22 min. In the night the Wind blowing from the Land side we were forced to take our Course to the South. By the 9th we had not advanc'd above 6 or 7 Leagues a-long the Coast of *Sumatra*, being continually pestred with *Tra*[illegible], Thunder and Lightning; all our endeavours were to get above the flat point of the *Streights of Sunda*. The 12th we had pretty fair Wind and Weather, and about Noon found our selves under 6 deg. 5 min. In the Afternoon we sail'd forward with a moderate Gale, within a League and half of the forementioned Point to the N. N. E. of us, where we found 16 Fathom Water. The next day we found our selves about three Leagues from the said Point.

The Imperial Island.

The 14th we saw the *Imperial Island*, at about three Leagues distance, and the next following day discovered to the South East to East, about 5 or 6 Leagues from us, the *Princes Islands*, under 60 deg. 45 min.

The Princes Islands.

where we were becalm'd all the rest of the day. The 17th we found our selves under 17 deg. 10 min. about two Leagues from these Islands, and toward the Evening saw the utmost point of Land of the Isle *Java*, at 4 or 5 Leagues from us; The 18th we were becalm'd again, and the next following day advanc'd within two Leagues of the point of [illegible]; and 2 or 3 Leagues of the *Princes* [illegible]. We endeavoured to have pass'd be[illegible] them, but were prevented by a *Tra*[illegible] from the East. The 2[illegible]th being under [illegible] deg. 41 min, we were at 6 Leagues di[illegible] from the said Islands, and kept in sight of them the 21st and 22d, with an in[illegible] pass by them on the 23d; but being [illegible] came to an Anchor the same night [illegible] depth; the stream did run [illegible] strong to the S. W. The 24th [illegible] directly opposite N. N. E. to the [illegible] Evening, a Boat [illegible] came a-board [illegible], which was very welcome to [illegible] a Voyage. We came [illegible] Anchor at 3[illegible] Fathoms Wa[illegible] [illegible]ning so strong here, that [illegible] remain here this and the [illegible] during; which time fe[illegible] fresh Provisions came [illegible] we set sail again, [illegible] the violence of the stream [illegible] so that we were force[illegible] again, at 25 Fathoms [illegible] where we continued all the next day.

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The 28th we set up our sails again, but were forced soon after to cast Anchor, having the *Iulo* (the Isle) *Baly* to the N. E. Great *Pulo modi* to the E. and the Lesser *Pulo modi* to the South of us. Towards Evening we set sail again, but whatever we did could not reach the road of the so long wish'd for City of *Batavia*, being forced to come to an Anchor about half a League from the Isle of *Rotterdam* at 11 Fathoms Water. the 30th we put up our Sails once more, but with no better success, being oblig'd to cast Anchor again; which put us in mind of what befel us lately on the *Cape of good Hope*, where we met with the same ill success before we could double the Cape. However, the Wind turning fair in the Afternoon, we arrived the same Afternoon about 4 a Clock, (after a very tedious Voyage in which we had many sick) before the City of *Batavia*, where we cast Anchor at 4 Fathoms and a half depth. The next day I went ashoar, and took up my lodgings in that famous City, at one Mr. *Gerard Utsens*, till further Orders. In the mean time I was very curious in taking an exact view of this City and the circumjacent Country: Whilst I tarried at *Batavia*, an Embassy was sent from the General Director *John Maetzuicker* and the other Directors of the *East-India* Company, to the *Cham of Tartary*, who some few Years before, had Conquered the most Potent Empire of *China*, to treat about a free Commerce betwixt the two Nations, which had several times before, been attempted and sought for by the *Dutch*, but was as often refused by the *Chineses*. *Jacob de Keisar* and *Peter de Goyer* being appointed Ambassadors, two Yachts, *viz.* the *Kaukerk* and *Bloemendael*, Man'd with 90 men, and provided with several fine Presents for the Emperor were got ready for their Transport, and I was ordered to go a-board the *Bloemendael* in the quality of Steward.

They arrive at Battavia.

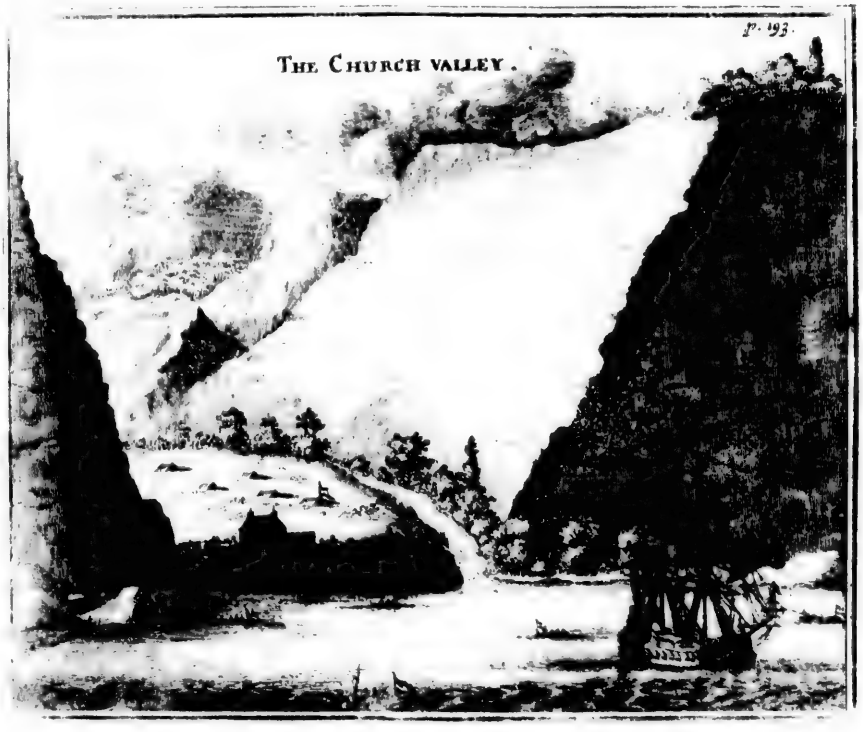
Mr. Nieuhoff sent to China

The Ambassadors Embark'd the 14th of *July* 1655, and set sail the same day from the Road of *Batavia*. The 4th of *September* they arrived in the City of *Kanton*, and the 4th of *May* 1656, in the City of *Nanking*, and the 16th of *July* at *Peking*. After some stay there, they returned the 21st of *November* to *Nanking*, to *Kanton* the 28th of *February* 1657, and came into the Road of *Batavia* the 21st of *March*, where they gave an account of their Negotiation to the *Dutch* Council of the *Indies*. Of all which I have given you an ample account in my *Chinese* Voyage, Publish'd first in *Low-Dutch*, and since Translated into several other Languages, and Printed at *Amsterdam* for *Jacob Meurs*, with many Cutts and Draughts of Places, living Creatures, Fruits and other Remarkable things.

After

1658. After my Return from thence, eight Ships were ordered to be equip'd and loaden for *Holland*, viz. The *Pearl*, *Prince William*, the *Orange*, the *Crowned Lyon*, *Achilles*, *Malacca*, the *Ulysses* and *Hector*. The Command in Chief of this Fleet was conferred upon Mr. *Keenes*, then first Director of the Council of the *Indies*, who Embark'd a-board the *Pearl* of 750 Tuns, man'd with 180 Men, and provided with 26 Guns. At his request I went a-board along with him in the *Pearl*, which carried the Flag, in order to my return into *Holland*, tho' my appointed time was not expired here. We set sail the 22d of *December*; and the last day of *March* 1658, arrived safely without any remarkable accident, (except that we met with some *Tornadoes*, which soundly toss't our Ship) at the Isle of St. *Helens*.

1658. *He returns from* Batavia *towards* Holland. *Arrival at* St. Helens.



The Isle of St. Helens. The Isle of St. *Helens* is situate under 16 deg. 15 min. of Southern Latitude, at a great distance from the Continent; lying at least 350 Leagues from *Augustin*, the next place of all. It is very surprising to conceive so small an Island at so vast a distance at Sea, round about which there is scarce any Anchorage, by reason of the vast depth of the Seas. It is about 7 Leagues in Circumference, covered all over with rocky Hills, which in a clear day may be seen 14 Leagues at Sea; the Valleys being stor'd with all sorts of Trees: so that tho' this Island is not very large in its compass, yet it comprehends a large tract of Ground by reason of those Hills. It has many fine Valleys, among which the *Church-Valley* and the *Apple-Valley* are the most remarkable. In the *Church-Valley*, you see to this day the ruins of a Chappel, formerly belonging to the *Portugueses*, the whole Valleys are Planted with Lemons, Oranges, and Pomegranate-trees. At that time the Island was destitute of Inhabitants, but since the *English* have made a settlement there. After the *Portugueses* left it, a certain Hermit, under pretence of devotion, used to kill great numbers of wild Goats here, and sell their skins, which the *Portugueses* having got notice of, they removed him from thence. At another time certain Negroes with two Female Slaves were got into the Mountains, where they encreased to the number 20, till they at last were likewise forc'd from thence. The Valleys are

1658. excessive hot, but on the Hills it is cool enough; tho' the Heat is much tempered by the Winds and frequent Rain showrs, which fall sometimes several times in a day; which, with the heat of the Sun-beams, renders the Soil very Fruitful. It abounds in fine and cool Springs, which fall down from the tops of the Hills, the Water being as clear as Crystal, and exonerating it self at last into the Sea; it is very pleasant to behold the Sea men at their arrival here, to drink, wash and bath themselves in these Spring Waters. Most of the Fruits and Beasts which are produced here in great plenty, have been first brought hither by the *Portuguese*; as for instance, Orange-trees, (of which you may see whole Woods) Pomegranate-trees and others, which bear Fruit throughout the whole Year. Here are likewise Mustard-leaves, Partly, Sorrel, Purslin, Wintercresses and other such-like herbs, which are very good against the Scurvy; neither is this Island destitute of Trees, but such as are not fit for Timber, but only for Fuel. It abounds likewise in Beasts; wild Goats are here in vast numbers, but very difficult to be taken, by reason of the many Rocks. Tame Hogs were brought hither by the *Portuguese*, which have Multiply'd to Admiration, but are degenerated into wild ones, and are not easie to be kill'd for the aforementioned reason. Thus it is with the Partridges, wild Pigeons and Peacocks, which are here in vast Plenty, but are so shy, that so soon as they see any one Approach, they fly from one Hill to another cross the Valley, so that you must be an hour before you can come at them again, which when you have done, you are in danger of losing your labour, for they return commonly from whence they came. The only way to catch them, is to go a-broad with a good Company. It produces no ravenous or Poisonous Creatures, except large Spiders and Flies. All about the Island you see vast Multitudes of Sea-Gulls, which feed on the Fishes in which the Sea abounds. Here you meet likewise with several Colours fit for Dyers, especially with a most excellent red Colour, and with very fine white Salt, made out of the Sea-water, by the heat of the Sun-beams. By reason of its great distance from the Continent, the Seas hereabouts are covered with Fishes, such as Mackarel, Carps, &c. They are not to be catch'd with Nets by reason of the vast depth, but with a Hook, or only an Iron Nail bent, you may catch as many as you please; Craw-fish, Crabs, Oysters, and Muscles are likewise to be found in vast quantities near the Sea shoar. After we had sufficiently refresh'd our selves here, and provided what necessaries we thought fit, or could get, we left this Island the last day of *May*: We continued our former Course, and without any remarkable accident, came in sight of *Holland*, and the 6th of *July*, 1658 arrived happily at *Amsterdam*. I took up my Lodgings at my Brother *Henry Nieuhoff's*, whom as well as most of my other Friends, I had the good fortune to find in good health. Many of the most curious Persons of that place came daily to see me, to take a view of the *Chinese* Characters, and other draughts I had brought a-long with me.

They depart from St. Helens.

1658. *Arrives in Holland*

After I had tarried for three Months in *Holland*, and dispatch'd my business both here and in *Zeland*, I delivered the Journal of my late Voyage into *China* to my Brother, in order to have it review'd and Printed, at the request of several Persons of Quality; with an intention to take a second Voyage to the *East-Indies*, with the first fair opportunity, which was soon after offered me by the Directors of the *East-India* Company. 5 Ships lay then ready for the *East-Indies*, under the Command of Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde*; viz. the *Arnheim*, burthen 500 Tuns, with 40 Guns and 430 Men, *John Tymensz* Master; the second the *Pearl* and three Yachts; I was ordered a-board the first. We set sail all together from the *Vlie* the 22d of *Dec.* 1658. The Ship the *Arnheim* at her entrance into the Sea, struck upon the Sands and was in some danger of being stav'd, and another ship run foul upon her, by which she lost part of her Gallery; but by God's singular Mercy, we got clear again the next high Tide, and continued our Voyage with the rest.

Nieuhoffs second Voyage to the East-Indies.

The 16th of *March* 1659, we arrived safely at the *Cape of good Hope*, where we cast our Anchor. The 22d, the *Pearl* with the other three Yachts came likewise to Anchor in the same Bay. The first thing we did was to take care of our Sick, of which we had not very many, but 12 died in the Voyage; we went every day a-shoar to fetch fresh Water, Fuel, and what Provisions we were able to get; sometimes we catch'd good store of Fishes. One day several of us went a-shoar to shoot some wild Foul; but advancing pretty high up the *Table Mountain*, we unawares espy'd a sleeping Lyon, at no great distance from us, which made me soon retreat, telling my Companions it was dangerous to awake a sleeping Lyon, who were glad as well as I, to make the best of their way backwards.

1659. *Arrives at the Cape of good Hope.*

After a stay of 14 days at the Cape, we set sail again, and with a much more prosperous Gale, than I had in my last Voyage, arrived safely on the Coast of St. *Jave*, where just as we got sight of that Island, Mr. *Adrian Aelmonde* died, to our great grief, his

He leaves the Cape.

his Corps was carried to *Batavia*, where it was honourably inter'd.

1659.

His arrival at Batavia.

The 18th of *July* 1659, we came to an Anchor before the City of *Batavia*, after a Voyage of about 7 Months; during which, there hapned Scarce any thing worth taking notice of. After I had delivered up the Marchandises under my charge, and my accounts. I took a turn to the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, *viz.* to *Jambe* and *Padane*, which produce abundance of Pepper, some Gold, and Salt-Peter, and returned the 10th of *December* to *Batavia*.

Goes to Amboina.

Not long after, I was ordered on Board the Ship *Henrietta Louisa* bound for *Amboina*, *Gerard Gerardson* a Native of *Flussingen* Master, laden with Rice and Provisions. We set sail from *Batavia* the 23d of *Dec.* 1659, and in a Month after got among the Rocks near the Point of *Bimaer*, being forced thither by a Whirlpool, which turn'd our Ship within the Compass of three times the length of the Ship, as swift as the nimblest Horse could run; we were within a few Yards of having been struck against a Rock, but had the good fortune to escape without much damage, and after some *Travado*'s at last got into the Road of *Amboina* not without great difficulty, by reason of the swiftness of the stream there, and cast Anchor at 36 Fathoms depth. We were very kindly received by Mr. *Jacob Hustard* the Governour of *Amboina* a man of singular Probity and Conduct. After the Ship was unladen, and I had delivered my Cargo, the Governour and I resolved to take a *Tower* in the small Circumjacent Islands. Among the rest we visited the Island of *Buero*, where the Inhabitants made us heartily welcome after their way, and drunk to us merrily in Cups made of the leaves of Trees.

The Isle of Bouro or Buero.

The Isle of *Bouro* or *Buero*, is situate about 24 Leagues off *Amboina*, being near 30 Leagues in Compass. The Sea especially on the South side, of a vast depth, from whence the shoar rises by degrees, and surrounds the whole Island like a steep Wall. The South Wind produces both high and low Water here. In the Island of *Buero* are Mountains which reach to the very skys: Near the Bay of *Tamaboo* are high Mountains of the same Name, the Blue tops of which, Penetrate thro' the Clouds, and may be seen at 28 Leagues distance at Sea; tho' it be very difficult to distinguish them from the Clouds. The Bay of *Tamaboo* is surrounded with these Mountains. Hereabouts you see neither Houses, Huts, nor Inhabitants, but only Woods and Wildernesses. A certain River exonerates it self into this Bay; the Banks of which are on both sides full of green Trees. On the North East side of the Isle *Buero* in another Bay, called the *Bay of Kayelli*, which in some Places is two Leagues broad. The Sea shoar of this Bay is very Pleasant, by reason of the many Woods and Wildernesses. Here you see great store of green Ebony Wood-trees, but the Wood is somewhat knotty: within the Marshy Grounds adjacent to the middle of the Bay, is a whole Wood of Trees as hard as Iron, and of a redish Colour; the *Dutch* call them Lary-trees.

1659.

The Bay of Kayelli.

The constitution of this Island.

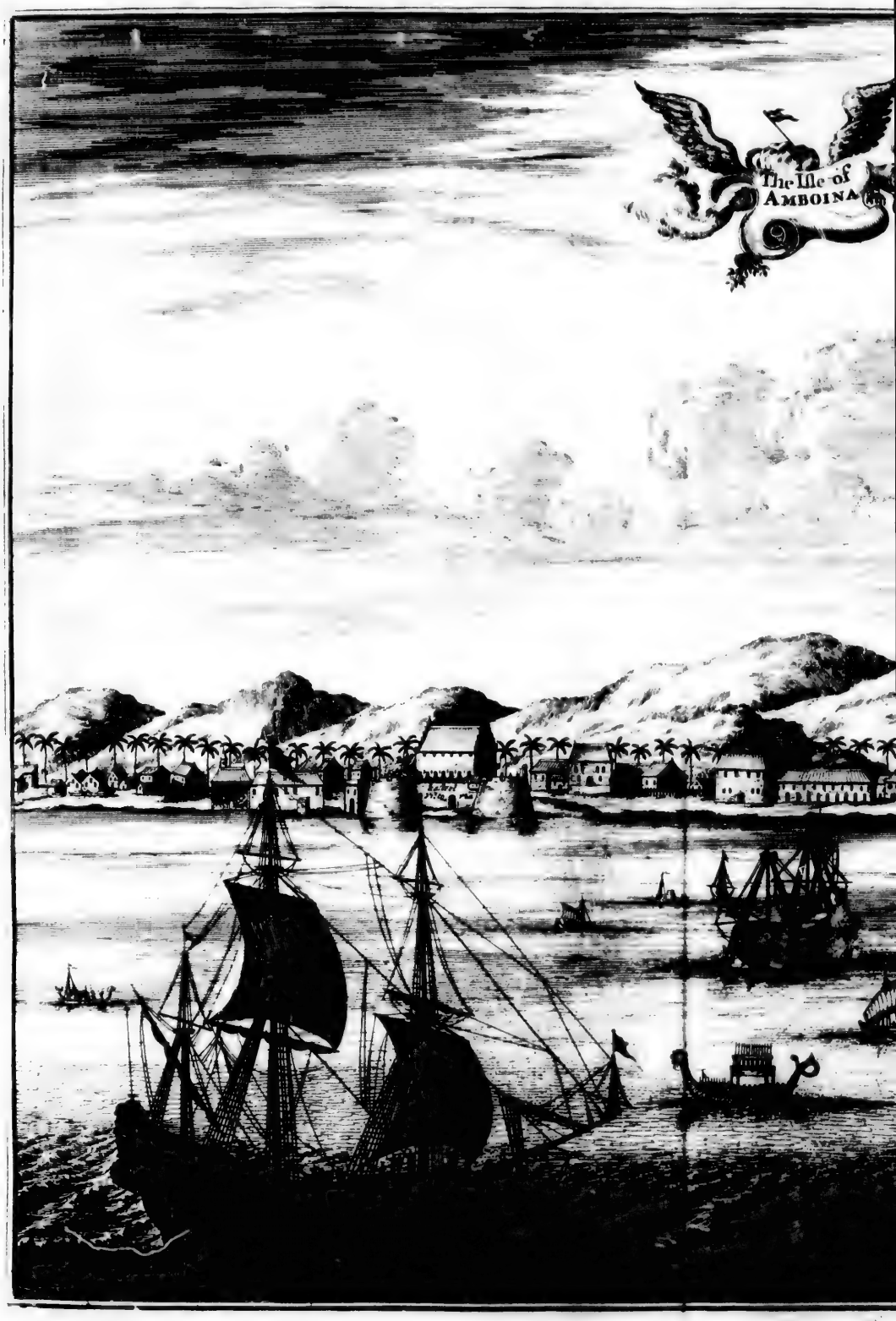
The Island *Buero* is very fertile and abounding in Trees near the Sea shoar. It produces *Coco* and *Banana*-trees, *Pynang*, green Ebony Wood-trees, Potato's, Beans, *Katjang* (a certain kind of Pease) *Millet*, or *Indian-Wheat*, Tobacco, Lime-trees, and divers sorts of herbs. In the Mountains are Civet-Cats, and the Inhabitants have a peculiar easie way of taking the Civet from them which they sell very cheap. In short the whole Country is full of Fertile Grounds, and Pleasant Woods; and is watered with many fresh Water Rivers; the worst of all is, that it is much subject to Earthquakes.

In the Isle of *Buero* lives among other beasts a Certain strange Creature, which by the *Indians* is counted among the number of Monsters. It is of the bigness of a large Dog, or of a Roe-buck, of a dark brown and gray colour, the hair like our Grayhounds. The Head and Mouth like a Hog, with small Eyes and Ears, the Tail curls twice or thrice, and the Legs and Claws like those of a Roe-buck. The flesh is both by the Inhabitants and Strangers look'd upon as a dainty, and as good as Venison. The Circumference of its Mouth and Jaws is as big as a large Calf's Head, with very strong Jaw-bones; on both sides backwards to the Throat, are about 12 Teeth, but in the fore-part of the undermost Jaw-bone, 6 Teeth and 2 large ones in the upper part, which are covered by the Mouth. From the middle part of the undermost Jaw-bones issue forth two large Teeth which pierce the Mouth. They are a Foot long each, about an Inch thick, and somewhat crooked like those of the wild Boar. Out of the upper Jaw-bones sprink forth two Horns, on each side one, of an Inch thick, a quarter of a Yard long, smooth like Teeth, and turn'd like a hook at the end, which makes it appear at first sight, as if it were Armed with 4 Horns.

On the North-East of the Isle of *Buero* are the following Villages: *Waifelonga*, *Fogi*, *Wainite*, *Tamaboo*, *Palmatte*, *Hokonima*, *Bara*, *Liciela*, *Waifamma*, *Ilat* and *Romaite*; The eight first of these Villages were in 1653, burn'd to the Ground by the *Dutch*, with all their Boats, the Inhabitants having revolted against them. This Island is under the

the Jurisdiction of the King of *Tarnate*. In the Year 1660, the *Dutch* built a Fort with four small Bastions, provided with convenient habitations for the use of the Garrison in this Island, to keep out those of *Makassar*. It was nam'd *Mandayskaa* after the then King of *Tarnate*. The Natives of *Buero* are pursuant to their Capitulation made with the *Dutch*, obliged to inhabit round about the Bay of *Kavelle*, where they are possess'd of about 14 Villages under the *Dutch* Protection: Their Houses are neatly built of Cane, and some have convenient Appartments; and for the improvement of the adjacent Grounds, are obliged to cut down and burn the Trees [illegible], and to turn them into Fields, Gardens and Orchards. Before that time, they lived only in wretched Huts built along the Sea-Shoar among the Woods. They are very black, and like most of the Inhabitants of the other Neighbouring Islands, almost naked both Men and Women, having only a piece of stuff to cover their Nakedness, from the Wast down to the Knees; but Girls and Boys till they are Twelve Years old, go quite Naked. A young fellow that has a mind to Marry a certain Maid, may soon obtain her, by making a small Present of eatables, or any other thing of no value to her Parents. As soon as a Woman is brought to Bed, she goes streight to the next River, where she washes both her self and the Child, and so returns to her usual employments, in the mean while the Husband is attended and made much of in the Wifes stead. They bemoan their dead Neighbours and Friends with Lamentable out-crys, but after the Corps is buried, they Dance, Sing, Feast and make Merry. Their Graves are made of Brick-work, with Stones and Clay, to preserve them against the Wild-Beasts. The common food of the Natives is *Zagow*, Millet, Rice, and dry'd Fish. They are for the most part Mahometans, tho' some retain much of Paganism, and adore the Crocodiles. In the Year 1650 one *Madira* Governour for the King of *Ternate* in the Isle of *Amboina*, having taken up Arms against the *Dutch* in *Amboina*, the Inhabitants of *Buero*, as well those under the Kings as *Dutch* subjection, join'd with *Madira* with so much obstinacy, that they chose rather to die than to leave *Madira*; and in 1652 killed four Sea men belonging to a Vessel call'd the

1659.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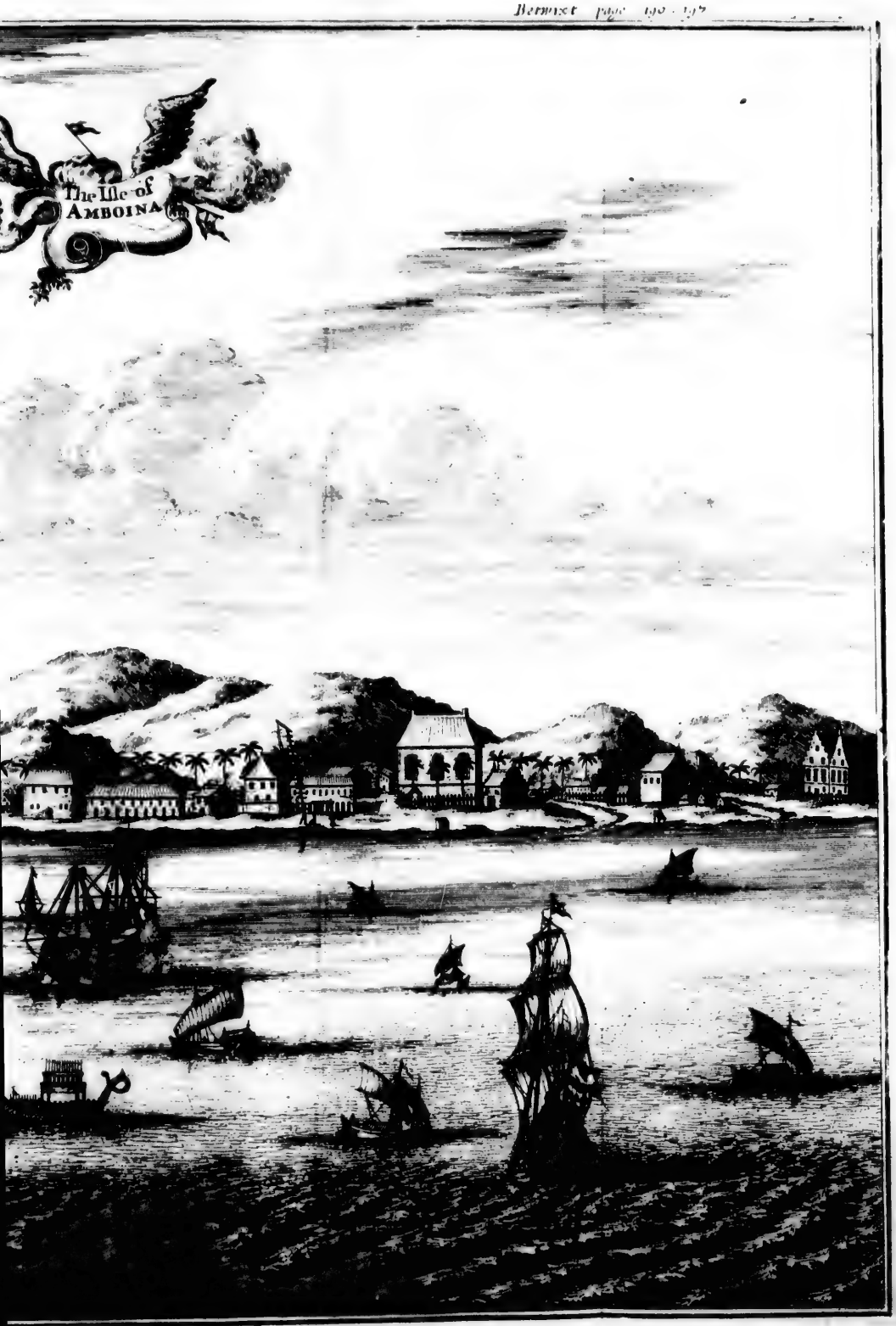
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The Village Way.

1659. the *Gosis*, who ventured too far into the Woods. Mr. *Arnold Viaming van Outshoorn* being 1652, sent with a strong Squadron of Ships to *Batavia*, and from thence to *Amboina* and *Bacan* to bring the Inhabitants to reason; having understood their Barbarous proceedings, burn'd all their Boats, and the before mentioned Villages. The King *Mandasiaa* came a-long with him in Person, having before concluded a Peace with the *East-India* Company at *Batavia*.

After we had taken a full view of this Island, we returned to *Amboina*, where the Governour gave a Splendid Entertainment to the chiefest Officers of the Company, and some of the Courtiers belonging to the Kings of *Amboina*. After dinner we play'd together, and they seem'd to well satisfied, that it might easily be seen there was a good Correspondence betwixt them and the Company at that time. In the mean while my Ship having been laden with sixteen Tuns of Cloves and some other Commodities, I took my leave from Mr. *Hustard* the Governour, and the 3d of *May*, directed my Course back towards *Batavia*. Under the Government of this Mr. *Hustard* were at that time all the *Moluco* Islands, whose Business it is to keep a strict eye over them, for fear they should export Cloves. But before I quite leave the Isle of *Amboina*, I will give you a description of its Situation, and what else is worth our Observation there.

The Author's departure from Amboina.

The Isle of Amboina.

The Isle of *Amboina* or *Amboino* is by some numbered among the *Moluco* Islands, because it produces great store of Cloves like the *Moluco* Islands. It is Situate under 3 deg. Southern Latitude, about 24 Leagues from the Isle of *Banda*, and consequently nearer the Coast of *Malacca*, than any of the *Moluco* Islands. It is 24 Leagues in Circumference, being divided almost in two Parts, by a vast Bay, or rather Gulph. It has a very fine Bay where Ships may ride safely at Anchor near the Shoar; about two Leagues within this Bay, is the *Dutch* Fort call'd *Victoria*. It appears like two Islands joined together by a neck of Land. About 60 or 70 Years ago, there were 57 goodly Villages or great Plantations, Inhabited by *Indians* and *Christians*, (some of which were of good strength, but many of them have been laid desolate, or at least are much decay'd by the intestine Wars.

The Village Way.

Among the rest *Way* was a very fine Plantation on the North side of the Island, half a League from the Sea-shoar, built upon a Rock, and defended by a good Breast-work; notwithstanding which, it was 1630 surprised by one *Komelaira*, the Inhabitants were Christians. Near this Village are abundance of Clove and *Zagus*-trees, and all a-long the Sea-shoar are several other Plantations of less note, all well provided with Clove and *Zagus*-trees. The Village of *Way* has this convenience, that it is well provided with fresh Springs, a thing of the utmost consequence in those hot Countries. 1659.

The Village *Nossenive* was situate upon a River on the West side under the Cannon of the Fort *Victoria*, being divided into three Plantations. The Country thereabouts abounds in Clove-trees; the Plantations of which extend as far as to the utmost Point of the Western Cape, and on the other side, as far as *Aber Kawouba*: The King or Captain of this District used to be formerly President of the Council of *Amboina*.

The Village of *Hitto* is very ancient, and built near the Sea side, under the Redoubt belonging to the *Dutch* Company, being the Capital of the whole District of *Hitto*.

Wawami. *Hawami* the head Village of all, lies above a League from the Sea shoar, upon a Hill near an *Egyptian* Mile high, unto which leads but one Passage, which in the midst is defended by strong Pallisado's, and the top of the Hill (which is of an Oval Figure) by a stone Wall. Betwixt the Hill and the Fort slides a-long a pretty River. Formerly this was a noted Place of retreat for the Inhabitants, who used to shelter themselves here.

Mousala. The Village *Mousala* is built upon a Mountain about a League and a half high; being so strong by Nature, as to be counted impregnable; notwithstanding which, it has been reduced by the Victorious Arms of the *Dutch East-India Company*, under whose jurisdiction they now live.

The following Plantations or Villages, were in 1630, under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch East-India* Company.

Rossenive. The District of *Rossenive* which comprehends *Rossenive*, *Amahoesse*, and *Hattoe*. *Rossenive* had in 1630, one *Andrew Rossenive* for their King or Captain; *Amahoesse* one *Domingos Costa Makkake*, *Peeta*, and *Hattoe*, one *Leissemesse*. These Villages were better Inhabited than most of the rest, the inhabitants making Profession of the Christian Religion, yet not without some mixture of *Mahometanism*, except those of *Amahoesse*, whose Captain was a good Christian, and lived much better that the rest; which shews that the chief defect lay in their Kings; for *Andrew Rossenive* was none of the best livers, tho' he could very artificially play the Hypocrite; he had no Wife but many Concubines; and tho' he was often admonished to marry, he continued obstinate in the same course, which gave great scandal as well to the Inhabitants as to the other Kings and Captains. The common People of this Town were al-

1659.

more teaks for the Service of the Com- [illegible] of the other Villages. For [illegible] Villages *Rikkikkes*, *Amahetse* and *Hatuse* [illegible] obliged to fupply and manage one half of the Governours *Korrakoors*, (or fmall Veffels of War) as the Villages of *Kieliang*, *Nakko* and *Hatuse* are bound to fupply the other half.

Kieliang was one of the moft confiderable Villages on the South fide of the Mountain [illegible] for diftant from the Sea [illegible] of no great ftrength. Near it [illegible] great ftore of [illegible] Under the Diftrict of *Kieliang* [illegible] and *Lasa* [illegible] Captain of *Kieliang*, but [illegible] the Governour not to be Chief [illegible] was a very honeft honeft [illegible] and Lance in the *Dutch* [illegible] Captain of *Negri*, and [illegible] *Lopes* of *Hatuse*, they were all three very good Chriftians.

Ema. Under the Diftrict of *Ema* are the Villages *Orkes*, *Leava* and *Rauta Lalaya*; Ma- [illegible] Captain of *Orkes*, [illegible] of *Ema*, [illegible] Under [illegible] Captain *Nadjos*. [illegible] They are [illegible] and profeft them- [illegible] except *Rauta* [illegible] which belongs to the Tribe of the *Oliffiwas*.

Hitu. To the Diftrict of *Hitu* belong the Villages of *Hitu*, *Oma* and *Amantelo*. They are obliged to find a *Korrakore* of 4 [illegible] well prepared, ready in the Service, and [illegible] Chriftians, and Friends the King [illegible] of *Oranjes*. They are of the Tribe of the *Oliffiwas*. *Laurenzo de Silva* is King of [illegible] *Mathews Akkelen* of *Hitu*, and *Jeronimo Tetelgee* of *Oerlatte*, and *Amante* [illegible]

Hative. Under *Hative* belong the Villages *Tawiey*, *Hative* and *Mardekka*. They furnifh'd [illegible] with 4 *Nadjos*. They are good Soldiers and Chriftians, and their Heads come frequently to the Communion. Their chief Heads are *Laurenzo Marcus* Captain of *Hative*, *Pe* [illegible] of *Tawiey*, *Laurens Mendes*, Chief man of *Hative* and *Mardekka*. The Inhabitants of *Mardekka* are the remnants of the *Portugueſes*, and fome oth [illegible] 1630 they conſiſted of 100, or 12 Men fit to bear Arms, [illegible] Slaves fet at [illegible] to did conſiderable Service to the State of [illegible] *aboina*; they [illegible] very good Chriftians and [illegible] faithful, and [illegible] extraordinary *Korrakore* of 4 [illegible] accounted themſelves to be of the Tribe of the *Oliffiwas*, their Chieftain was then *Antony de Coſta*.

Halou. To *Halou* belongs the Village *Hative-Kiſtiliel*; they are pretty well Peopled, and Chriftians, and furniſh a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*; *Diego Paes* was Captain of *Halou*, and *Adam Mavano* of *Hative Kiſtiliel*.

Pouta. *Pouta* has only two fmall Villages belonging to it, *viz. Kapa* and *Clers*; their Captains were *Stephen Teixera* of *Pouta*; *Manuel Lopes* of *Kapa*, and *Andrew Pardia* of *Clers*.

The Inhabitants of *Oertetmary* did revolt three times, but were in 1626, reduced to obedience by the then Governour Mr. *Gorkom*, they were then under the tuition of *Don Pedro de Oertetmary* their Captain, who was a very honeft Perſon, and ever ſince that time they have adhered faithfully to the Company. They are generally ſtout Soldiers and good Chriftians, for they frequent the Chriftian Congregations, and add more Children to our Schools than the other Villages do. They furniſh a *Korrakore* with 4 *Nadjos*, and are of the *Oliffiwas*. The four Villages of *Ouwien*, *Larik*, *Wikkaſſee*, and *Alfeleu* ſtand likewiſe under the Juriſdiction of the Company, they are all Blacks and ſtout fellows; they belong to the *Oliffiwas*, and acknowledge *Hittee* for their Captain, yet under the Protection of the Company. They furniſh a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. Thus the two Villages of *Alang* and *Lillekay* belong to the Company: The Inhabitants are Chriſtians except 3 or 4 Families at *Alang*. Of the laſt, one *Salvador* was Captain, and of *Lillekay*, *Bottiaan Kaſtango*. The Inhabitants are likewiſe of the Tribe of the *Oliffiwas*.

Oct. 11.

These ſix Villages are obliged to furniſh the *Dutch East-India* Company with a great quantity of Cloves; to wit 300 *Bahar per Annum* vaſt numbers of Clove-trees having been Planted hereabouts, about 1632, which are come to full Perfection ſince, and produce vaſt ſtore of Fruit. Thus 1636, the Planting of Clove-trees was ſo far encouraged on the South ſide of this Iſland, that each Family was obliged to Plant at leaſt ten Trees every Year, the Ground being very fit hereabouts for this purpoſe; they were alſo not negligent in Planting *Ceco* and other Fruit-trees. *Kamariay*, *Seriwawan* and *Kayrato*, are three Villages near the Sea ſhoar; the Inhabitants are abſolutely devoted to the Service of the Company, and appear ſometimes with an *Orangkay* at the head of them at the Fort. They adhere to thoſe of *Mariſſowa*, and belong to the *Oliffiwas*.

Near the Point of the Bay are four Villages, *Quelipapoety*, *Amaſſee*, *Marykque*, and *Savoukjue*. The firſt furniſhes a *Korrakore* with 3 *Nadjos*; the three laſt a *Korrakore* of 4 *Nadjos*. In the Village of *Amaſſee* lived at that time two young Lads, Sons of the *Orangkay*, who formerly had been Hoſtages with the *Dutch* Governours for ſeven years.

[illegible], but now were got into the Government of these Villages, and seem'd well inclin'd to the Company's Interest.

Mountains in Amboina. The Isle of *Amboina* has many high and steep Mountains, call'd *Gounen* by the Natives, which have several fair Villages built on the top, and are irrigated with very clear and fresh Water-springs. The Valleys serve for Walking Places, by reason of the many fine Trees that are planted there, as the Mountains serve the Inhabitants for a shelter against their Enemies in time of War, being for the most part inaccessible. There is a certain Rock here call'd the *Elephants Rock*, from its shape and bigness, from whence issues forth a Rivulet as clear as Chrystal, which slides gently thro' the adjacent verdant Plain, whence is a very pleasant walk up to the Rock.

The Air of Amboina. However the Air of *Amboina* is none of the wholsomest. There rages in this and the rest of the *Molucco* Islands, a certain distemper, both among the Natives and Strangers, which by its Symptoms resembles altogether the *French* Pox, for which reason the *Dutch* call it the *Pox of Amboina*) except that this is communicated without any carnal conjunction. In the Face, Arms and Legs, nay all over the Body appear certain crusty Boils, which either turn Schirrous, or if they come to a Suppuration, a slimy tough but sharp matter issues from thence, resembling in all its circumstances the *French Pox*, except that they are not so Painful neither corrode the Bones. This Disease is attributed to a peculiar constitution of the Climate and the Air, and the excessive use of Sea-fishes, and *Coco* Nuts call'd *Zago*, and of the Liquor call'd *Saguweer*. At first this distemper is easie enough to be cured, but if it takes root, not without great difficulty. They commonly apply the same remedies, as we do in the *French Pox*, in the Spleen and Dropsie; to wit, The Decoctions of *China*, *Sarsaparilla*, and *Guajacum*, and Purge them soundly betwixt while.

Its Constitution. The Isle of *Amboina* is pretty fertile; it produces Millet, Tobacco, Coco-Nuts, Potatos, *Pirang*, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Sugar, Bamboo Canes, and several other Fruits. Some Places here afford likewise Nutmegs, but in no great quantity, neither have they so good as those in the Isle of *Banda*, neither do they grow wild here, but the Trees are planted in Orchards. Neither are they destitute of divers sorts of Beasts, especially Roe-bucks and Hoggs, and have great store of Fishes; but the chief Products of *Amboina* are Cloves which grow wild here. They are call'd *Nagelen* (Nails) by the *Dutch* from their shape, being flat on the top, and sharp at the end. They call them also *Geroffel nagelen*, perhaps from the *Greek Karyophyllon*. In the *Molucco* Islands they call the Cloves *Caampe* or *C*[illegible], in the Isle of *Java Sianeke*, and in *Malacca*, *Synken* or *Thinka*; the *Arabians*, *Persians*, *Turks* and most of the *Indians* call them *Ka*[illegible].

The Clove-tree. The Clove-tree grows up in form of a Pyramid, its Branches sprouting forth close together. This tree is of the bigness of our Cherry-trees, but in the whole resembling most to a large Lawrel-tree, the Leaves being very near of the same shape; the Bark on the Stem is of a grayish colour like that of the Olive-tree. In the midst of each leaf is a large vein which sends forth many lesser Branches; these leaves grow on long stalks, sometimes single, but for the most part in clusters; those that grow near the extreamities of the Branches, are of a Purple colour, but the rest dark Green, if they are rubbed betwixt your hands they scent as strong as the Cloves themselves, and so do the Branches. On the extreamities of these Branches grow certain sprouts which produce certain Buds, and those again Flowers, sometimes 10 or 20 in a knott, which at last produce the Fruit, which are tough whilst they are growing, but hard when come to maturity. At first they are Green, then appear of a pale Red colour, as if the Trees were covered with Scarlet, affording a very agreeable sight to the beholders, because there is often more Fruit than Leaves on the Trees. The Blossom is white at first, not unlike our Cherry blossom, each leaf of the Flower having three small streaks; then they turn Green, afterwards Red, and last of all dark Yellow inclining to Black. They resemble in shape a Nail, with a small hollowness in the head, in which remains a thin skin which falls off as soon as it is touched. The Cloves are very hard of substance: When they see more Blossoms than Leaves they foretel great plenty of Fruit. The Blossom smells much finer and stronger in dry, than in rainy weather, and the first is look'd upon as the most Fruitful, it being common in a dry Season, to see more Blossoms than Leaves; tho' even in such a Season the Clove-trees don't hit always a-like, for every third or fourth Year, it is observed that they don't bear so plentifully as otherwise, just as if the Tree at that time did remit its vigour, spent the preceeding Years. The Cloves are gathered once a Year, *viz.* From the middle of *September* or beginning of *October*, till *February*, this being the best Summer Season here. Some are gathered, the rest beat down with Canes like Flails; but this last way is not so safe as the other, for unless they be very careful they bruise the tender spriggs of the Tree, which renders it the less fruitful the next

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'Tis true, the Clove-trees are planted for the Fruit ſake, nevertheleſs the Bloſſoms, Leaves, Sprigs, nay the Gumm it ſelf that iſſues from the Tree, are not deſtitute of an aromatick virtue, and afford very good Medicines; The *Indian* and *Portugeſe* Women Diſtil out of the green Cloves and Leaves, a Water and a Spirit, which is very Odoriferous and Cephalick; and an excellent Remedy againſt the Palſy, call'd by the Natives *Berbey*. Againſt the ſame diſtemper, they preſerve alſo the Cloves with Sugar, and draw an Oil both of Cloves and Leaves. Cloves boil'd in Milk are accounted a great provocative, they are very Cordial, and if chew'd, take away a ſtinking Breath. They make a pickle of the green Cloves, which are not ſo hot as the reſt, and provoke the Appetite. Perſons of Quality put green Cloves in Vinegar, which is a great ſtrengthener of the Stomach. The *Indians* call the Vinegar *Atzian*. 1659.

There is another kind of Cloves but not commonly known, being very ſcarce and dear. The *Indians* call them *Tsinka Papoha*, or curl'd Cloves, tho they might rather be call'd Ear-Cloves, becauſe they ſprout forth like the Corn-Ears. The *Dutch* call them *Royal Cloves*, becauſe they are in ſuch high eſteem among the Kings of the *Molucco Iſlands*, not ſo much for their excellent taſt and ſcent (in which they ſurpaſs all others) but for their ſcarcity's ſake; for, if we may believe them, no more than two ſuch Clove-trees are as yet found out, and that in the Iſle of *Makjan* only: One of theſe two Trees exceeds the other in bigneſs, but both are like the common Clove-trees, except that they are much Taller, and the Cloves bigger and of a different ſhape from the common Clove, as may be ſeen by the draught. *Royal Cloves.*

In the Iſland of *Ceilon* are likewiſe abundance of wild Clove-trees, but bear no Fruit. It is credibly affirmed, that in former times the Inhabitants of the *Molucco Iſlands* were ignorant as to the Uſe of the Cloves, till ſome *Chineſes* coming that Way found out their goodneſs, and from thence Tranſported them to *China*, and ſo farther to the *Indies*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and other Parts. The Iſlands *Ternate*, *Makjan*, *Mojor* and *Batsjan* did likewiſe in former days abound in Clove-trees; but purſuant to an agreement made with the Kings of the Iſlands ſome Years ago, the ſame have been rooted out.

In the Iſle of *Amboina*, grows likewiſe the wild Palm, or *Zagou*-tree, otherwiſe call'd *Papedo*. This Tree reſembles the other Palm or Coco-trees, the Leaves hanging downwards on the Branches, the lowermoſt of which Periſh commonly: This Tree bears but one Fruit, which is of no Uſe. The Inhabitants make Bread of the Pith of the young Trees; for on the top of the Tree grows a certain head like a Cabbage, in which is incloſed a certain white Flower, call'd *Zagou*, and the Bread made of this Flower, *Zagou manda*. This Flower they mix with Water, and *Wild Palm tree call'd Zagou.*

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CLOVE TREE

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and let it rise a little, then they put it in Earthen Pots, put burning Coals all round about it, and so bake it. This Bread whilst it is new, tastes very Sweet, and is of a very agreeable Scent, but soon grows dry, and is Brittle and Shining like Glass. They also mix this *Sagou* with water, and boil it like pap, into which they Squeeze one or two Limons, and so stir it about with a stick; it is very cooling, and of an agreeable taste. They eat it with a stick, which they put into the pap, and turn it round, till a sufficient quantity of the pap, which is very glutinous, almost like Turpentine, adheres to the stick; and so put it into the Mouth. Out of these young Trees they draw, like out of the Coco-trees, Liquor; they cut one of the Branches near the top, and in a hole made for that purpose, put a piece of hollow Bamboo Cane, (which in these parts are used instead of Tubs, Pails and Mugs) thro' which in a short time, issues forth a great quantity of Liquor as sweet as Honey, call'd by the Natives *Sagouweer* or *Sageweer*, but is somewhat harsher than the Liquor drawn from the true Coco-tree.

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In the Isle of *Amboina* they put a certain bitter Root, call'd by a general name *Oulat* into this Liquor, which preserves it for some time, for else this *Sagouweer* turns quickly as sowre as Vinegar, and is then used for such. They destill also a certain Liquor of it call'd *Arak*. This *Sagouweer* is the common drink and sold in Publick Houses for a Farthing a Glass, but used in great quantity, proves very obnoxious to the Nerves, especially whilst you are hot, when it must be taken with great precaution, else it will infallibly cause the Gripes in the Guts and Palsy's, call'd by the Natives *Beriberi*, which leaves a paleness in Peoples Faces for ever after. Sometimes they can draw 30 Quarts of this Liquor in 24 Hours, out of one single Tree. In the Isle of *Java*, there are likewise some of these *Sagou*-trees; but the Liquor, is, as far as I know, not valued at *Batavia*. They draw the Liquor out of these Trees till they die, and I was told that there was some of these Trees in the Woods of *Amboina*, which will give as much Liquor in 24 hours, as a Man is able to carry away upon his shoulders. Some other Islands belong to the Isle of *Amboina*, to wit, the adjacent large Country of *Ceram*; the Isles of *Manipa*, *Queiang*, and *Amblau*.

Amboina under the Dutch.

The Isle of *Amboina* is divided into two Parts; one of which is under the jurisdiction of the *Dutch East-India* Company; the other under the King of *Ternate*. Unto the Company belongs the Country of *Laitimor*, where is the Fort of *Victoria*, and the Wooden Fort *Wantrou*, and on the Pass of *Bageale*, the Redoubt call'd *Middleburgh*. The three Islands *Honia*, *Honomoa*, and *Nassalaur*, which produce great quantities of Cloves: The whole Coast of *Hittoe* with the Redoubts; the *Amstelldam* at *Hila*, the *Rotterdam* at *Larike*, and the *Leoden* at *Hittoe* and *Lamma*; and several small Wooden Forts at *Ouricn*, *Lebelehu*, *Ceit*, and *Way*. Under the King's jurisdiction are the Country and Coast of *Ceram*, the Isles *Amblau*, *Manipa*, *Boura*, and some others.

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The Fort Victoria.

The Fort *Victoria*, (the staple of the Company here) lies five Leagues deep in the Country, being defended by four Bulworks, a good Ditch, and a considerable Garrison, with suitable Provisions and Ammunition. During my stay here, there was a large Crocodile in the Ditch, which did vast mischief to the wild Fowl belonging to Mr. *Halbaal* the Governour, who took great delight in them Some Soldiers and others were ordered to place themselves whereabouts they suppos'd the Crocodile had his lurking Place, but could not meet with it; till at last the Crocodile on a suddain leaped towards the Secretary of the Governour, whom he had certainly devoured, had not the rest that were near at hand, with sticks and half Pikes kill'd the Beast, which was extraordinary large, immediately. Round about the Castle live several *Dutch*, *Chineses* and other Nations. Within and without the Fort is a Church, where Divine Service is held both in the *Dutch* and *Malecca* Tongue

Manners and Customs of the Amboinese.

The Men wear large Whiskers, but little hair upon their chin; they only cover themselves with a slight piece of stuff round the Buttocks and Belly. The Women tie their hair up in many knots: He that intends to marry a young Maid, buys her from her Father for Money; but if she proves Barren, the Marriage is null and void: In former Ages the Natives were a most barbarous People, Men-eaters and Pagans. Now a-days they are for the most part Mahometans, the rest are Christians, some *Roman Catholicks*, such as were converted by the *Portugueses*, others professing the Protestant Religion, which was first introduced there in 1647. The *Dutch* have erected Schools in all the Villages, to instruct the Youth in Reading, and Writing, and in the fundamentals of the Christian Religion. The Natives are generally brave, but very Deceitfull and Treacherous; they are naturally addicted to Laziness, and are so obstinate that they choose rather to die, than to leave their Ancient Customs. They make use of certain small Vessels, in time of war. They are very swift in their motion and managed by *Pagayen*, or Oars. They call these Vessels *Korrakore* and are shaped like a Dragon, the Head representing the fore-castle and the Tale the

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1659. Stern. They have alſo ſome leſſer Boats call'd *Paros*. Their Houſes are built of Bamboe Canes and *Zagoustrees*; They ſleep likewiſe in Bedſteds made of Bamboe Canes, or ſometimes upon Mats only.

Their Weapons. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, Half-Pikes, Javelins, Cymeters, Targets, and Firelocks, all which they manage with great Dexterity; as well as the Darts. They have alſo a kind of hollow Pipes, out of which they ſhoot great Numbers of ſmall poyſon'd Arrows; the Wounds made with them prove commonly mortal, unleſs the Poiſon be removed immediately by cutting it out.

Their Women. The Women of *Amboina* are very Laſcivious, and extreamly deſirous of the Chriſtians; If they find themſelves diſappointed in their Expectation, or that they are left by their Gallants, they have a way of infecting them with a certain Poyſon, the Operation of which is ſo ſlow, that they die a lingring Death, neither can they cohabit with any other Woman, unleſs they receive proper Antidotes from the ſame Woman that poiſoned them. Many *Chineſes* live in *Amboina*, tho' for the moſt part among the *Mahometans* at *Hittoe*, *Lecboe* and in *Ceram*. In the Year 1636. at the Requeſt of King *Hittoe*, three or four *Chineſes* were permitted to ſettle under him, with this Limitation however, that they ſhould pay the uſual Taxes to the *Dutch* Receiver General of *Amboina*; afterwards one *Chineſe* was allow'd to live in each Village, to provide them with diſtill'd *Arak*. About the Year 1636. the Slaves belonging to the *Dutch* had got a Cuſtom to run away from their Maſters, and to ſhelter themſelves among the *Mahometans*, but ſeveral being puniſhed with Death, purſuant to a Proclamation publiſhed for that purpoſe, the reſt were ſo terrified thereat, that no ſuch thing was heard of for a great while after. Certain Negro Chriſtians dwell likewiſe in *Amboina*, commonly call'd *Mardijkers*.

Courts of Juſtice in Amboina. There are three Courts or Councils belonging to the *Dutch* in *Amboina*; Firſt the Court Martial; Secondly, the Civil Court of Juſtice, and thirdly, the Great Council, or Council of State.

The Court Martial uſed to meet every *Monday* and *Thurſday*, Compoſed of the Governor, the Head Factor, and Under Factor of the Company, a Captain, a Lieutenant, one of the Eldeſt Serjeants, and a Secretary; Theſe took Cogniſance of all Matters relating to the Soldiers and Garriſons.

The Civil Court of Judicature was kept in the Town, conſiſting of four Officers of the Company, of four of the chiefeſt Inhabitants, and of four or five *Orankays* of the Council of State; Beſides which they had two Clerks, one a *Dutchman*, and the other a Native of *Amboina*; and two Attendants. The *Head Factor* in the Caſtle was Preſident here; they took Cogniſance of, and gave Sentence with the Governor's Approbation, in all civil and criminal Caſes, neither had the Villages any right of exerciſing of Juſtice without them.

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The Council of State or the *Orangkays* of the Chamber, who in Conjunction with the Governor, and his Councellors were to deliberate concerning all publick Affairs, ſuch as the Equipping of *Korrakoren*, or the Management of a War againſt an Enemy; had their Seats appointed thus.

Andrea King of *Roſſenive*.
Manuel the old King of *Kieiang*.
Laurentz de Sylva King of *Soya*.
Simaon Ema Captain of *Ema*.
Laurenzo Marcus Captain of *Hative*.
Diego Pati Halloe Captain of *Halloe*,
Anthony da Coſta Captain of the *Mandijkers*,
Don Pedro Captain of *Vettomoery*.
Salvador Paty Alang Captain of *Alang*.
Simon Baguala Captain of *Baguala*.
John Barkabeſſier Captain of *Way*.
Stephen Tercera Captain of *Pouta*.
Pedro Anthonio Captain of *Tacieri*.
Fernando Latachalat Captain of *Roſſenive*.

How Amboina came under Ternate. In former Ages the Iſland of *Amboina* was ſubject to its own Kings, till it was reduced under the Obedience of the Kings of *Ternate*, which, according to the Relation of the Inhabitants happened thus:

Many Years ago reign'd a King in *Ternate* call'd *Babou*, Son of *Chieroen Diamelou*, who having been the firſt that introduced *Mahometiſm* there, was in great Eſteem with the Mahometan Prieſts, who to this Day pay a great Veneration to his Memory. In the mean while ſome Differences being ariſen betwixt the Villages of *Warnalete* and *Makatir*, belonging to the Diſtrict of *Warnoela*, and the laſt being unable to cope with thoſe of *Warnalete*, they underhand fought for Aid by King *Babou*; who having granted their Requeſt, ſent a good Fleet of *Korrakoyen* under the Command of his Councellor *Samarou*, to the Cape of *Seragi*, betwixt *Erang* and *Liſſidy* where they came to an Anchor; The Inhabitants of *Cambello*, who as well as thoſe of *Erang* and *Liſſidy* had ſubmitted to King *Babou* againſt thoſe of *Makatir*, adviſed the Inhabitants of *Warnalete* to go to meet *Samarou*, and to purchaſe his Favour by ſome Preſents, which being done accordingly, they all attackt in Conjunction with *Samarou* thoſe of *Makatir*, and

1659. and forced them to Submission; but *Samarou* not thus satisfied, reduced all the circumjacent Islands under his Kings Obedience; so that this Island owed the Loss of its Liberty to the intestine Divisions of its Inhabitants; *Samarou* returning home Victorious, was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Affection by King *Sabou*, who, in Reward of his Service honour'd his Son *Robobongo* with the Title and Dignity of *Salahakkum* or Stadtholder of these conquer'd Countries; having before been dignified with the Title of *Kimelaha*, which his Successors in the Stadtholdership have retained ever since, tho' it be certain, that not *Kimelaha* but *Salahakkum* signifies a Stadtholder in their Tongue. After the Death of *Robobongo* his Eldest Son *Adja* Succeeded him in the Stadtholdership, who was Succeeded by his Brother *Bassi Frangi*. After him came *Frangi*, who for his Treachery was Beheaded by *Sabadiin* of *Leubou* his Brothers Son. *Leliatte* Son to *Bassi Frangi* then thrusts himself into the Government without Consent of the King, and following the Footsteps of his Predecessor, receiv'd the same Reward. He was Succeeded in the Stadtholdership by *Madira* Son of *Sabadiin* the seventh in Order, our Company having made use of all their Interest with *Hamsia*, King of *Ternate*, to procure him that Dignity, in Consideration of the singular Kindnesses they had receiv'd from his Father. But they soon found themselves mistaken in their choice; for this *Madira* of the antient Race of the *Temegoes*, of which *Samarou* was the first, rebell'd 1650. against the King, and with the Assistance of the Inhabitants made himself Master of several strong Holds; to wit: *Amboau*, *Manipa*, *Lissidy*, *Hatua* the lesser, *Mauculi*, *Laala* and *Neussatelo* plunder'd all that opposed him, and kill'd about 80. Persons belonging to the *Dutch* Company. One *John Pars* Captain of *Hatuwe*, *Tawiro* and *Hukenaro*, living near the Fort of *Amboina*, was shrewdly suspected to have had a hand in this Conspiracy, which *Simon Kos* (who commanded in the Absence of *Arnold-Outshoorn*, at *Amboina*) having got notice of, secured him in the Fort, till the Arrival of Mr. *Outshoorn*, when the War broke out with great Violence on both sides.

Madira rebels against the King of Ternate.

How the Portugueses came Masters of Amboina.

The *Portugueses* made themselves Masters of *Amboina*, 1546. in the following manner: At the time when *Anthony Galvan* was Governor of *Ternate*, a great Fleet of small Vessels belonging to the Island of *Java*, *Banda*, *Macassar* and *Amboina* was sent to the *Molucco* Islands to fetch Cloves; *Galvan* being advertis'd thereof, and fearing lest they should by this means spoil the Spice Trade, of the *Portugueses*, armed about 25 *Korrakoren* with 40 *Portugueses*, and 400 Auxiliaries; These, under the Command of *Jacob Supi Azevedi* Admiral of the Sea, *Molukse*, steer'd their Course towards *Amboina*, where meeting with the *Indian* Fleet, they Attack'd and Routed them, taking many of their Ships with good store of great Cannon, and a considerable Summ of ready Money; *Azevedi* willing to improve this Opportunity, Landed in *Amboina*, the Inhabitants of which being terrifi'd at their last Defeat, did for the most part submit to the *Portugueses*, and receiv'd such Laws as they thought fit to prescribe to them; which done, *Azevedi* loaden with Glory and Spoils, return'd as a Conqueror to *Ternate*. After that time the *Portugueses* used always in their Voyages from *Malacca* to the *Molucco* Islands, and in their Return from thence, to provide themselves with fresh Water at *Amboina*, till 1603. this Isle was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueses*, who got a vast Booty there; tho' the *Dutch* are not very fond of living in *Amboina*, being a place of no great Plenty.

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We set Sail, as I told you before, the 3*d*. of *May* from *Amboina*, and with a brisk and prosperous Gale arriv'd the 29*th*. before *Batavia*.

No sooner was our Ship unloaden, but I received Orders to go a-board the Ship *Achilles*, *John Vander Werven* Master to *Japan*. Every thing being got in readiness for our intended Voyage, I took my leave from the Directors of the Company, and the 28. of *Jul*. set Sail with 15 Ships more, Mr. *John Vander Laen* being Commadore, with Orders to Sail to *Teywan*, to Attack the City *Makao*, (a populous place, and Defended by a Garrison of 600 Men) and to observe *Coxingas*. But scarce were we come within sight of the Isle of *Anyam*, when we were overtaken by so terrible a Tempest, that I can safely affirm, I never saw the like in my Life, and that it is past my Skill to express it; The Waves rising sometimes to that height, that the very Tops of our Masts could not be seen, the Winds sometimes falling flat upon our Ships, and pressing them down flat under the Abyss, so that we expected every Moment to be swallow'd up by this merciless Element, especially when we saw the Yacht *Gorkum* (in which was *Francis Lansman*, formerly my Companion in our *China* Voyage) in a Moment perish before our Eyes, without the least possibility of saving one Man. At last however thro' God's infinite Mercy the Fury of the Winds began to allay, when with much ado we got with our Ships, which were much damag'd by the Storm, into the Harbour of *Teywan* the 20*th* of *Sept*. The Season for our intended Voyage to *Japan* being past, as forced

Amost violent Storm.

1659. ced against my Will, to unload my Ship here, and the design against *Makao* being laid aside for that time, because *Koxinga* was abroad with a Powerful Force; We set sail with the whole Fleet, for the Islands call'd *Piskadores*, and came the 3d of *October* to an Anchor in the *Church-Bay*: here I received Orders to prepare my self for a Voyage into *Persia*, a-board the Ship the *Leerdam*, loaden with Sugar, which I did accordingly.

The Islands of Piskadores *or* Pehu. The Islands call'd *Piskadores* or Fisher-Islands, and by the *Chineses Pehu*, are Situate under 23 and 24 deg. Northern Latitude, about 12 and 13 Leagues from the Isle of *Teywan*. They have several good Harbours, and two commodious Bays, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor at 8 or 9 Fathoms Water. At the entrance of this Bay are the ruines of two ancient Stone Forts, one built by the *Dutch*, the other by the *Chineses*; and betwixt both is another Fort. The Country thereabouts is not Hilly, abounds in Grass, yet pretty strong. It contains many Populous Villages; these Islands being all well stor'd with Inhabitants, with Fat Cattle, especially Cows, and Birds of all sorts, especially with an incredible Number of fine large Cocks. During the Rainy Season they gather fresh Water in Cisterns or Ponds, but in dry Weather the Water is saltish here. The Country produces likewise Potato's, and many other Fruits in abundance, and here are always to be seen great Numbers of *Chinese* Vessels, which come some for Fishing, some for Traffick. At the entrance of the *Church-Bay*, stands to the *North* side a *Chinese Pagode*, where is very good Anchorage, and a convenient place for Shelter to those that are bound for *Teywan*, there being no other safe Harbour for great Ships hereabouts. The Islands *Piskadores* are many in Number; Two are the most Famous; one call'd the *Piskadore* or *Fisher-Island*, the second *Pehou* or *Pehu*.

The *South-East* side of the *Fisher Island* is so Bare, that it produces not a Tree; To the *West* of it is another small Island, and the Passage betwixt both so shallow, that a Yacht is not able to pass that way. To the *South* of this lies another Island, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Troublesome Island*, because there is no Anchorage for Ships here. About a League from thence to the *West* is a Rocky Island, or rather two small Rocky Islands, divided by so many Rocks, that there is no Passage or Anchorage near them.

Return to Teywan. After we had dispatch'd our Business here, we set Sail again for the Island of *Teywan*, Mr. *Conject* was at that time Governor of this Isle, who having not without Reason conceiv'd a Jealousie at the vast Number of Ships and Men, the *Chineses* had brought together in the River of *Quincheu*, or in the Isle of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, on the Coast of *China*, I was dispatch'd thither the 31. of *Oct* with the two Yachts the *Graveland* and *Mary*, with Express Orders, to demand from *Koxinga* whether he was for Peace or War; and not to tarry longer than ten Days for a Categorical Answer. I tarried aboard the Vessels to take care of them, whilst my Colleague went to speak with *Koxinga*: Our limited time being near expiring, I went a-shoar in a Boat, ordering our Vessels to be upon their Guard. The Banks of the River were so crowded with People, that I had much a do to pass thro' them; by good chance I met with a *Chinese*, who understood *Portuguese*, who was so Complaisant as to go a-long with me to the Place, where my Colleague and his attendants lodg'd; but they being gone abroad to see *Koxinga* muster his Forces; I was obliged to take the same way; we Address'd our selves to him, desiring a speedy and positive Answer; the time of our stay being expired, He gave us for Answer, That being at present busy in Mustering his Forces, he would give us his resolution to Morrow, in a Letter directed to the Governour of *Teywan*, which he did accordingly. In this Letter he told him, that he had not the least thoughts of any War against the Company; but that he would cultivate a good Correspondence with them. To remove all occasion of jealousie, he sent several Merchant Ships to *Teywan*, which however did not remove the suspicion they had conceived of him there; especially after we on the 22d of *December* gave a verbal Account of his vast preparations in the Fort of *Teywan*.

Nieuhoff *sent to* Koxinga.

Koxinga's Answer.

His Letter was as follows,

Koxinga's Letter.

Being at a great distance from you, I could not but receive your Letter with a more than ordinary Satisfaction, which I perused more than once, to inform my self the letter of your intentions. You mention some false rumours, but at the same time seem to give Credit to them. In my Father Yquam's *time, the* Dutch *possess'd themselves of a certain Place in the Isle of* Teywan, *with his consent for the convenience of Trade, which I have not in the least interrupted, and therefore judge you to be obliged to me upon that Score. I have of late Years been so deeply involved in a War with the* Tartars, *that I have had no leisure to trouble my head with an inconsiderable Island, that produces nothing but Grass: It being not my custom to disclose my designs, but rather if I aim at the East to point to the West; how can you suppose to be inform'd of them by Rumours? The reason*

why

1659. *why so few of our Ships come to that Island; is, because they cannot Trade thither with any profit, the Customs being so heavy. It was but this Year the* Tartars *made a strong Invasion into the low Lands of* China, *in hopes to put an End to the War with one blow; but they were so bravely received, that they were forced to Retreat, with the loss of* 100 *of their Commanders, and a great number of their Men; we then retired into the Islands of* Ey *and* Queymuy, *in hopes to draw them thither, and so to catch them in the Trap. Concerning your complaints of having been treated in an hostile manner in the Island of* Piskadores, *if it be really so, it has been done without our Knowledge. I sent back an immediate Answer, together with your Presents, to the letter sent to me from* Batavia *four Years ago; by which I understood that you intended us but a very slender satisfaction, for the* Joncken, *or Ships, and the loading and Money a-board them, detained by you, notwithstanding which, I did not think fit to urge this business any further, for fear of occasioning a Rupture betwixt us; It shall be my endeavour as soon as the* Tartarian *War is brought to a conclusion, to encourage Trade as much as possible may be, and don't question, but you will on the other hand contribute to it, as far as lies in your Power.*

Given in the 14th Year, the 19th day of the 10th Month, of the Reign of King *Indick*.

After the reading of *Koxinga*'s Letter, it was resolved by the Majority of Voices, not to engage in a War against *Koxinga*; most being of Opinion, that at this juncture he would not undertake any thing against the Company; tho' the Governour Mr. *Conjet* was of a contrary sentiment, which proved too true afterwards. Thus all the thoughts of War being laid a-side, the continuation of Commerce with him being judged, as indeed it was, to be of more present advantage to the Company, all the Ships there were ordered to their respective Places, and I among the rest, set sail aboard the Ship the *Leerdam* loaden with Sugar for *Gamroa* in *Persia*.

The Isles of Ey and Queymuy. The before mentioned Islands, *Ey* and *Queymuy*, are high Rocky Islands; The City of *Eymuy* is Situate upon a high Hill, pretty deep in the Country, being surrounded with a Stone Wall, without which you see the ruins of an ancient Tower, and a *Chinese Pagode* or Temple.

The City of *Queymuy* lies upon a River at a pretty distance from the Sea, being the Capital of the Isle, from whence it has borrowed its Name. It has very large Suburbs, which begin on the River side. Not far from thence, deeper into the Country, is a strong Castle, defended by a very high Wall, formerly the Residence of *Koxinga*. The Country round about is Rocky and not very Fertile; except that the Valley's afford a little Grass for Cows; for the rest the Inhabitants feed most upon Fish, and some live by Traffick.

1659.

It was not long before the *Chineses* being forced by the *Tartars* to quit the Continent of *China*, and *Koxinga* strengthned with near 25000 Fugitives, and about 500 Vessels, they resolved to shelter themselves in the two before mentioned Islands of *Ey* and *Queymuy*, and finding himself in a condition to undertake something against us; he Embark'd 20000 of his best men a-board a great number of *Chinese Joncken*, or Vessels, and the 30th of *May* 1661, appeared within a League of the Fort *Zelandia* in the Isle of *Teywan*, steering his Course directly to the shoar, where his Countrymen living in that Island, were ready to receive him, with their Carts and other necessaries; and soon after Posted a considerable number of his Vessels betwixt the Fort and the Redoubt call'd the *Province*. This put our People under no small consternation, they being not provided either with Vessels or forces, to encounter so formidable a Power. However Captain *Pedel* and *Aldorp* the first with 240, and the second with 200 men were sent, out to endeavour to prevent the Enemies Landing, and 4 Ships, *viz.* The *Hector*, the *Graveland*, the *Finch* and the Yacht *Mary* were ordered to fall upon their Fleet, which was put in execution immediately. About 60 of the *Chinese Joncken*, each with 2 great Guns in the fore-Castle, came up with our Vessels, but were so warmly received, that two of them were sunk, and the rest so much disabled, that they were all glad to retire, except six only, which kept close together, and shot so furiously upon us, that they seem'd all to be on fire; the *Hector* took fire by an Accident, and so together with the *Joncken* that lay aboard her, blew up into the Air. The other three Ships, notwithstanding this, fought it out bravely, and killed above a 1000 *Chineses* besides those wounded, in the Engagement. The Yacht *Mary*, was also set on fire, but was saved by the Indefatigable Care and Labour of the Seamen. On the Land side, Captain *Pedel*, having divided his Forces into two Bodies, and exhorted them to stand it out Bravely, gave the Enemy a very warm salute, with his fire Locks, which kill'd many of them, as they were Landing; notwithstanding which, they were so far from giving ground, as we flattered our selves they would have done, that they sent whole showers of arrows among our People, and at the same time, sent a strong detachment to the Right, which taking Compass round a Hill, attackt us in the flancks, which so terrified our Soldiers.

The Chineses shelter themselves in those two Islands.

Koxinga attacks Teywan.

The Dutch endeavour to prevent his Landing.

Engagement betwixt the Dutch and Chineses.

The Dutch fly.

1659. diers, that they threw down their Arms, and wading thro' the water got into a Pilots boat, and fo afhoar; leaving the Captain with 19 men only, to the Mercy of the Enemies; upon which, immediate orders were fent, to Captain *Andop* to retire with his Forces to the Fort; The Enemy landed without any further oppofition, and in 4 hours time, cut off all Communication, betwixt the Redoubt, the *Province*, and the Fort, and betwixt this, and the open Country; moft of the Inhabitants afterwards joining with them againft us. *Koxinga* being foon informed of our prefent condition, in very ignominious terms, fummon'd the Fort, threatning to put all to Fire and Sword, if we did not furrender, immediately. It was then taken into confideration, whether, confidering the Enemy had cut off all communication with the Redoubt the *Province*, and his great Strength, it were not advifable, to treat with *Koxinga* and to offer the furrender of one of the Forts, provided we might preferve a free trade, than to lofe all; which being agreed upon, and at our requeft a Paffport granted for that purpofe, by *Koxinga*; we fent *Thomas Iperan* head Factor of the Fort, and Mr. *Leonardus* the Fifcal, as our Deputies to him, to falute him, in the Name of the Governour and the Council: and to wifh him fuccefs, in all his undertakings, provided they were not intended againft the Intereft of the Company. In their Letter they told him, that they could have wifh'd to have feen him in another poflure here, and that they were furprifed to find him in Arms, without the leaft declaration of War; That if he had any real caufe of being offended, they were ready to give him Satisfaction, and to cultivate a good underftanding with him. The Deputies had expreſs orders, that in cafe *Koxinga* would not hearken, to any accommodation, without the furrender of both the Forts, they fhould treat no further, and tell him that the Company was in a condition to revenge this injury. With thefe inftructions they went the 3d of May to *Koxinga's* Camp which was then about 12,000 ftrong, and bufie in the Seige of the Redoubt *Province*. They were armed with three different forts of weapons; The firft with Bows and Arrows, which they manage with great dexterity; the fecond with Symeters and Targets only wherewith they cover themfelves and fo break in upon an Enemy, when they are feconded by their Pikemen, whofe arms are Backfwords and Pikes of three or four foot long with broad and fharp Irons at the End.

The Chineſes Victorious.

Deputy's ſent to Koxinga.

The Deputy's received into the Camp.

The Deputies were at their firft Entrance into the Camp, received by one of their Chief Commanders, and conducted into a fpacious Tent, where they ftay'd till *Koxinga* was at leifure to admit them to Audience. Whilft they ftay'd there, feveral of the Enemies Troops march'd by their Tent, and as far as they could perceive, the fame at feveral times, to make the greater oftentation of their ftrength. *Koxinga* was in the mean while employed in combing his black fhining hair, a great Ornament among the *Chineſes*, which done, the Deputies were introduced into his Tent, which was all hung with blue, he himfelf feated in an Elbow Chair, behind a four fquare Table; round about him attended all the chief Commanders clad in long Robes without Arms, and in great filence, with a moft aweful Countenance. On both fides towards the door, his Life-Guards were placed in very good Order. The Deputy's addreſs'd themfelves to him in Low *Dutch*, and delivered their Letter, which being Tranflated into the *Chineſe*, *Koxinga* Anfwered.

1659.

Koxinga's Anſwer.

THat he was fenfible that the good Correfpondence the Dutch Eaft-India *Company had hitherto cultivated with him, as well as with all the other* Indian *Princes, was no longer durable than they found it conſiſtent with their own Intereſt; which always ceafed, as ſoon as they found their account in it; That it was contrary to his cuſtom to divulge his Thoughts or Deſigns, yet he could not diſſemble, that it was by reaſon of the War he was engag'd in againſt the* Tartars, *he had taken poſſeſſion of this Iſland; which as it always belong'd to the* Chineſes; *ſo it was no injuſtice, that now they ſtood in need of it themſelves, they might retake it from Foreigners, who were only ſettled there by permiſſion. That he was not come there to engage in a War with the* Chineſes, *but only to take poſſeſſion of his own. That he was willing they might take away all that belong'd to them, that they might demoliſh the Forts and carry away their Cannon; for which purpoſe he was ready to lend them as many of his Ships and Men as they wanted, notwithſtanding they had ſo lately attack'd him both by Sea and Land, when he had given them ſufficient proofs of his ſtrength.* He told them further; *That they were very proud and haughty in pretending to defend ſo inconſiderable a Fort,* (meaning the Redoubt the Province) *with ſo ſmall a Force againſt his numerous Army, which he threatned to deſtroy, ſo as not to leave one ſtone upon another:* He boafted, *that if his Forces were united, he was able to conquer Heaven and Earth*; concluding, *That they muſt take a very ſhort reſolution.*

Our Deputys gave for Anfwer, *That ſince the* Dutch *had left the Piskadore Iſlands; This Iſle was ſurrendred into their hands by Contract; but that, if he* (Koxinga) *had any pretentions upon the Company, they were ready to treat about it, and give him ſatisfaction.*

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1659. *bout it, and give him satisfaction.* But after several Contests, finding him quite averse to hearken to any Accommodation, unless they could surrender all; they departed, protesting that the Company would shew their resentments in due time, and so set up the red Flag.

Before their departure from the Camp, they had obtained leave of *Koxinga* to go thro' the Fort the *Province*, in their return home; Here they found things in a very indifferent Posture, and the Fort not in a condition to hold out above a Week longer, all their Powder and Ball being spent, there being not enough left to withstand an Assault: This with the weakness of the Place, induced the Deputies to consent, that they might capitulate with the Enemy, provided they could get liberty to transferr the Garrison into the Fort.

The Deputies arrived the same day in the great Fort, where having given an account of their Transactions, the Governour *Conjet* and the rest of the Commanders seeing all the Communication betwixt them and the Redoubt the *Province*, nay with the whole Island entirely cut off by the Enemy, were at a great loss what to resolve upon at such a juncture as this: After mature deliberation, the only hopes they had left, was, To defend the Fort *Zelandia* till such time they could be relieved from *Batavia*, which considering the Northern *Monzon*, might perhaps take up a whole twelve Months time. However it was resolved to defend this Fort to the last extremity, notwithstanding the Redoubt the *Province* had been forced to surrender, the Garrison with all the Cannon being fain into the Enemies hands, who had made them Prisoners of War.

To prepare themselves for a more vigorous defence, all that was able to bear Arms was taken into the Fort, and the City set on fire, which however could not be executed so speedily, but that the Enemy preserved some ware and other Houses, by timely quenching the Flame, which served them for Places of shelter. Soon after they began to batter the Fort with 28 Pieces of Cannon, but their Cannon as well as their Men being exposed to our shot, we ply'd them so warmly with Cartrages and other such like materials, that the streets thereabours were all covered with the dead Carcasses of the *Chinesses*, and the rest were forced to shelter themselves in the By-Lanes, leaving their Cannon to our mercy, some of which were rendred unserviceable. On the other side of the Fort 6000 *Chinesses* advanc'd boldly under our Cannon, and attack'd our works hand to hand, but were beaten back with great loss, to an adjacent Hill; upon which the besieged made a vigorous Sally, and nail'd up all their Cannon. It was then propos'd to make a general Sally, but considering the disproportion betwixt us and the Enemy, who were advanc'd under our Cannon, it was judged too dangerous, for fear, if we should miscarry, the Enemy might force their way at the same time into the Fort. The next day the besieged made another Sally, and carryed off a six pounder into the Fort. The Enemy finding all his attacks unsuccessfull, kept the Fort close block'd up, and in the mean while made the open Country feel the effects of his Rage; They made all the *Dutch* Inhabitants, especially the Ministers and School-masters Prisoners, because as they pretended, two certain Ministers had under-hand encouraged their Parishioners to kill all the *Chinese* living among them, not questioning but the rest would follow their Example; but as it commonly happens in things of this Nature where many are privy to a design, this had been discovered by some, out of fear, or hopes of reward, for which the Ringleaders suffered a most miserable death, being Crucified by the *Chinesses*, and their Crosses erected in their respective Villages.

1659.

A Dutch Ship taken by the Chinesses.

Some *Dutch* Sea-men had no better success, for thirteen of them being taken in a *Dutch* Ship by a *Chinese* Vessel, near the *Pisbadore* Islands, these were put a-board a *Chinese* Vessel man'd with 30 men, who were to carry them to *Koxinga's* Camp. So soon as the *Dutch* Sea-men came within sight of the *Dutch* Fort, they resolved to fall upon the *Chinesses* not above one half of them being above deck at a time) and to so carry off the Ship the next following night; but a *French* man belonging to our Ships Crew, whether out of fear, or hopes to recover his liberty, did betray their design to the *Chinesses*, who immediately gave the signal to some other ships near them to come a-board, which being done accordingly, they made them all Prisoners and forthwith sent them to *Koxinga's* Camp, where they had their Noses, Ears, and Hands cut off, and in this miserable condition were sent into the Fort for a Terrour to the rest; they were committed to the Surgeons care, who performed his part so well, that not one of them died

The Dutch design to carry off a Chinese Ship.

Misfarry.

Among the rest of the *Dutch* Prisoners taken by the *Chinesses* in the open Country, was one Mr. *Hambrocock* a Minister; this Man was sent by *Koxinga* to the Governour of the Fort to perswade him to a surrender, upon Condition, *viz.* That they should depart safely with all that belonged to them, and the Company; but if he refused, he might have a sufficient occasion to repent it at leisure; and that *Koxinga* would revenge himself upon the *Dutch* Prisoners: With these instructi-

A Message sent from Koxinga to the besieged.

1659. ſtructions Mr. *Hambrocock* came into the Caſtle, being forced to leave his Wife and Children behind him as Hoſtages; which being a ſufficient Argument to him, that in caſe he did not ſucceed in his Negotiation, they muſt expect nothing but death from *Koxinga*'s hands, yet was he ſo far from perſwading the Garriſon to a Surrender, that he encouraged them to a brave defence in hopes of relief; and as a further encouragement, aſſured them that *Koxinga* had loſt many of his beſt Ships and Souldiers, and began to be weary of the Siege, fearing leaſt we ſhould hold it out till we received Succours from *Batavia*.

Mr. *Hambrocock* having made an end of what he had to propoſe, the Council of War left it to his choice, whether he would rather ſtay with them, or return to the Camp, where he could expect nothing elſe but preſent death; every one entreated him to ſtay; He had two Daughters within the Caſtle, who hung about his neck overwhelm'd in grief and tears to ſee their Father ready to go, where they were ſenſible he muſt be Sacrificed to the rage of a mercileſs Enemy; he repreſented to them, that having left his Wife and two other Children as Hoſtages in the Camp, nothing but preſent death could attend them if he returned not; and ſo untwiſting himſelf from his Daughters Arms, and exhorting every body to a reſolute defence, he returned to the Camp, telling them at parting, that he hoped he might prove ſerviceable to his poor fellow Priſoners.

Koxinga's Meſſenger returns.

He gave an account to *Koxinga* of his Negotiation, and that the beſieged were reſolved not to treat, unleſs they were to remain in poſſeſſion of the Caſtle, which was not at all reliſhing to *Koxinga*, who now began to be afraid of an Uproar, the Inhabitants having ſlain ſeveral of the *Chineſes*, which exaſperated him to that degree, that having cauſed induſtriouſly a Rumour to be ſpread abroad that the Priſoners did underhand encourage the Inhabitants of *Formoſa* to rebel; he ordered all the *Dutch* Male Priſoners to be ſlain, which was done accordingly; ſome being beheaded, others kill'd in a more barbarous manner. The dead Carcaſſes after they were ſtriped quite naked, were to the number of 500, thus buried 50 and 60 in a Hole; of all the reſt, only the Supervilor of the Country, with 25 others, were ſaved and carried to *China*, tho they even did not ſpare the Women and Children, many of whom were likewiſe ſlain, tho' ſome of the beſt were preſerved for the uſe of the Commanders, and the reſt ſold to the Common Soldiers: Happy was ſhe that happened to fall to the Lot of an unmarried Man, being thereby freed from the importunities of the *Chineſe* Women, who are very jealous of their Husbands. They were

The Dutch Priſoners kill'd by Koxinga.

however afterwards purſuant to the Capitulation, ſent back to *Batavia*. Among the ſlain were Mr. *Hambrocock*, Mr. *Mus*, and Mr. *Arnold Winſheim* three Miniſters, and many School-Maſters, who were all beheaded. 1659.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting here, the *Dutch* in *Batavia* had got notice of this Invaſion, by the *Mary* Yacht, which in ſpite of the contrary Seaſon, had found means to get thither, and to give them an Account how Matters ſtood with us. Ten Ships were immediately got ready with 700 Soldiers aboard them, which ſet Sail in *June* 1661. under the Command of *Jacob Kou*, and not long after arrived at the Iſle of *Formoſa*. This unexpected Relief as it put the Enemy into no ſmall Conſternation, ſo it Encouraged our Men, to make a more vigorous Defence than ever; and, tho' the Wind blew very hard, theſe Ships found means to Land ſome Men and Ammunition; But the Winds encreaſing more and more, were forced to chooſe the Main, to the no ſmall Grief of the Beſieged, and did not Return till about a Month after; when the Ship called the *Urk* being forced upon a Rock on the Coaſt of *Formoſa* was ſplit, and her Men ſaved, from whom the Enemy having underſtood our Strength, and ſome other Circumſtances, they began to be better ſatisfied, becauſe they had imagined this Succour much more formidable than really it was.

Succours ſent to Formoſa.

However the Beſieged took a Reſolution, by making a vigorous Sally to diſlodge the Enemy from the City of *Zelandia*, and to deſtroy their Ships. The 16th. of *September* was appointed for this Enterpriſe, but whilſt ſome Ships were engaged, the Wind beginning to ſlacken the reſt could not come up; Our Men endeavoured to attack the *Chineſes* in their Boats, but being expoſed to their Shot, without being able to do them much harm, ours had the worſt on't, ſome of the Boats being Over-ſet, others Sunk, the reſt ſaving themſelves by Flight. Two of our Ships got upon the Sands, and were both ſet on Fire. In this Sea Engagement the *Dutch* loſt about 130 Men, but the Enemy a great many more; however this unfortunate Action put a ſtop to the intended Sally, and Orders were ſent to the Garriſons of the two Northern Forts, to withdraw into the Caſtle, the Garriſon of which was conſiderably Diminiſhed, by the many Skirmiſhes, in which the Enemy got but little Advantage, and loſt many of their beſt Men; which put a check for ſome time to their deſign, eſpecially when they underſtood that we had ſent all Women, Children and other uſeleſs Perſons to *Batavia*, the better to enable us, to make a vigorous Defence.

The Beſieged ſally out.

The Dutch worſted.

Much

1659. Much about the same time, the Governour received Letters from the *Tartarian* Stadtholder of *Hockfieu*, who requested some Ships and Forces, to drive the remaining Forces of *Koxinga* out of the Country, promising to come afterwards with his whole Power to the relief of *Formosa*. Hereupon *Jacob Kou* was sent thither with five Ships well provided with Men and Ammunition; but being overtaken by a Storm, lost all his Anchors near the *Piskadores*, which obliged him to send back three of his Ships to the Isle of *Teswan*: with the other two he return'd to *Batavia*, where he met with but an indifferent Reception.

The Tartars promise Succ[illegible]

The Besieged finding themselves by this disaster bereaved of a considerable Number of Men and Ammunition began to Despair of holding it out much longer; so that many Deserted, and among the rest a certain Serjeant, who gave *Koxinga*, not only an Account of our Weakness, but also encouraged him not to let slip this opportunity to force us to a Surrender. *Koxinga* having well weigh'd the Matter, attack'd us with his whole Force, more vigorously than ever, and in *January* 1662, raised three Batteries mounted with 28 great Cannon, upon the Sandy Grounds near the Fort; The *Dutch* foresaw the Danger that must needs ensue, from this near approach of the Enemys Batteries, and did all that they could, either with Cannon or Firelocks, to disturb them in their works, but these not hindring, their men continued to batter the Walls, till they had had made a breach; Then they made two several Attacks, but were as often repulsed with great loss, the ground being all over cover'd with Dead Carcasses. This disaster taught them to be more cautious, and so instead of storming, they continued to fire incessantly their Guns, with such a fury, that they laid a whole Redoubt level with the Ground, so that our men finding it no longer tenible, nail'd up the Guns, and laid some Barrels with Gunpowder under it, which blow'd up a considerable number of *Chineses* into the Air. *Koxinga* himself was in danger, of having been among them, had he not been fore-warn'd by the before mentioned Serjeant, who told him that it was too dangerous to venture himself in a Place so lately left by the Enemy. Here *Koxinga* raised a large Battery upon a rising Ground, from whence he hoped to lay the Body of the Castle level with the Ground. The *Dutch* on their Side were not Idle to do what possibly could be expected for their Defence, with Cannon Shot, Granados and otherwise; they raised their Breast-works, and put great Packs of Linen and Stuffs into the breach; Notwithstanding which the Enemy played incessantly upon them, and against Night had made so large a Breach, as was judged sufficient to make a general Assault. Then it was, the Besieged began to deliberate what was best to be done in this Exigency, whether, since there was no longer abiding in the Castle, they should make a Sally, and force their way to the Enemy, or whether they should abide the Assault: The most were for a Capitulation, there being not the least hopes left of making a Sally with any success, and to resist the whole Force of the *Chineses* in a place without Defence, exposed to the Enemies Shot, was lookt upon no less than to Sacrifice themselves to their Enemies; these Considerations were so prevailing at last, that it was unanimously agreed to Capitulate, and to Surrender the Castle upon Articles; This was put in Execution immediately, a Truce of five days being agreed on for that purpose, at the expiration of which after great contests it was agreed, *That every thing belonging to the Company should be delivered up to* Koxinga. *That all the Inhabitants, Souldiers and Prisoners should have free Liberty to retire to* Batavia, *with all their Moveables, for which purpose they should be provided with suitable Conveniencies.* Thus the Besieged after having endured a Siege of nine Months, with the loss of 1600 Men, returned to *Batavia*, where the Governour and Members of the Council of *Formosa*, after all the hazards and incredible fatigues they had been forced to undergo, were put in Prison, and their Goods Confiscated; the Governour himself being not long after Condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment in the Isle of *Ey*; But was at the Intercession of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and by Orders from the Directors of the *East-India* Company in *Holland* Discharged, and returned to his native Country 1676. Since we have had frequent occasion to speak of the Island of *Formosa*, I will give you a short Account of it.

1662. *The Chinese [illegible] Attack [illegible] the [illegible]*

[illegible]

1662. *The Dutch Defend themselves to the utmost.*

The Fort of Zelandia Surrendred.

The Isle of *Formosa* is Situated under the 23 deg. 3 min. Northern Latitude. It is of an oblong Figure, being not very broad in proportion to its length, which is 125 Leagues. It is full of Hills, but intermix'd with many fertile Valleys, producing great store of Grass, and Watered by many fine Rivers. The Country produces abundance of Rice, but especially Sugar, vast quantities of which are Exported from thence. Most of the *Indian* Fruits are to be seen here, of which more hereafter, as also several sorts of *Dutch* Fruits, Herbs and Roots; transplanted thither from *Holland*, as Peaches, Apricocks and such like, Cows, Oxen, Hogs, wild Goats, Hares and Rabbets, but especially Stags are here in great plenty, but the last are some

The Isle of Formosa

what of a leſſer ſize than thoſe of *Europe*, and without Horns; the Inhabitants catch vaſt Numbers of them, meerly for their Skins ſake, the Fleſh being not eſteem'd here, except their Tongues. They have alſo great ſtore of Elks here, which being very ſtrong, they uſe in their Carts inſtead of Horſes or Oxen. One time the Maſter of our Ship and I being invited to Dinner at his Sifters, that was Married to a Native of *Formoſa*, they ſent us a Carr drawn by Buffalers; the Maſter of the Ship who underſtood better how to Govern the Ship than thoſe Beaſts, would needs ſupply the Carr-man's place, but prickt the Buffalers ſo unmercifully (according to the Cuſtom of the Country) that they run away with us; for ſometime we kept ſtedfaſt in the Carr, which over-turning at laſt, threw us at a great Diſtance, but to our great good Fortune, without any conſiderable harm; we Walkt the reſt of the Way on Foot, leaving the ordinary Carr-man, a Native of *Formoſa*, to recover the Buffalers, which he did at laſt, and brought them home. Neither do they want Partridges, Wild Pidgeons and other Wild Fowl; there are alſo Tygers and Bears to be met with, but I never heard of any other ravenous Wild Beaſts here. The Mountains are full of Brimſtone, which queſtionleſs occaſions ſo many Earthquakes, unto which this Iſle is much ſubject. Some are of Opinion, that theſe Mountains contain likewiſe Gold and Silver, ſome Eſſays of this Nature having been made with good Succeſs, but was never attempted to Dig for it. This Iſland is diſtitute of good Harbours for great Ships, which are forced to ride at Anchor in the Road of ſome Iſles about 12 Leagues from thence. The Country is very populous: For beſides the Natives of *Formoſa*, above 25000 *Chineſes* forced out of *China* by the *Tartars* have at ſeveral times ſettled themſelves here.

Natives of Formoſa. The Natives of *Formoſa*, eſpecially the Men are of an Olive Colour, Fat, Strong, Well-limb'd and Nimble; ſome being able to out-run a Wild Boar or Stag; they leap upon the Back of them and ſo cut their Throats. The Mountainers are of a leſſer ſize. The Women are not altogether ſo large as the Men, but very ſtrong Bodied, and are Cloathed after the ſame Faſhion; they have black ſhining Hair, which they tie together in a Knot on the top of the Head.

Their Cloathing. The Men throughout the Summer appear for the moſt part quite Naked, but thoſe who do not, eſpecially in the Winter, wear a kind of Silk or Callico Cloth, which they wrap about their Bodies and button it under the Arms, the Womens hangs ſomewhat lower down below the Knees. Stuffs made of Dogs Hair are in great eſteem with them. They cut off the Dogs Hair, like as we do our Sheeps Wooll, Spin and Weave it afterwards. They are generally very Friendly and Faithful to the *Europeans*, and don't eaſily break a Contract; they are very Apprehenſive, and will give a good Judgment of Matters; many of them were already Converted to the Chriſtian Religion, by the Induſtry of the Miniſters and School-Maſters, which were planted almoſt in every Village, there being no ſmall hopes, that the whole Iſland would in a little time have embraced Chriſtianity, had not the Conqueſt of *Koxinga* overturn'd this good Deſign.

Their Bread. Their Bread is made of ſeveral Roots, but Rice is in the greateſt eſteem; tho' they Sow no more than for their own Uſe, and that ſcarce ſufficient. Their Drink is here, like all over the *Indies*, Water, tho' they prepare likewiſe a ſtrong Liquour of Rice, in the following manner: They juſt Parboil the Rice, and then beat it to a Pap; then ſeveral old Women chew a certain quantity of Rice, which they ſpit out into a Veſſel, and mix it with the reſt, to make it ferment. After they have put it into Earthen Pots, they pour Water upon it, and after they have covered it very well, ſet it to ferment for two Months, till it is well Settled and Clear, this produces a very ſtrong Liquor, which will keep good 20 Years, and grow ſtronger every Year. When they go abroad into the Fields, they take of this Liquor along with them to Drink, and the Settlement for their Food; moſt of the Rice here being conſumed in theſe Liquors.

The Women Manage the Affairs. Contrary to the Cuſtom of moſt other Nations, the Women cultivate the Grounds here; and manage the Rice, Sugar, Ginger and other Fruits of the Earth; the Men being employed in nothing but Hunting and Warlike Exploits, unleſs they be very Old, when ſometimes they will give a helping Hand to the Women in the Field. At leiſure time the Women catch Crabs, Oiſters and Shrimps, which they much admire.

The Men employed in Hunting. The Men are mighty eager in Hunting. Whole Villages join together, and ſurround a great tract of Ground, where they Kill all they meet with, and divide it; few of the Wild Beaſts eſcaping their Hands at that time. They alſo catch Wild Boars and Staggs with Snares, faſtned to Canes; which the Wild Beaſts no ſooner touches but one or other of the Legs, is intangled in the Snare, where they kill it immediately. They have alſo certain Cane-Darts of ſix Foot long, with ſeveral bent Hooks at the one and a Bell at the other end; this they throw

throw at the Staggs or other wild Creatures, which being fix'd in the Body, they trace it by the found of the Bell till it begins to lose its ſtrength by the loſs of Blood, and ſo kill it. 1662.

Their Houſes are but one ſtory high, but very large, built of Cane, with many doors looking to all the four corners of the Winds, and ſometimes more; They always raiſe their Houſes three or four foot high from the Ground, looking upon it otherwiſe as unwholeſome.

Their Houſes are adorned with Painted Callico Hangings, with wild Boars and Stags heads; with Bows, Arrows, Clubbs, Pick-axes, and other Warlike Inſtruments, but eſpecially with the skulls and bones of their Enemies, which they look upon as the chief-eſt Ornament of their Houſes: They eat and drink for the moſt part out of Wooden Veſſels, or ſuch as are made of Bamboo Canes but have ſome Earthen Pots to dreſs their Victuals in, and for ſome other Particular Uſes.

Their Government. This Iſle has no King or General Governour, each Village being a kind of a petty Common-Wealth; their Government conſiſts of Twelve Perſons, which muſt be at leaſt 40 Years of Age, and are choſen out of the chiefeſt among them; they continue for Life; all their Power conſiſts only in conſulting what is moſt expedient for the Common good, the reſult of which is propoſed to the Aſſembly of the whole Village, who receive it with a great deal of ſedateneſs, and after the breaking up of the Aſſembly, they debate among themſelves what is beſt to be done, if they approve of the propoſition made to them; it has the Force of a Law, if not, is of no conſequence. They are alſo much addicted to follow the directions of their Propheteſſes or the Prieſts; in certain ſeaſon of the Year, they are obliged to go quite naked for three Months, leſt (ſay they) we ſhall want Rain. In certain time they are debarr'd from wearing Silk or other fine Cloths, or elſe, their Council has Power to ſtrip them of them, and to tear them to pieces before their Faces, unleſs they redeem them by a certain number of Stags skins, Rice, or Strong Liquor. Corporal Puniſhments are unknown to them; beſides this prerogative of Conſulting and Puniſhing, they are upon the ſame level with the reſt.

Age is the only thing in extraordinary reſpect among them; this they ſhew in giving way either in the Streets or at Table to their Elders, who are alſo firſt ſerved, and ſpeak before the reſt.

Their Marriages. The Men never Marry before they are 50 Years of Age, but the Women as ſoon as they are Marriageable. The Natives of *Formoſa* don't ſuffer their hair to grow below their Ears, before they come to the ſtate of Manhood, when they let it grow as long as it can. If a young Man has a mind to Marry a certain Maid, he ſends one of his Friends with the ordinary Marriage preſents, which are commonly a *Chineſe* ſuit of Cloths, Bracelets of twiſted Reeds, ſome broad Rings of Iron or Braſs, and ſuch like Baubles of an inconſiderable value; if the Maid accepts of the Preſents, the match is made. Whilſt they are young they don't dwell together in the ſame Houſe, which is not allow'd of till the Husband be 50 Years of Age. But as ſoon as the young married Man has an inclination to meet with his Wife, he comes privately into her Hutt, which is commonly in the Field, and lies himſelf down in the place where ſhe commonly ſleeps, where ſhe comes to him, but is ſure to ſend him away again early in the Morning. All the Children begot betwixt them, before both the Husband and Wife be arrived to the Age of 37 years, are kill'd; For, after the Woman is ſure ſhe is with Child, one of their ſhe Prieſts lays the big bellied Woman upon her back, and ſqueezes her ſo long with her hands and feet till ſhe miſcarries, not without great hazard and pains, which they willingly undergo, becauſe they reckon it a great Sin, to keep any Children begot before that time, a live, but preſerve them carefully afterwards. The Mother keeps the Infant cloſe by her till it be two Years old, when it is ſometimes permitted to ſee the Father. Their Marriages are as ſoon diſſolv'd as they are contracted, and that upon very ſlight occaſions, but if the Husband parts from his Wife without any reaſon, he loſes his Marriage Preſents, but in caſe of Adultery, or that the Woman is outrageous, his Marriage Preſents muſt be reſtored unto him, the Women enjoy the ſame Prerogative; both Parties being afterwards at liberty to Marry where they pleaſe, which ſometimes happens twice or thrice a Year. They make no great account of Fornication, provided it may be done in private, but are very cautious of committing inceſt.

Juſtice Here are no Courts of Juſtice, every one being at liberty to take ſatisfaction for Murther, Theft, or Adultery committed againſt him. If a Man be Robb'd, and knows who the Thief is, he goes ſtreight to his Houſe and fetches either by fair or foul means as much from thence as he thinks will ſufficiently repay his loſs, which however occaſions great diſputes, nay Murther. He that has kill'd another, flies for it till he has given ſatisfaction to the deceaſed's Kindred, which conſiſts commonly in ſome Hoggs and Staggs skins, then he may return unmoleſted. Adultery

1662. dultery when discover'd is commonly made up with two or three Hoggs, according to the Ability of the Cuckold-maker, which done, the Cuckold lives both with him and his Wife in good correspondence. Sometimes one or more Villages engage in War against one another, and surprise those that work in the Field, whom they kill, and carry their heads and what booty they can get, to their Houses; this they often do in the night time; If they have had good success, they rejoyce after their return home with eating and drinking to a great excess. Those who have behaved themselves well in such an Expedition, are esteemed before the rest.

Their Weapons. Their Weapons are long and broad Shields, instead of Targets, wherewith they cover their Bodies; short and broad Symeters which do great execution, Darts pointed with Iron; they have also Bows and Arrows, but use no Firelocks. As far as ever I could learn, they have no [illegible] Books; their Pagan Idolatry is transmitted from the Parents to their Children by word of Mouth; they believe the World to have neither beginning nor end, and that the Souls of such as have done well, shall be rewarded hereafter. As soon as they are dead, the Friends erect a kind of Scaffold before the door of the House, where they place the dead Carcass surrounded with small Standards, near by they set a Vessel with Water for the Soul to bath it self in, and to wash away all its Sins; as for Instance, to have brought Children into the World before 37 Years of Age; to have worn rich Cloaths in the forbidden Season; to have catch'd Oisters, Crabs and such like insignificant things; But Murther, Manslaughter, Adultery, Fornication, Theft, and such like horrid Crimes, they look upon as small Trespasses only, which may be expiated by a certain quantity of Rice, Staggs skins and strong Liquors.

Religion. They have several Gods, but adore two in particular; When it Thunders they say the Great Man is angry with his Spouse, and for that reason refuses to send them Rain, for which reason they adore his Spouse; the other they say, is of a malicious nature, and therefore adore him, for fear he should hurt them. They have no other but Female Priests, they Sacrifice Piggs, Staggs, and Fruits; during which, the the Priests cry out, and fall into extasies afterwards, with tremblings all over their Bodies, as if they were possess'd by an Evil Spirit, and then they pretend the Idol discovers his Secrets to them: The Standers by which are for the most part Women, in the mean while get drunk with strong Liquors. These Female Priests ascend to the top of their Temples, where they expose themselves quite Naked, and wash their Bodies in the sight of the People. They pretend to foretel good or ill fortune, to banish the Devil, and to purge unhallowed places. It was formerly a custom in some certain Villages, that if any of the Natives lay sick, past all hopes of recovery, they used to tie a Rope about his neck, and so pull him up and let him down again, till they had cured his distemper by a certain death. They dry their dead Carcasses over a fire, which occasions a nauseous scent, whilst the Kindred, Relations and Friends pass away the time with eating, drinking and dancing for several days together. The dry'd Corps is kept two years after, and then buried in the house. This was the Ancient Government of the Isle of *Formosa*, but since the *Dutch East-India* Company has got footing there, they have introduced other Laws among them, and instead of their Councils, constituted one of their Chief Men as Supervisor in every Village who Administered Justice, and was accountable to the Governor of the Island. Thus much of *Formosa*, 'tis time to return to our Voyage.

The Author goes to Malacca. After we had left *Teywan*, the 11th of *December*, we arrived the 30th of the same Month without any remarkable accident, before the City of *Malacca*, where we dropt Anchor, and found Mr. *John Tiist* to be Chief Director there for our *East-India* Company.

The Country and City of Malacca. The Kingdom of *Malacca*, otherwise *Malesia* or *Malaca*, thus called after its Capital City, is Situate upon the same Tract of Ground or Demi-Island, which Comprehends the Kingdoms of *Martavan*, *Quedam*, *Peru* and some other Countries extending it self as far as *Sumatra*, the Streights of which border upon it to the West and South as the Kingdoms of *Pan* and *Johor* do to the East. The Kingdom of *Malacca* is by some Historians taken for the *Golden Chersonese* of *Ptolemy*, tho' at present it is no Demi-Island. There are some who affirm, that in former Ages *Malacca* was joined by a streight neck of Land to the Isle of *Sumatra*, instead of which you see now a branch of the Ocean, which divides its self into two Navigable Channels: the first of which is call'd the Streights of *Sinkapura*, because it borders on the East side of the Cape of that Name; the other is call'd the Channel of *Saban*, from an Island that lies to the West of it. This Country extends for about 64 Leagues in length, all along the Sea Coast, beginning at the Island of *Cambilan* or *Zabilan* as far as the Isle of *Beitan*, its utmost Boundary on that side, or rather it ends in the Cape of *Sinkapura*, 20 Leagues from *Malacca*.

Its Capital City. Its Capital City is likewise call'd *Malacca*, being the same, in former time call'd *Takola*; it lies under 2 deg. 30 min. of Northern Latitude

1662. titude oppofite to *Sumatra* in a Bay at the afcent of a Hill, on the Weft fide of the River *Muar* (otherwife call'd *Goze* and *Tyga* and *Kyiifant*, or as the *Dutch* expreſs it, *Kyiifaut*) which having its Rife deep in the Country divides the Caſtle from the City, and waſhing its Walls, falls with a rapid Current into the Sea. Croſs this River is a ſtrong Bridge built of ſtone, with ſeveral Arches: The City is very large in Compaſs, being not many Years before ſurrounded with a Wall of ſquare Stones and Baſtions by the *Dutch*. It is very Populous, the Houſes being but very cloſe, tho' it has ſome very broad and handſome ſtreets, which are planted on both ſides with Trees. In the midſt of the City is a Hill with a very fair Church dedicated to St. *Paul*, on the top of it, where divine ſervice is perform'd in *Dutch*: The Steeple, Church and Monaſteries founded here by the *Portugueſes* are much decay'd. Moſt of the Houſes here are built of ſtrong Bamboo Canes, which are very durable in dry weather, tho there are alſo ſome Stone Houſes here; they are generally not very large, and low, provided with ſmall Appartments, and ſlenderly Furniſh'd.

Malacca taken from the Portugueſes.

The City of *Malacca* was in 1610 taken by *Albuquerque* the *Portugueſe* General in the following manner; One *Manuel* or rather *Mahomet*, an *Arabian* by birth, being at that time King of *Malacca* entred into a League with *Albuquerque*, which he broke ſoon after, putting all the *Portugueſe* to the Sword. *Albuquerque* ſoon after appeared before the City and attack'd it unexpectedly, whilſt the King and his Courtiers were feaſting at the Wedding of his Daughter; The *Portugueſes* ſet Fire to one end of the City, notwithſtanding which, the Inhabitants defended themſelves like deſperate Men, even the Women untieing the Houſes, and giving what aſſiſtance they could for the defence of the Place; but at laſt the *Portugueſes* having fought their way thro' the armed Elephants, they entred the City, forcing the King to fly into the Wilderneſs, where he died. They got a rich Booty and above 200000 Crowns in money. The *Portugueſes* were very careful to Fortify the Town by a Strong Caſtle, and built ſeveral fine Churches and Monaſteries. They had five Parochial Churches, and Monaſteries in great numbers. Among the reſt, the Jeſuites had erected a Noble College here, with magnificent appartments; they were very liberal, and received all ſtrangers Travelling in thoſe Parts. There was a Church here, dedicated to our Lady, where they ſay *Xaverius* Preached often, and performed great Miracles. Upon a high Hill within the City, the Capuchins had a Monaſtery. Whilſt the Roman Catholicks were in poſſeſſion of it, it was erected into a Biſhoprick under the Archbiſhop of *Goa*. Not many Years before the *Portugueſes* made themſelves Maſters of it, it was no more than a Village, but by the *Javaneſes* made a City. 1662.

Malacca attack'd by the Dutch.

The *Dutch* Admiral *Cornelius Matelief* 1605, appeared with 11 Ships and 1300 Soldiers before the City of *Malacca*, where at that time *Don Furtado de Mendeza* a brave Soldier was Commander in Chief. The firſt thing he did was to ſeize upon 4 Ships that lay in the Road; afterwards he ſet fire to the Suburbs, and batter'd the place for two or three Months, which occaſioned great Famine and Mortality within the City. But the *Portugueſes*, who were ſenſible of the Importance of this Place, ſent a conſiderable Fleet from *Goa* to their relief, which engaging with ours a ſmall fight enſued, in which the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch* loſt two Ships each; At laſt the *Portugueſes* finding the *Dutch* reſolved to board them, retired under the Caſtle, but were ſo cloſely purſued by *Matelief*, that he ruin'd their whole Fleet, conſiſting of 16 Galleots, 4 Galeaſſes, and 14 ſmaller Veſſels, with 300 Men on board them.

The Dutch take Malacca.

The King of *Johor* beſieged the City of *Malacca* in 1606, with 60000 Men, the *Portugueſes* having maintained themſelves there till 1640, when the *Dutch* after a Siege of ſix Months made themſelves Maſters of it: After the *Portugueſes* had been in poſſeſſion of it 130 Years; The *Dutch* found here beſides a vaſt booty, a great Cannon which carried a ſhot of 64 Pounds weight, ſince which time the *Dutch* have left no ſtone unturn'd to ſtock this City with all ſorts of neceſſaries as well as with Inhabitants, both *Dutch* and *Indians*. The Original and Progreſs of *Malacca* is this, deſcribed by *Barros* and ſome other Hiſtorians.

The Origin of Malacca.

The Foundation of *Malacca* was laid about 25 Years before the Arrival of the *Portugueſes* in the *Indies*. About that time one *Sangſinga* Reigned in *Nocjura*, ſituate under the Clima of Northern Latitude 3, in the neighbouring Country of *Patane*, one *Paramiſora*, ſubtle to Death left him Heir under the Guardianſhip of his own Brother their Uncle; but he having found means to Murther the eldeſt, uſurp'd the Throne, at which ſome of the Nobles [illegible] being highly diſguſted, did with *Paramiſora* (which late King's youngeſt Son, fly to *Sinkapura*, where they met with a kind reception from *Sangſinga*, but it was not long before *Paramiſora* in combination with his *Javaneſes*, Murthered *Sangſinga* and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of his Kingdom. The King of *Siam* being highly exaſperated at the Treachery committed againſt *Sangſinga*, his Vaſſal and Son-in-Law, forced the *Javaneſes* to quit the Country, who being now obliged to ſeek for a new Habitati-

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on, settled themselves near the River *Muar*, where they built a strong Hold, call'd *Pagopaga*; Besides the *Javaneses*, *Paramisora*, was followed by 2000 others, such as they call *Cellati*, who live upon Fishing and Robbing; but tho' they had been very Instrumental in resetling him in *Sinkapura*, he did not think fit to receive them within the Body of his new built City; which made them settle their Colony about three or four Leagues from the River *Muar*, not far from whence *Malacca* now lies; where they joined with the Inhabitants, who were half Savages; since which time their Language is call'd the *Malaga* Language. But when they began to be streightned for room, some of them settled themselves about a quarter of a League from thence, on a Hill call'd *Bitan*, surrounded with a large Plain; *Paramisora* being taken with the Conveniency and pleasant Situation of this Place, abandon'd *Pagopaga* and transplanted his Colony near this Place, which afterwards was call'd *Malacca*, *i.e.* a banish'd Person, in Memory of the exiled *Javaneses*, and in process of time, all the Traffick of *Sinkapura* was transfered to *Malacca*. *Saquan Dorsa* Son of *Paramisora* succeeded him in the Kingdom, and having submitted himself as a Vassal to the King of *Siam*, reduced the whole Country of *Sinkapura* to the East, as far as *Puto* on the Isle of *Zambilan*, which lies West of *Malacca*, a Tract of Land of forty Leagues in length. The Successors of *Saquan Dorsa* found means to shake off by degrees the Yoak of the King of *Siam*, and to make themselves Soveraign Kings, especially after they were by the *Persians*, and those of *Surat* brought over to the *Mahometan* Religion. The King of *Siam* 1502. about 9 Years before the *Portugueses* became Masters of *Siam*, did Attack the King of *Malacca* with a Fleet of 200 Sail, aboard of which were 6 Souldiers, under the Conduct of *Laosamaya Privan*, his Admiral and Governour of *Ligoor*, but this Fleet was miserably scatter'd by a Tempest, and many of his Ships fell into the Hands of the *Mahometans*, by Treachery.

Its Traffick.

The Harbour of *Malacca*, is one of the finest in all the *Indies*, being Navigable at all the Seasons of the Year; a conveniency belonging scarce to any other in the *Indies*. It is most conveniently Situated for Traffick, for there you may to this Day see vast Numbers of Merchants Ships coming from *Bengala*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, and in short from all Parts of the *Indies*. Whilst the *Portugueses* were in possession of it, this City was very famous for its Traffick and Riches in Gold, precious Stones, and all other Rarities of the *Indies*; *Malacca* being the Key of the *China* and *Japan* Trade, and of the *Malacca* Islands and *Sunda*. In short *Malacca* was the Richest City in the *Indies*, next to *Goa* and *Ormus*. Before the *Dutch* had made themselves Masters of *Malacca*, a Ship was sent every Year thither from *Portugal*, which setting out a Month before their *East-India* Fleet, and taking its direct Course thither, without staying in any Place, except in case of Necessity, used to Freight there, and return with a Richer Cargo, than any other Ship ever did.

Great passage thro' the Streights of Malacca.

All the Ships that came from the North, *viz.* of *China*, *Japan*, *Siam*, *Cambodia*, *Tonking* and *Manilha*, and are bound for the West, to wit to the Coast of *Coromandel*, *Bengale*, and other places thereabouts, as likewise those coming from the West to the North must pass thro' the Streights of *Malacca* or *Sinkapura*, and consequently by *Malacca*, as I told you before. The *Portugueses* used to take 10 *per Cent.* Custom of all Ships passing that Way, whereby they got vast Riches, but the *Dutch East-India* Company has abolish'd this, looking upon it as an unreasonable Imposition, and are contented to Traffick there. *Malacca* is a Country producing but very little it self, but must be lookt upon as the Staple of the *Indies*, whither all precious Commodities that are brought from *China*, the *Molucca* and other Neighbouring Islands, from *Bengal*, *Coromandel*, *Banda*, *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Siam*, *Pegu* and other Places. The Island of *Sumatra* furnishes them with Gold, Pepper and other Merchandises; From *Ligoor*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Oudjang* and *Salang* they have vast quantities of Tin, which is bought up in those Places by the Factors of the Company, and sent to *Malacca*, from whence it is Transported to the Coast of *Coromandel*, to *Bengal*, *Persia* and *Surat*, and Sold for ready Money. The *Chineses* bring hither vast stores of Silk and Porcelain, Damasks, Brocados, Sattins, Musk, Rhubarb, Iron, Saltpeter, fine Silver, Pearls great and small, Ivory, and *China* Fans; which they exchange for Pepper, Franckincense, Stuffs of *Camboya*, Coral Wrought, and Unwrought, Painted Callicoes of *Palakatte*, and White Callicoes of *Bengal*, Cinnabar, Quick-Silver, and such other Drugs as come from *Camboya*. The Island of *Java* supplies them with Rice, Oxen, Sheep, Stags-Flesh and Pork; In short there is such a vast Traffick and Concourse of Merchants here, that from thence probably it got the Name of the *Golden Chersonesus* among the Ancients; *Malacca* being certainly the Richest Harbour that can be seen; for formerly and even to this Day the Merchants were so Rich here, that they used to compute by no less than by Bars of Gold; of which a vast quantity is found

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found near the Rivers, and in the Mountains, to the Weſt, to wit, on the famous Rivers *Kedan* and *Peren* or *Perogh*. The Mahometans living along the Coaſt uſed formerly to Trade hither with Linen and ſome other Commodities, but not ſo much of late Years, neither is the Pepper Trade ſo conſiderable here now, as in former Days, ſince the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company have ſettled their Factories, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Sumatra*, which produces great quantities of Pepper. However Ships are ſometimes detained here for a conſiderable time, by reaſon of the contrary *Monſon* or Seaſon Winds.

Formerly they had no other Coin but [illegible] it was made of Tin at *Malacca*, being of great Weight, but little Value. Or rather they exchanged their Commodities for Gold and Silver by Weight; But now they Coin both Gold and Silver, a Piece of Eight being worth commonly two Guilders, 11 Stivers. They have two ſorts of Weights, *viz.* the great and ſmall Bar: The great Bar conſiſts of 200 *Kattys*, each *Katty* containing 26 *Tayls*, or 38¼ Ounces *Portugueſe* Weight, a *Tayl* being an Ounce and a half. The ſmall Bar comprehends likewiſe 2 *Kattys*, each *Katty* comprehending 22 *Tayls*. According to the computation of others, a Bar of *Malacca* contains 200 *Kattys deciſeens*, or three *Chineſe Pikol* each Pikol computed at 122 Pound Weight, making all together 366 Pound Weight. The great Bar or Weight is made uſe of when they Weigh Pepper, Cloves, Nutmeggs, Mace, White and Red Sandals, Indigo, Allum, Eagles-Wood and Civet; with the leſſer Weight, Quick-Silver, Copper, Leaf-Gold, Oyl of Nutmeggs, Benzoin, Camphire and ſuch like Commodities. The City of *Malacca* is Inhabited by many *Dutch*, but for the moſt part by *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*, ſome *Chineſes*, *Pagans* and *Jews*, for the conveniency of Traffick.

Mala-

The *Malayars* or Natives of *Malacca* are Tawny, with long Black Hair, great Eyes and Flat Noſes; They deduce their Origin from the *Javaneſes*, but their Eyes are quite different, they are for the moſt part Naked, wearing only a piece of Stuff wrapt about the Middle, with their Arms and Legs Naked. Their only Ornament being Gold Bracelets and Earings ſet with precious Stones. The Women wear Silk Cloaths, and ſhort Skirts, Embroidred with Gold and precious Stones, ſome of which are twiſted in their Locks, which are very long. The Women are extravagantly Proud here, expecting more Reverence than any other *Indian* Women. There is alſo another peculiar ſort of Men in *Malacca*, call'd by the *Dutch Kakerlakken* (from a certain Monſtrous Creature in the *Indies* of the ſame Name) who are blind by Day and can only ſee by Night. They can tell Money, Work, and do any other thing in the Dark, which they cannot do by Daylight, which they paſs away for the moſt part in Sleeping, and ſeldom riſe till Sun-ſet. In Shape and Proportion of their Limbs, as well as by their Complection, they reſemble the *Europeans*, having commonly Gray Eyes, whereas all the Eaſtern Nations have black, and dark brown Eyes. Their Hair is inclining to Yellow, and of ſuch a length among the Women, what it reaches down to their Hipps; Their Feet are bent inward. The ſame kind is likewiſe found in ſome other Places in the *Indies* and in *Africa*.

Their Cloaths.

Kakerlakken.

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The Language uſed at *Malacca* is call'd the *Malava* Tongue from the Natives of the Country, being very famous throughout the *Eaſt-Indies*. For, the general concourſe of ſo many Nations, different in their Languages, has put them upon a Neceſſity of Compiling a certain Language, compoſed of the beſt and choiceſt Words of all the reſt, which therefore is accounted the neateſt and moſt agreable of the *Eaſt-Indies*, which is the reaſon that not only the Neighbouring, but alſo far diſtant Nations, that Trade with *Malacca*, are very deſirous to learn it, and look upon it as a great accompliſhment. For the better encouragement of this Language and the benefit of their Officers and Factors, the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company has cauſed a Dictionary both in the *Malava* and *Dutch* Tongues to be Publiſh'd. Moſt of the *Malayars* are either *Chriſtians* or *Mahometans*, tho' there are likewiſe ſome *Pegans* and *Jews* ſettled at *Malacca*, for the conveniency of Commerce. The Coaſt of *Malacca* is a flat or marſhy Country, and conſequently not extraordinary wholeſome; but deeper in the Country, are many Hills and Wilderneſſes, which are plainly diſcovered at Sea. It produces but little for the ſuſtenance of Life, except what is brought forth in Gardens, and what grows among the Mountains, where you meet with ſome Rice and Peaſe: The defect of which is ſupply'd by vaſt Numbers of ſmall Veſſels, which come every day from *Bengala* and *Sumatra*, and bring thither Rice and other Eatables. However, they are pretty well ſtored with ſuch Fruits as commonly grow in the *Indies*; The Fruit *Durion* grows here much better and larger than in any other part of the *Indies*. They have likewiſe *Ananas*, *Jambos*, *Mangoes*, *Karambolas* and *Papaias*; they have whole Woods of Coco-Trees. Here grows a certain Tree call'd the *Mourning Tree* by the *Portugueſes*, becauſe its Flowers cloſe up in the Night-time. Here you may meet alſo with Cinamon Trees, but not very

The Malaya Tongue.

Their Religion.

The Country.

1662. very rainy, neither do they approach in Goodness to those of *Ceylon*. But of *Kambock* or *Aloes-Wood* and *Bongain*, they have great plenty. Here are to be found some *Durian* Fruit, peculiar only to this Place, but no Pears, Apples, Plums, Cherries, or any such-like *European* Fruits. Oxen, Cows, Sheep and Horses are likewise very scarce here, which are brought thither a great way out of the Country, and are seldom very Fat. Formerly the Country hereabouts did abound in Wild Beasts of all sorts, such as Tygers, Elephants, &c. which were so Ravenous, that they used to break in the Night time into the Houses of the Inhabitants who for their better security, used to Sleep upon Trees; But since it has been so well Peopled by the *Dutch*, this sort of Wild Beasts are but seldom heard of.

Cape Rachado and Barcelar. Just by *Malacca* is the Cape or point of Land call'd *Rachado*, and the Cape of *Barcelar*, being a very High Mountain, near a point of Land. Not far from *Malacca* is

The Mountain Malian. a very large Mountain call'd *Malian*, which by reason of the vast Quantities of Salt-Peter it contains within its Bowels, 1646. did break out with such a terrible Noise and Earthquakes, as if the day of Judgment was at Hand.

Sinkapura *Sinkapura* lies on the most Southern Point of all *Asia*. About half a degree to the North of the Line, and 20 Leagues from *Malacca*. This Cape has imparted its Name to the Streights of *Sinkapura*. The Country of *Sinkapura* had before *Malacca* was built, its own Kings, and was the chiefest Place of Trade on this Coast, being much frequented by the Chinese Merchants, and those of *Cambaia*. The Mountain near the Streights of *Sinkapura*, bearing the same Name, produces most excellent Diamonds. About *Sinkapura* is a certain Nation, which with their whole Families live always at Sea, in their small Vessels; they are call'd *Sauetes*, live upon Fishing, and are subject to the King of *Jor*. About two Leagues beyond the Streights of *Sinkapura* is the River *Johor* at the entrance of which you see two Mountains or rather high Islands shaped like Sugarloaves; one is four times bigger than the other, lying N.N.E. as you enter the River, and the other N.E. On the other side of the River you Discover a high Hill, tho' the South side of the River is a Champain Country. There is 11 fathom Water at the mouth of this River.

The Isle of Rocks. To the South of *Malacca* is a small Isle, of about half a League in Compass, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Ilha das Pedras*, or the *Isle of Rocks*, and has very good Freshwater.

About half a Cannon Shot from the City, another small Island call'd *Malacca*, and by the *Portugueses*, *Ilha das Naes*, or the *Ship Island*. Two Leagues from *Malacca* is a pretty large Isle call'd *Sapta*. That vast Point or Tract of Land on which the Country of *Malacca* or *Malaya* lies, being the most Southern of all the *East-Indies*, comprehends likewise several other Kingdoms and Cities; to wit, *Patanis*, *Pa'an*, *Pera*, *Queda*, *Johor* or *Jor*, *Ligeor*; and further to the North the Kingdom and City of *Tanassery*. We will give you a short account of the Kingdoms of *Johor*, *Pa'ans*, *Ligeor* and *Pa'an*.

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The Kingdom of Johor. The Kingdom of *Jor* or *Johor* stands indebted for its Name to its Capital City, call'd by some *Goer* or *Goera*, and *Joar* or *Goar* or *Gohor*. It is situate at the very streights of *Malacca*, bordering in part upon the Kingdom of *Malacca*; and on the other side, upon the Kingdom of *Pan* or *Pahan*. The ancient City of *Johor* or *Jor* (call'd in some Mapps *Guar*) was very large and magnificently built, but was in 1603 destroyed by the *Portugueses*, who left only a few Houses standing, which were immediately inhabited again. The King of *Johor* caused in 1609 another City to be built, somewhat higher up the River above *Johor*; this he call'd *Batusabar*, towards the building of which, the *Dutch* under their Admiral *Peter Verhoeven* contribution 3000 pieces of Eight, out of the booty they had taken from the *Portuguese* ships coming from *Makao* near the Cape *Rachado*. Most of the chief Inhabitants of the old City of *Jor* retired from thence to *Batulabar*; a Half-day's Journey from whence is *Sedalli*, near the Sea-side. It is a very fertile Country, abounding in Lemons, and Citrons as big as a Man's Head, Banana's, Batata's, Anana's, and other *Indian* Fruits. They have also great store of Pepper, Cinnamon, Buffiers, Cows, Stags, wild Boars, and divers Sorts of Monkeys and Birds, besides some Sea-Monsters.

The Division of the Inhabitants. The Inhabitants are naturally Brave, but very Lascivious, Lyers, great Dissemblers, and Proud beyond measure. Their Complexion is inclining to a light Blue, with broad Faces, crooked Noses, and very black Teeth, which they acquire by chewing the Weed *Betel*, black Teeth being accounted a great Ornament among them.

Their Cloathing. The common People go quite naked, having only a Piece of Stuff to cover their Members, which hangs down to their Toes. The Rich and better Sort wear a kind of Jacquets, made of Blue, Green or Red Callico, or what Colour they please; they are shaped like our Shirts, with wide sleeves, are open before, and reach only to their knees. They have also two silken strings of the same Colour with the Jacquet, one serves for

for a Girdle, the other for a Head-string. They Paint their Nails yellow, and the greater quality they pretend to, the longer they wear their Nails. The Richer sort commonly wear a Poynard on their side, enriched with Precious stones. Their King has many other petty Kings, his Vassals, under his Jurisdiction. The King of *Jor* or *Johor* in 1606 attack'd the City of *Malacca* with 60000 Men, which shews him to be a Potent Prince, and in the taking of the City of *Jor*, the *Portugueses* got 1500 Brass pieces of Cannon; in 1608, *Ratispont* the then King of *Jor*, being about 30 Years of Age, came aboard the *Dutch* Fleet with 30 of his Wives, he had three Gold Chains set with Precious Stones, about his Neck, and his Poynard was likewise enriched with Sapphires and Diamonds, valued at 50000 Guilders. The Inhabitants are one half Mahometans, the other Pagans: 1609, one *John de Paratuan* was King of *Jor*, he was stiled the *Great King*, being likewise King of *Malacca*, and *Raya Sybrang*, *i.e.* Prince of the other side of the River. In 1611 The King of *Azem*, sent back the Brother of the King of *Jor*, with a Fleet of 36 Ships, and a Convoy of 2000 Men, with abundance of Cannon and Ammunition, in Order to assist in the rebuilding of the City of *Jor*. It was generally reported that the King of *Azem* having given his Sister in Marriage to him, did intend to set him upon the Throne, instead of his Brother, who then Reigned.

The Isle of Linga.

Linga is an Island under the jurisdiction of the King of *Johor*, who has a Governour there; it produces abundance of *Zagu* but no Rice; in 1606, it had about 3000 Inhabitants.

The Kingdom of Pan or Pahan.

The Kingdom of *Pan* or *Pahan*, is by the *Portugueses* call'd *Paon*, and by others after the *Arabians Phaan*; it being a Custom among the hometan *Arabians*, to pronounce *phe* instead of *p*. To the North it borders upon the Kingdom of *Patane*, and adjoins to that of *Johor*, as well as to the Streights of *Malacca*. The City of *Pahan* is situate about a League from the Sea shoar, being Inhabited only by the Nobility, the common People dwelling in the Suburbs. It is not very large, but surrounded with a Wall, made of the Trunks of Trees joined close together, of about four Fathoms high, strengthned on each corner with a Bastion, but not fill'd with Earth. The streets are enclosed on both sides with Hedges of Reeds, and planted with Coco and other Trees, resembling rather some Gardens adjoining to one another in the Suburbs, than a well regulated City, the Houses being generally of Reed and Straw, only the King's Palace is of Wood. The River of *Pahan* is very broad, but not Navigable by Galleys except at high Water: The Country round about is very low, and produces about 300 Bahars of Pepper; as likewise *Palo de Aquila* or Eagle-wood, *Kalambackwood* and Camphire, but not so good as that of *Bornee*, Gold (but very course,) Nutmegs, Mace, *Sapan-wood*, Diamonds, *Pedro de Porco*, or Hoggs Stones, which are accounted a greater Antidote than the Bezoar stone. Deeper into the Country are abundance of Elephants. The Inhabitants are the greatest Impostors in the World. The King is Tributary to the King of *Siam*, but after *Albuquerque* had conquered *Malacca* he sent his Deputies to *Pahan*, to oblige that King to promise fealty to him. *At Pahan* great quantities of Baskets are made and sold, they are better than those made in *Java* but not so good as the *Portuguese*. They also cast Great Guns here of 3000 pounds weight. The Inhabitants are partly Mahometans, partly Pagans. Their King who reigned in 1612, had Married the Youngest Sister of the Queen of *Patane*. The two Sisters having not seen one another in 28 Years; the Queen of *Patane* sent to the King of *Pahan* to desire leave for her Sister, his Spouse, to come to see her; which the King refusing, She laid an Imbargo upon all the Ships loaden with Rice, and bound from *Siam*, *Campaja*, *Lugor*, and other Places to *Pahan*; and immediately sent a Fleet of 70 Ships, on board of which were 4000 Men, with strict Orders to bring along with them the Queen of *Pahan*, whether the King were willing or not; But it was not long before the King of *Pahan* with the Queen his Spouse, and two Young Children, being forced by Famine and a revolt among his Subjects to leave the Country, came to visit the Queen of *Patane*, where they met at first but with a cold Reception, not one of all the Queen's Court giving the King of *Pahan* as much as one Visit, but caused all his Doggs to be kill'd, he being not able to keep them any longer. Some days after matters began however to look with a better Face; for the 1st of *August* the Queen of *Patane* invited the King of *Pahan* to a most sumptuous Feast, where she diverted him with several *Indian* Women Dancers. The King of *Pahan* returned not long after with his Queen, the Sister of the Queen of *Patane*, into his Country, but carried away with him no Presents to make him amends for the charge he had been at, having spent almost all he had. The King of *Pahan* who reigned in 1607, was then about 40 Years of Age, and his Son had Married the Daughter of the King of *Queda*.

The Kingdom of Patane.

The Kingdom of *Patane* or *Patany*, having deriv'd its Name from its Capital City, borders to the South upon *Pahan*, being situate upon the same Eastern Coast, to the North upon *Siam* and the Kingdom of *Lugor* or *Ligor*; these two Kingdoms being incorporated into

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one. The City of *Patane* is situate under 7 deg. 56 min. of Northern Latitude, not far from the Sea, and surrounded to the Land-side by Boggs. The Harbour is about half a League from the City, which is about half a League in length, and very narrow, Fortified with high wooden Pallisado's put close together, according to the custom of these Countries. The Houses are Artificially [illegible] of Wood and Canes, and very light [illegible]. The Suburbs are likewise much longer than broad, and are encompass'd on the back side by a pleasant Rivulet. The Royal Palace and Court, where most Persons of Quality live, are inviron'd with Pallisado-work, in the nature of a *Pa*[illegible]; The Mahometan Church is a stately Edifice of Brick-work, gilt very richly within, and adorned with Pillars, curiously wrought with Figures. In the midst close to the Wall is the Pulpit, carv'd and gilt all over, unto which the Priests are only permitted to ascend by four large Steps. They have also several Temples Dedicated to their *Pagan* Idols, among which three excel the rest. When the *Dutch* in 1662, settled first here, they saw in one of those Temples belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Siam*, a guilt Statue resembling a Man, but of the biggness of a Horse, with one hand down and the other upwards. On each side stood a very large Dragon gilt, with two stone Statues, to wit, A Man on the one, and a Woman on the other side, with their hands lift up to Heaven. The same they saw in the second, with this difference only, That one half of it was only gilt, the other painted red. In the third was one in the same posture, with a gilt streak cross the breast; and behind the Altar of the great Idol, was another lesser Statue, resembling a Man, with a large horn in the forehead; This Idol their Priests say, represents the Great God.

Temperature of the Air.

The Climate is very temperate and wholesome here, notwithstanding it lies near the Line. Their Summer begins in *February*, and continues nine Months; *viz.* till the end of *October*, during which Season they have two different Winds, to wit, by day from the Sea, and by night from the Land side. In *November*, *December* and *January* is their Winter, when it blows and rains so violently from the North East, that there is no stirring for Ships out of the Harbour till *February*, when the Wind turning to the East, the Rains cease, and the fair Season returns. The Country of *Patane* is very Fruitful, abounding in Rice and many other Fruits, the chiefest of which are; The *Durions*, *Mangestans*, *Ananas*, *Lancrats*, *Ramboutans*, *Pisangs*, Pomegranates, Oranges, Limons, and a peculiar kind of Limons, call'd *Gibol Limons*, being transplanted hither from *China*. Each Month here produces its peculiar Fruits, tho' those of certain Months are preferable before the rest. The Grounds are Plowed with Bufflers or Oxen, which they sow with Rice. They also plant good store of Pepper, but cannot sell it so cheap here as in some other parts of the *East-Indies*. The Woods and Wildernesses are stock'd with wild Creatures, such as Hares, Rabbets (but not so bigg as ours) Staggs, wild Boars, Tygers, Bufflers, Elephants, Apes, Monkeys, Geese and Ducks, (which lay eggs twice every day) and Turtle-doves as finely coloured as the best Parrots. The wild Hoggs do incredible mischief among the Rice, which obliges the Country men to watch in the Field in the Night time; when they shoot or otherwise kill them, they bury their Carcasses under Ground; the Mahometans (for such those of *Patan* and *Malaya* are) being forbid the use of Hoggs flesh, neither will they permit any body else to eat it.

How they catch the Elephant.

The Elephants, I am credibly inform'd, are catch'd in the following manner. They ride on the back of a tame large Elephant into the Woods, whom they let loose there, as soon as he meets with a wild Elephant he engages him, and whilst their snouts are entangled, some come from behind the wild Elephant and twist a Rope round his hind leggs, and so keeps him either to render him useful for the Wars, or else kill him for his Teeths sake, which are in great esteem in C[illegible].

The Sea hereabouts produces great store of Craw fishes, Oisters and Tortoises; and the same Druggs, Metals, and Precious stones, that are found in the Kingdom of *Pahan* are likewise to be met with here.

The constitution of the Inhabitants.

The Natives of *Patane* are of an Ash coloured Complexion and well-shaped, but very proud and conceited; the richer sort never appearing abroad, without a great train of Servants. They are however very affable and civil in conversation, as well among themselves as to Strangers; But they are no Soldiers, nor enclined to War-like exercises, Courage being none of their Talent, but more taken with Pleasures than the use of Arms. Their Cloathing is none of the best. The Men are extreamly addicted to Venery, which renders them jealous above measure, their Wives and Daughters being not permitted to see their nearest and best Friends. They have an Ancient custom since enacted into a Law, that to check that enormous Vice of Sodomy, the Men are obliged to wear constantly two or three small Bells made of Gold, Silver or Lead, betwixt the prepuce and the glans, or head of the Yard. Adultery is a Capital Crime with them, especially among the great Officers and Nobles of the Kingdom;

Kingdom: The Father of the Perſon that has committed the Crime, or if he be not living, the next of Kin, is obliged to ſupply the place of Executioner, but the Miſcreant has the liberty to chooſe what kind of death he pleaſes. Notwithſtanding this ſevere Puniſhment, Adultery is very frequent among them, by reaſon of the extraordinary Laſciviouſneſs of the Women, who are very lewd, and love to wallow in Pleaſures. Fornication betwixt two un-married Perſons, is not look'd upon ſo much as a Treſpaſs. Nothing is more common, than if any Foreign Merchants come to *Patane*, to aſk them whether they don't want ſome Women for their conveniency; and there is no want of young handſome Women who offer their ſervice, out of whom each may take his choice, and agree with her as he beſt can, as to what he is to allow her *per* Month; which done, ſhe immediately repairs to his Lodgings, where in the day time ſhe ſerves for a Chamber-maid, and in the night for a Bed-fellow; and during this agreement, the Man muſt be as careful to avoid the Commerce of other Women, as ſhe is on her ſide, unleſs he will expoſe himſelf to manifeſt danger. At parting the Man pays her Her wages, and ſo they are both free; and if he has a mind to change, he need not look far for one, it being a cuſtom among the Nobles here, to entertain many Female Slaves, whom they let out for ſuch a Uſe, and gain great profit by them. For the reſt the Natives are naturally Lazy and Idle, living for the moſt part upon fiſhing, and ſome handy-craft Trades, that is, that they can be contented with a little, drink ſcarce any thing but Water, and have a natural averſion to ſtrong Liquors. Almonds the Trifick and other buſineſs, is in the hands of the *Chineſes*, who either themſelves or their Factors, continually Trade betwixt this and the Circumjacent Countries, ſuch as *Siam*, *Ligor*, *Kandoys*, *Kyachinchina*, *Makaſſar*, *Palan*, *Tamar*, *Jehor*, *Bantam* and other both Inland and Maritime places, whither they tranſport all ſorts of *Chineſe* Commodities from *Patane*, as Porcelain Pots, Pans, Kettles, and Iron-work of all ſorts. The chief Riches of the Natives conſiſt in their Lands and Slaves, who live upon a ſmall allowance of Rice and Fiſh; but the Foreign Merchants tranſport thither abundance of Rich Merchandices.

p. 219. *The way of Trafficking by Exchange*

This Traffick. From *Bengale* and *Malacca* they ſent Cloths to *Patane*; from *Java* Sandel-wood; from *Borneo* Camphire, Slaves, Wax and Bezoar-ſtones; from *Siam* the Inhabitants of *Patane* are furniſhed with Gold, Rice, Salt and Lead; from *Siampa* and *Camboja* with Slaves, Cotton,

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ton, [illegible], and the finest Aloes-wood, from *China* with White and Yellow Silk, Gauses, Damasks, Sattins, Porcelain, Iron and Copper; from *Japan* with Scymeters, Copper, and such like Commodities. Many things are also transported hither that are bought up in other places by Foreigners; as from *Amboyna* and *Banda*, Nutmegs, Mace and Cloves; from *Timor* Sandel-wood; from *Jamby* and *Andragny*, Pepper; which they fetch likewise from *Champor*, *Liber*, *Pahan*, *Mordyllion* and *Ligor*: *Pegu* supplies *Pa*[illegible] with abundance of Precious Stones; th[illegible] are also many things Exported [illegible] by the Foreign Merchants; Tho[illegible] and *Pahan* provide themselves here with Rice, Salt, Oxen, Fowls and other eatables; [illegible] of *Malacca* transport the Bezoar Stones, Those of *Borneo*, Iron, Steel and Copper, the *Siameses* all sorts of Cloathings and Pepper; The *Chineses* Pepper, Camphire, White and Yellow Sandel-wood, Skins, Ivory, Buffler's Horns, and such like; The *Japoneses*, Staggs skins, Tin, Lead and Silk.

The Country of *Patane* is much more Powerful in Shipping than *Johor*, *Pahan*, or any of the Circumjacent Kingdoms: They are Governed by a King, who, as well as the King of *Malaya* is tributary to the King of *Siam*; their usual Yearly tribute consisting of a Flower wrought with Gold, some fine Cloaths, Velvets and Scarlets; the King's Chief Councellours are call'd *Menta*[illegible].

This Kingdom was in 1602 under the Government of a Queen, after the decease of her Husband, she being then but 15 Years of Age. Her Name was *Pratie*, she used to keep constantly within the Court among her Ladies of Honour, of whom she had a great number; She did not allow them to Marry, but connived at their amorous intreagues. Whereever she went abroad to take the Air, (which indeed happened but very seldom,) she was mounted on a very fine Elephant, and attended by 2000 Nobles and great Officers, all clad in her deceased Royal Spouse's Liveries, with his Coat of Arms upon them. Before they returned, she gave them always a splendid Entertainment, and so came with the same Cavalcade back to her Court. The Country of *Patane* is so Populous, as to be able to bring 180000 armed Men into the Field, the City and Suburbs of *Patane* alone being able to furnish 10000 Men.

Their Language.

Divers Languages are in vogue; *viz.* the *Malayan*, *Siamese*, *Patanese* and the *Chinese*; but the first is most used here, as well as in most other Parts of the *Indies*. The King of *Patane* Married his Daughter to the eldest Son of the King of *Johor*, (he having six in all) who with his youngest Brother lived at the Court of *Patane*; but the Youngest being engaged in an illegal Commerce with his Brothers Spouse, he kill'd them both according to the custom of the Country which Punishes Adultery with Death; notwithstanding which, the King of *Patane* to revenge his Daughters death, caused his Son-in-Law, the eldest Son of the King of *Johor* to be slain; *John de Paratuan*, and *Regia Sabrang*, two Brothers and both Kings of *Johor*, being not without reason, highly exasperated [illegible] proceeding, sent one *Magat Mangsor Hoch*, the Ambassador, along with Admiral *Jacob Heem*[illegible] to solicit a Powerful aid from the Sea General against the King of *Patane*, but [illegible] Ambassadour dying at Sea, put a stop to [illegible] design.

The Isle of Ding Ding.

Having dispatch'd my business here, we set sail the next day to a certain Island call'd *Ding Ding*, abounding in Fuel and most excellent Fresh Water. It lies about 3[illegible] Leagues to the North of *Malacca*, being covered all over with very tall Trees, which grow on the Hills. We arrived here the [illegible]th of *January* 1661, and immediately after our Landing, fell to the cutting down of Trees; among the rest we endeavoured to pick out a certain kind of Trees, the Wood of which is a pale red, but to our great amazement, could meet with none, till at last we discovered our error, to wit, That the Pith only was red, but all the other wood round ab[illegible] it of a different colour. This Wood is m[illegible] valued by the *Indians* for its beauty, of wh[illegible] they make many curious Pieces. The Fresh Water which runs down from the Rocks, claims the preference before any in the *Indies*; and this Isle has likewise the conveniency of a good Bay, where Ships may ride safely at Anchor. On the East side, it has another Bay, call'd *Cox Bay*, where we used sometimes to catch as much Fish at a draught, as our Chaloop was able to carry.

Indefinite of Inhabitants.

It is destitute of Inhabitants, and all sorts of wild Creatures, except wild Boars, which swim over thither from the Continent to feed upon a certain Root that grows there, nevertheless it abounds in Water-Fowls, more than any other place of the *Indies*: Here is a certain kind of Birds call'd by the *Dutch Shuies Birds*, being of the bigness of a *Storex*, the head being without Feathers. Here are also great quantities of Tortoises and Oisters, the last of which are often seen fastned to the branches of Trees, which hang sometimes above, sometimes under water.

The clearness of the Water having invited us to take a turn at Swimming, I found something sticking to one of my Legs, which when I look'd upon, I found to be a *Sea-apple*, and struck it of; but the Sting remaining in the Flesh occasioned a great inflammation and Pain, which was not appeased till

1662. till a considerable time after the Sting was taken out.

They leave it.

After we had provided our selves with what this Place could afford us, we set Sail again the 14th of *January*; As we were Sailing the same day along the Coast of *Sumatra* our Trumpeter catch'd a Stone-bream of about three Feet long, which appearing very fine to the Eye, we ordered the Cook to dress it for the Table of the Cabin. We were all so greedy, that when it was brought in, we ask'd the Cook whether he was sure he had kept none behind, which he took so ill, that he answered us, whether we took him as a Thief? But it was not long after Dinner, before all those that had Dined in the Cabin, were seized with such a Giddiness in their Heads, that they were not able to sit upright; I was the first who cry'd out, *we have certainly eat a Poysonous Fish*; but our Surgeon having no proper Remedies aboard, we sent our Chaloop to the Ship the *Leedam*, from whence being furnished with Vomits, we were by the frequent use of them, after a Sickness of 14 Days restored to our former Health. During our Sickness our best Diversion was, that being inform'd, how the Cook was as Sick as any of us, we were convinced that notwithstanding his great pretence of Honesty, our Suspicion was not ill grounded, which verified our old Proverb, *That the Cook is commonly the last who Dies for want of Victuals.* Two Cats that had eaten the Bones of this Fish, dyed soon after, tho' some Tobacco-water had been given them, to occasion a Vomiting; but none of us died, some few however were troubled with a lingering Distemper afterwards.

Apoisonous Sea-bream.

It is not easie to imagine what could be the reason of this Disaster, the Sea-bream being otherwise a Fish both Toothsome and Wholesome, unless we supposed this Bream to have fed upon some Poysonous Fish, such as those call'd by the *Dutch Seaqualler*, which are very Poysonous in those hot Countries; for if they touch but your Flesh, they cause an immediate Inflammation; their Flesh is as soft as a Gelly, they are of the bigness of a Trencher, or somewhat lesser; have Red and Purple Spots on their Backs, and eight Teats below on their Bellies, at certain Seasons of the Year, the Seas about *Toutekoriin* and near other Places on the Coast of *Malabar*, are so full of them, that they are obliged to desist from Fishing. But before we proceed farther in our Voyage, it will be requisite to give you a short Account of the Isle of *Sumatra*.

Reason of the Poyson of this Fish.

The Isle of Sumatra's Situation.

The large and most potent Island of *Sumatra* is by some Authors call'd *Somatra*, *Samatra* and *Zamatra*. Its Situation is to the South West just opposite to *Malacca* about eight Leagues from the Continent, the great Isle of *Java*, lying to the South of it. Its Extent is from the 5th degrees of Northern Latitude, near the Gulph of *Bengala*, to the South South East, to the 7th degree of Southern Latitude, as far as the Streights of *Sunda*, beyond the Coast of *Malacca*; comprehending a vast tract of Ground of 12 degrees from the South to the North, amounting to 130 Leagues. Its whole length is 195 Leagues, its breadth 50, and the whole Circumference 360.

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This Isle was formerly divided by some into four, by others into 10 Kingdoms, among which *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Achem*, *Kampar*, *Menankabo*, *Zunda*, *Andragide* and *Aaru* were the chiefest. Some there are who mention no less than 30 petty Kingdoms, *viz. Daya*, *Lambry*, *Achem* or *Achen* or *Achin*, *Biar*, *Pedir*, *Lide*, *Pirada*, *Pacem*, *Bura*, *Daru*, *Arkat*, *Irkan*, *Rupat*, *Puru*, *Gaka*, *Kamper*, *Kapokan*, *Andragyery* or *Andragide*, *Jamby*, *Palimbang*, *Tana*, *Malaye*, *Sekampan*, *Tulumlavan*, *Andaloz*, *Piriaman* or *Priaman*, *Tike*, or *Tikouw*, *Barres*, *Quinchel*, and *Mankapa*; all which have borrowed their Names from their respective Capital Cities; and in antient Times were Govern'd by their own Kings. But in process of time, many of these were swallowed up in the Kingdom of *Achin*, the most potent in this Island, having under its Jurisdiction the Kingdoms and Cities of *Pedir*, *Pazem*, *Daya*, *Barres*, *Pastaman*, *Priaman* and *Padang*, and consequently the greatest part of the Isle of *Sumatra*, besides the Kingdoms of *Queda* and *Pera* on the Continent. All the other Kingdoms and Cities of *Sumatra* were Conquered by Foreign Princes. This the Southern Parts of *Sumatra*, viz. *Sillabar*, *Dampin*, *Liampon*, *Palimbang*, *Jamby* and some others acknowledge the King of *Bantam* their Sovereign; or else the *Mataram* of *Java* for their Protector. Some will have the Isle of *Sumatra*, to be the same, the Antients call'd *Taprobang*, tho' in my Opinion that Name belongs more properly to the Isle of *Ceylon*.

It is divided in many Kingdoms

Not many Years ago, one of the chiefest Cities of *Sumatra*, was *Palimbang* or *Palembang*, Situated near the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, which on 24 *November* 1659. was laid in Ashes by the *Dutch* Admiral and General *John van der Laen*, because the Inhabitants had about two Years before surpriſed by Treachery two of their Yachts call'd the *Jakkatra* and the *Watchman*, and miserably Murthered the whole Ships Crew; and in the next following Year had cut to Pieces two other *Dutch-men*, that were sent aboard, from aboard the Vessels the *Niccoport* and the *Leerdam* (lately come from the *Texel*) to serve as Interpreters, their Heads being

The Inhabitants of Palimbang Murther some Dutch.

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by ſpecial Order from the *Orangkey's* put upon Lances, and expoſed to the View of their Comrades that were in the Boats.

A Fleet of Dutch ſhips ſent to Palimbang.

To revenge ſo barbarous a Murther, a Fleet of eleven Ships ſet Sail from *Batavia* the 19 of *October* 1659. under Command of *John vander Laen* Admiral, and *John Truytſman* Vice Admiral, *viz.* The *Orange* Admiral, the *Poſtilion*, the *Molucca*, the Arms of *Batavia*, and the *Charles*; three Galleots, to wit, the *Apple-tree*, the *Hour-glaſs* and *Hammchiel*; and the Chaloops, the *Crab*, the *Tronk*, and the Flying *Dear*, Mann'd with 600 Sea-Men and 700 Land-Souldiers. The 30th. they arrived, without any remarkable accident in their Paſſage before the River of *Palimbang*, where they met with the Yachts, the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk*, and the *Cat*, and with the Chaloops, the *Cony*, and the *Koelong*, that were Cruſing thereabouts. The ſame day they got ſight of a *Chineſe* Veſſel taking its Courſe towards *Jamby*, which they detained till they had enter'd the River, and on the 3d *November* ſent her in Company of the Chaloop, the *Tronk*, to *Jamby*. They entred the River in the following Order. Firſt the *Arms of Batavia*, next the *Poſtilion*, then the Yacht, the *Bloemendahl* aboard of which was the Admiral, having left the *Orange* at the Entrance of the River; The Yacht the *Koukerk* Vice Admiral, the Yacht the *Cat*, the large Chaloop the *Crab*; after theſe came the three Galleots, the *Hour-glaſs*, the *Apple-tree*, and *Hammchiel*; the Ships, the *Charles* and the *Molucca*, brought up the Rear; The other Chaloops were ordered to attack the Admiral Ship. The 3 and 4 *November* was ſpent by the *Dutch* to enter the River, the 9th in the Night-time they were unexpectedly attack'd by ſome of the Inhabitants of *Palimbang*, in which engagement we had four or five wounded; the Commanders not being time enough upon their Guard. The 10th they were advanc'd betwixt the Iſle of *Cambira* and the oppoſite Shoar, within ſight of the City of *Palimbang*, where they diſcovered three of the Enemies Forts; the firſt call'd *Bamagangan*, Situate on the Weſtern Point of the River of the Iſle of *Cambara*, the other two upon its Eaſt Point, oppoſite to the other; they were call'd *Mathapoura* and *Menapoura*. At our firſt appearance, the Enemy kept cloſe within their Works, which gave us the more encouragement to penetrate higher up the River with our Ships. But ſeveral large Floats, upon which Houſes fill'd with combuſtible Matter were built, being laid in the Stream, Captain *Jurian Pauſon* was ordered with ſome Boats and the Yacht, the *Hour-glaſs*, to take a view of them, to cut their Cables, and ſet them on Fire, which being put in Execution accordingly, the whole Fleet advanced forward in order to attack the Fort of *Bamagangan*. But as ſoon as we came within Cannon Shot of the Fort, the Enemy gave us a very warm Salute out of his Great Cannon, from the Forts both on the Eaſt and Weſtern Point, tho' without any conſiderable loſs on our ſide, which gave us ſufficient encouragement to fire moſt furiouſly upon the firſt Fort, with ſuch Succeſs, that we ſet their Magazine of Powder on Fire, which blew up with it the greateſt part of the Fort, and all the Circumjacent Houſes; Hereupon the Yachts the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk* and the *Cat*, were ordered to Anchor within Piſtol Shot from the Shoar, from whence we ſo grievouſly gall'd the Enemy, both with our great and ſmall Shot, that at laſt we Landed and made our ſelves Maſters of the Fort, where we found 22 Iron and Braſs Cannon, which we immediately turn'd againſt the Enemy, to the Land Side, and continued in Arms all the Night long; which proved no unneceſſary precaution, for the Enemy attack'd us moſt furiouſly not long after, in hopes of regaining the place, but were repulſed moſt courageouſly, with the loſs of only one Man on our ſide.

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They Arrived before the River of Palimbang.

Come within ſight of the City.

Burn the Enemies Fire Engines.

The Fort Bamagangan Attack'd.

Then the Enemy ſent four or five very large Fire Engines being Floats of Timber with Wood on Houſes fill'd with combuſtible Matter on the top of them, which took up almoſt the whole breadth of the River; The Yachts, the *Bloemendahl*, the *Koukerk* and the *Cat* had much ado to eſcape their Fury, being forc'd to cut their Cables; But the *Molucca* Yacht had her Fore-caſtle ſet on Fire, and was with much adoe ſaved by the help of many Boats that were ſent to her Aſſiſtance, without receiving any conſiderable Damage; ſo that theſe Fire Engines were forced down the River by the Current and ſoon after vaniſh'd into Smoak. At the taking of the Fort 30 *Javaneſes* were kill'd, and among them the old *Quey*, *Tommagen*, *Nadapen Radja*, with his two Sons, who were buried the next day.

Fire Engines of the Enemy.

The 11th early in the Morning we likewiſe attack'd and took the Fort *Mathapoura*, where we found only four Pieces of Cannon, the Enemy having thrown four more into the River, which we brought out from thence afterwards; the remaining part of the day was ſpent in ſhipping in what Artillery and Ammunition we had got; eight Companies of Soldiers were likewiſe Landed the ſame Afternoon in the Iſle of *Cambara*, to attack the Fort there, but to their great amazement found this ſtrong Hold left by theſe Cowardly wretches; we found here twelve pieces of Cannon, ſome of which they had like-

The Fort Mathapoura taken.

The Iſle of Cambara taken.

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Burn the Enemies Fire Engines.

The Fort Bamagangan Attack'd.

Fire Engines of the Enemy.

The Fort Mathapoura taken.

The Isle of Cambara taken.

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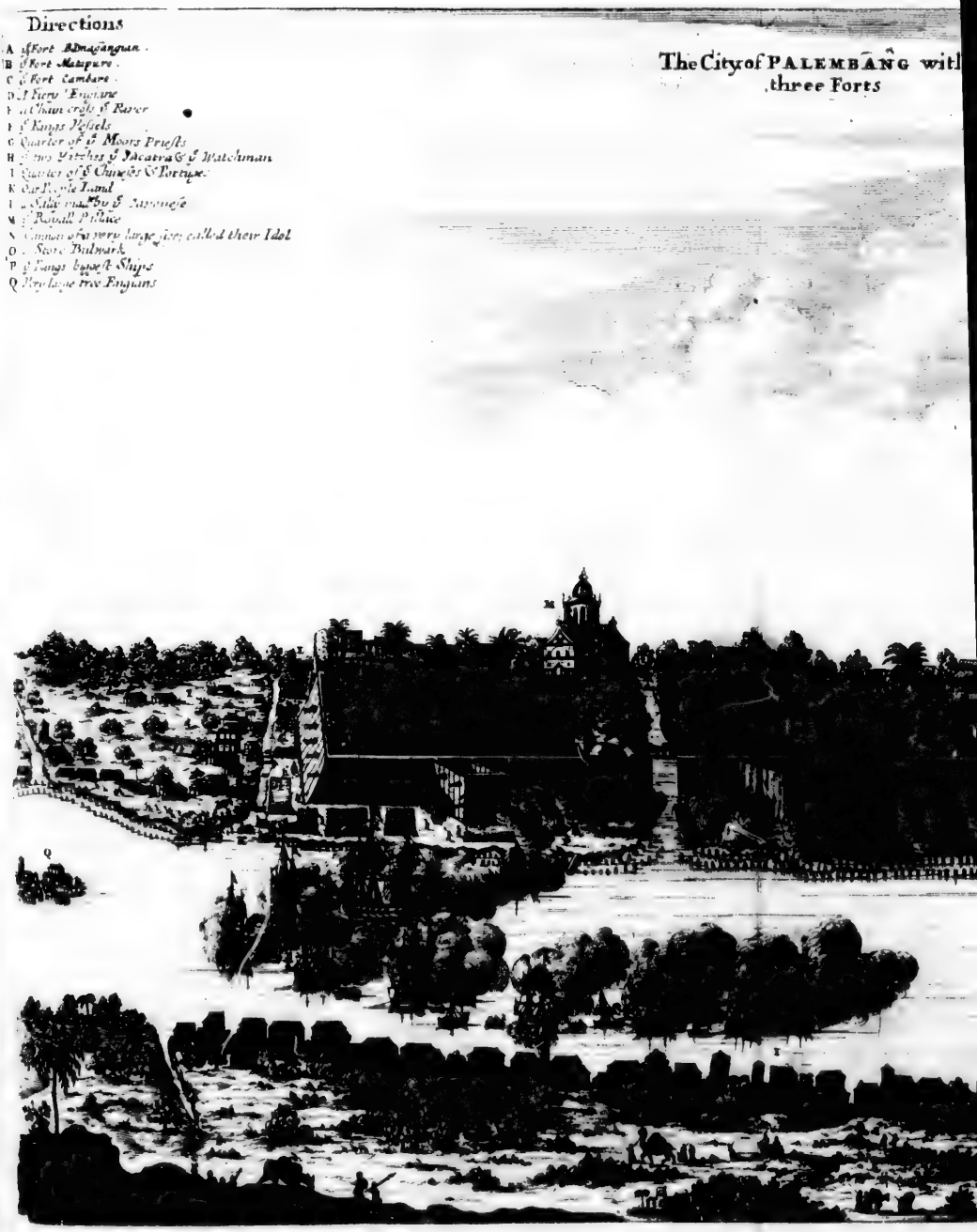
Directions
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B ye Fort Matapure.
C ye Fort Cambare.
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E a Chain cross ye Raver
F ye Kings Vessels
G Quarter of ye Moors Priests
H two Yatches ye Jacatra & ye Watchman
I Quarter of ye Chineses & Portuges
K Our People Land
L a Sally made by ye Zavonese
M ye Royall Pallace
N Cannon of a very large size; called their Idol
O Store Bulwark
P ye Kings biggest Ships
Q Very large tree Engians
The City of PALEMBANG with
three Forts

of PALEMBANG with its three Forts

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1662. likewiſe thrown into the Mudd, but were recovered by our People and carried aboard our Veſſels, with a ſmall quantity of Ammunition: Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in ſight of the Garriſon of *Palimbang*, they had found means to ſet fire to the Yacht the *Watchman*, which they burn'd; and in the Evening thoſe that had deſerted the Fort, under favour of a violent Rain, did three ſeveral times attempt the Recovering of it, in which Engagement we had two kill'd and ſix wounded, and were forced to ſtand to our Arms all the reſt of the Night. The 12th and 13th were ſpent in Embarking all the Cannon and Ammunition we had got in the three beforementioned Forts, which done, it was reſolved in a Council of War, forthwith to attack the *Chineſe* Quarter, and ſo to make our ſelves Maſters of the City, before the Enemies could recover themſelves from the fright they were put in by the loſs of their Forts: As we were paſſing by the City, we received the ſame Salute we had before from the Forts, but without any remarkable harm, or the loſs of one of our Veſſels.

The Fortification of Palimbang.

The City of *Palimbang* was fortify'd with vaſt Trunks of Trees put cloſe together, upon which were planted a vaſt number of great Cannon, ſo that it ſeem'd impoſſible to be taken by ſo ſmall a number, being beſides this invironed with a deep and mirie Ditch. We were hard put to it, how to find a ſafe Landing place, till at laſt our Admiral having eſpy'd at the uttermoſt point of the Fortification, a ſmall Rivulet, which led up to a place where we perceived very little or none of the Enemy's Fire; we landed thereabouts with all our Forces, and advancing boldly to the very Gun-holes of the Enemy; they threw their Granado's thro' them into the City, which ſetting the adjacent Houſes on Fire, the Enemy were ſo terrified thereat, that they quitted their Poſt, and thereby gave opportunity to the Admiral *vander Laen*, to Mr. *Truytſman*, and Captain *Harman* to break thro' the Fortifications into the City by three ſeveral ways. Here

Attack'd by the Dutch,

they met with a brave oppoſition from the Inhabitants, who, according to the cuſtom of theſe Nations, under the ſound of their *Amock*, fell courageouſly upon theſe three Bodies, of whom they kill'd 18, among which were a Lieutenant, an Enſign and a Sergeant, but not without a much greater loſs on their ſide; The violent Rains obliged the *Dutch* Admiral to reconduct his Men on board the Veſſels that Night, but the next Morning they

and Taken.

landed again, and entred the City in the ſame place, where a doubtful Engagement enſued, till the Inhabitants being at laſt forced to give way, were beat out of the place, and retired into the open Country. The firſt thing that was Sacrificed to the fury of the Flames, was, the Royal Palace, after it had been diſpoiled of all its Riches, and a vaſt Train of Artillery, which the King and his cowardly Subjects left a Pray to the *Dutch*, after they had for ſome time defended themſelves, and fought hand to hand againſt them; but the Admiral *vander Laen* having laid two of their Chief or *Quey Nabey*'s dead at his feet, the reſt were ſo terrified thereat, that they fought for their ſafety in their heels. It is worth taking notice of, That theſe *Indians* ſeem'd to have paid a peculiar Reverence to their great Cannon, which we found covered with Scarlet Cloath lined with Ramboutins, and ſo perfumed with Incenſe, that the ſmell thereof ſtuck a great while after to our fingers. All the Artillery and Cannon being taken out of the City and from the Ramparts, the Admiral ordered likewiſe the Fortifications and adjacent Houſes to be laid in Aſhes; we found 15 of 21 of our People that were Priſoners among them, in the Priſon, on both ſides of the Royal Palace, miſerably Murthered and Mangled by theſe barbarous wretches, among which was *Jacob de Groot*; one *Dutch* Boy only, who was not put in Irons, had the good fortune to eſcape their hands by a timely flight, the remaining ſix they had carried along with them: To revenge as much as poſſible this barbarity, all that remained of the City, was after the Cannon and all the other Booty we got were carried aboard our Veſſels, ſet on fire and deſtroyed, the ſixteenth of the ſame Month.

1662.

Fifteen Dutchmen found Murthered in the City.

The Enemies fire Engine unſucceſsful.

About the ſame time, the Enemy ſent one of his before-mention'd fire Engines, of a vaſt bigneſs, down the River; it conſiſted of 20 wooden Houſes erected upon Floats of Timber, which almoſt extended from one ſide to the other. But no ſooner had the *Dutch* got ſight of this Engine, but they ſent out their Long-boats well man'd, who took care to protect our Ships againſt it, and after it was paſſed by them, ſet it on fire in ſight of the Enemy, which conſumed both the Engines, and a good number of Houſes ſtanding on the banks of the River. The 17th and 18th our People were ſtill buſie in Embarking the Booty, Artillery and Cannon, and a day of Thankſgiving was appointed to be kept throughout the whole Fleet for this Victory againſt the 23d. In the mean while we advanced higher up the River, to try whether we could meet with ſome Veſſels or Plantations that way, but ſaw nothing of any Moment. Mr. *John vander Laen*, and *John Truytſman* alſo write a Letter to the *Pangeran*, or Governour of *Palimbang*, which was diſpatch'd thither the 20th by a *Chineſe* Priſoner and an old Woman.

John

1662. *John vander Laen* General, and Captain *John Truytſman*, Commanders in Chief of the *Dutch* Forces now in the River and the Country of *Palimbang*, ſend this Letter to the *Pangerang* and all the Chief Councellours of the Country of *Palimbang*.

A Letter ſent to the Pangerang.

NOtwithſtanding our laſt Succeſs, we could not but put your Highneſs in mind of the moſt abominable Murther committed by your Subjects upon ſo many Innocent Perſons in the Service of the Dutch East-India *Company*; *which barbarous act, tho' it was highly reſented by the Governour General and Council of the* Indies *reſiding at* Batavia; *yet, to ſhew their Inclinations to continue in peace with your highneſs, did at that time for the preventing the effuſion of Human Blood, require, and actually demand, a reaſonable ſatisfaction for theſe unheard-of barbarities: To accompliſh which, they cauſed certain propoſitions to be made by* John Truytſman *to your Highneſs, with ſtrict Orders to inſinuate to your Highneſs all ſuch reaſons as might conduce towards the accompliſhment of that end, which we don't queſtion would have been ſufficiently convincing to your Highneſs, had not your evil Councellours miſguided you and thwarted your good intentions. But ſeeing you ſlighted theſe conditions, and were very backward in giving due ſatisfaction, the great God of Heaven and Earth being highly diſpleaſed at your Conduct, did ſo direct the Heart of the before mentioned Lord Governour and his Council, as to have recourſe to Arms, being the only remedy left them, ordained by God Almighty to protect the juſt cauſe of their Subjects. The Great God of Heaven having been pleaſed to bleſs their undertaking, for the due Puniſhment of your malicious Subjects, they are however willing to let your Highneſs know, That the Hoſtilities committed againſt you and your Subjects, were undertaken with no other intention, than to revenge the Innocent blood of their Subjects, and to procure an honourable and reaſonable Peace; The ſaid Governour and his Council, being always more enclined to Peace than War, if your Highneſs is of the ſame ſentiment; We expect to hear from you either by your Letter in Anſwer to this, or by your Deputies, it being our reſolution to tarry for that purpoſe in your Highneſs's Territories, and theſe Preſents ſhall be a ſufficient Paſſport to thoſe, whom your Highneſs ſhall be pleaſed to ſend to treat with us.* Given aboard the *Bloemendahl* the 20th of *November* 1659.

Signed,
John vander Laen.
John Truytſman.

The Dutch *Fleet goes higher up the River.* The 25th our Ships went further up the River, and got ſometimes ſight of three or four Lighters, which ſerved for Ferry-Boats; and ſome few Houſes built upon Floats of Timber; the Lighters could not be taken, 1662. becauſe they came not within reach of our ſhot, and afterwards ſheltered themſelves in the ſmall Rivulets among the Weeds: The Houſes were ſet on fire and ſo returned the 26th, before the Fort where we lay at Anchor till next day. In the mean time *Peter de Goyer* Director of the *Dutch* Factory of *Jamby*, ſent the 11th of *November* from thence by the Chaloop the *Tronk* 75 Capons, 100 Pullets, and 5 Goats, for the Uſe of Mr. *John vander Laen* and the other Commanders; this being all he was able to get, all eatables being extreamly ſcarce thereabouts at that time, becauſe the *Pangerang* of *Adrogery*, and the Young King of *Johor*, had lately tarried three Months, with an attendance of 2000 Perſons in theſe Parts; and not long ago, abundance of Cattle and Fowls had been kill'd for the Wedding Feaſt of his Highneſs's Daughter, who was Married to the Young *Patuan*. The Admiral and Captain *Truytſman* received not long after an Anſwer from the *Pangerang* of *Jamby*, to their Letter, dated the 20th of *November*, which being incloſed in another from Mr. *Peter Goyer*, dated the 26th, was Tranſlated out of the *Malayan* and runs thus.

This Letter is ſent from a ſincere Heart, by the *Pangerang* of *Jamby* to the Commanders in Chief, *John vander Laen* and *Daman Sittia Bauwa*, (meaning Captain *Truytſman*) Men famous for their Prudence and Courage.

The Pangerang *having underſtood that Mr.* John Maetzuicker *Governour General of the* Dutch East-Indies, *has ſent* 18 *Ships againſt thoſe of* Palimbang, *has thought fit to declare, that his ſentiments agree with the Governours; and that he is ready to approve all without the leaſt contradiction, what ſhall be undertaken by the ſaid Mr.* John Maetzuicker, *aſſuring Mr.* John vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa *that he will ſtand firm to this as well as to the other Promiſes made by him the* Pangerang *before. Purſuant to this reſolution, the* Pangerang *did upon the receipt of the Letter, ſend* Zitta Antacca *with ſome Troops to make War upon thoſe of* Palimbang. *The* Pangerang *alſo forewarns and Commands* John vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa *to be upon their guard, becauſe thoſe of* Palimbang *are near at hand; This being all the* Pangerang *commands at this time, to* John vander Laen *and* Daman Sittia Bauwa.

The 27th, all the Houſes that were yet ſtanding near the Fort of *Manſapoura* were together with the Fort it ſelf, ſet on fire by ſpecial order from the Admiral, and the ſame day we lifted a great piece of Ordnance out of the Marſhes in the Iſle of *Cambara*. And being ſenſible that either out of an obſtinate temper

temper or out of deſpair the *Pangerang* of *Palimbang* would ſcarce ſend any Deputies or Anſwer to ours of the 20th; we reſolved to leave that River, and accordingly with the next Tide ſet ſail and return'd thro' the branch of the River call'd *Bamarmaſſum* in order to burn all the Houſes and Plantations we ſhould meet with; but having ſpent 5 days, *viz.* to the 3d of *December* in coming down the ſaid River; we met at its entrance with the Ship the *Orange*, which joining with the reſt, we continued our Voyage the 4th and arrived with the whole Fleet and our Forces the 9th in the Afternoon, in the Road of *Batavia*. Our Booty conſiſted chiefly in 75 pieces of great, and 142 leſſer Cannon, ſome of which were of Iron. We found no Pepper here, but great ſtore of Rice and *Padie*, all which was conſumed by the fury of the Flames, as likewiſe a vaſt number of ſmall Veſſels, among which were the King's Pleaſure Boats, of which there was a vaſt number; ſome few were carried away by our People, to be kept in remembrance of this Action.

1662. *The Dutch leave the River.* *Arrive at Batavia.*

The Kingdom of *Achin* is ſituate in the moſt Northern part of the Iſle of *Sumatra*. Its Capital City bears the ſame Name, being ſituated in a Plain upon a Pleaſant Rivulet, about half a League diſtant from the Sea-ſhoar. The Royal Palace, which lies in the very Center of the City, is very large, of an Oval Figure, ſurrounded with a Ditch, and in ſome places defended by very large Pieces of Ordnance; The Ditch is guarded by Palliſadoes, in which are ſeven Gates. On the left ſide of the River is a Fort to defend its Entrance, and ſeveral other Redoubts are erected in the Marſhes, round about the City of *Achin*, for its defence. The Air ſeems to be much more wholſome here than in the Southern parts of the Iſle: The Houſes which are covered with Reeds are built upon Poſts, ſo that you muſt enter them by ſeveral ſteps; the reaſon of which is, that at certain Seaſons the Waters riſe to ſuch a height, that the whole City is overflown by it. The chiefeſt Riches of the King of *Achin* conſiſt in Gold, Jewels, and Elephants; He entertains a great number of Concubines which ſerve both for his Bed and his Guards in the Antichambers; beſides which, he maintains a good number of Eunuchs, who attend his Perſon. Four *Sabandars* or Nobles have the chief management of the Government under the King. This Kingdom was in 1663 Governed by a Queen, who, as it was reported, had an inclination to be Married to a *Hollander*, but the Council of *Batavia*, for weighty Reaſons would not conſent to the Match. The Inhabitants of *Achin* were always renown'd for their Courage and Conduct beyond all other Neighbouring Nations, and have not only extended their Conqueſts over the Circumjacent Countries of *Sumatra*, but alſo made themſelves Maſters of the Kingdoms of *Queda* and *Pera* on the Continent of *Malacca*; nay, they frequently have beſieged the *Portugueſes* in the City of *Malacca*, they having always been declared Enemies of that Nation.

The Kingdom of Achin.

1662.

On the Weſtern Coaſt, not above 4 Leagues to the South of the Line, is within a Bay upon a very large River, a certain Place call'd *Sillebar*, being ſurrounded with craggy Mountains and vaſt Woods; tho' the Country thereabouts is very fertile in Pepper; it belongs to the King of *Bantam*. On the ſame Weſtern Coaſt is a very large Bay, the ſhoar of which is all over Woody, as the Bay of *Sillebar* is ſurrounded with Mountains; tho' the ſhoar its ſelf is very green and Pleaſant. Immediately after, you come to the Bay, you diſcover a ſmall Point of Land, behind which, lies the Town of *Sillebar*. Sillebar.

A few Leagues to the South of the Line, is likewiſe the City of *Tikouw*, a Place very ſlightly built, and ſome Leagues from thence to the North, is the Town of *Paſſaman*, at the foot of a high Mountain. Tikouw. Paſſaman.

Barros is alſo ſituate on the Weſtern Coaſt of *Sumatra*, about a League from the Sea-ſhoar, upon a conſiderable River, betwixt *Paſſaman* and *Achin*. The Country hereabouts produces Pepper, Camphire and Benzoin. Hereabouts are likewiſe *Sinkel*, *Labo*, and *Daya*. Barros.

Pedir lies ten Leagues to the Eaſt of *Achin*, with a high Mountain betwixt both; the Country, which was formerly a Kingdom, is indifferently fruitful of Rice and other Fruits. Further to the Eaſt on the inward Coaſt of *Sumatra*, are *Pacem*, *Dely*, *Aru*, *Kampar*, *Andripouro*, *Jamby*, and *Palimbang*. *Andripouro* is ſituate under 3 deg. 30 min. Pedir.

Padang lies on a very pleaſant River, whither a conſiderable number of *Indian* Veſſels reſort. The *Dutch* divide the Coaſt of *Sumatra* into the outward and inward Coaſt. The inward Coaſt is by the *Javaneſes* call'd the Weſtern Coaſt; as the outward Coaſt is the Northern Coaſt, where is the Kingdon of *Achin*. Padang.

Unwholeſomneſs of the Climate of Sumatra.

The Climate of *Sumatra*, is, by reaſon of its ſituation under the Line, extreamly unwholſom, eſpecially for Strangers, and in the Rainy Seaſon, when ſcarce a day paſſes but they are afflicted with ſudden Showers, Storms, Thunder and Lightnings, which ſoon after end in a Calm. Beſides that the heat of the Sun beams draws up the nauſeous vapours of the ſtanding Waters, which infect the Air, and produce Malignant Fe-

1662.

vers, and other lingring distempers. This is most visible on the Western Coast of *Sumatra*, and especially in *Tikouw* and *Pryaman*, where the Air is equally obnoxious to the Inhabitants and Foreigners, which makes the *Dutch* Inhabiting there, look bloated and very pale. In the *Devil's Isle* and near the River *Indapura* the Air is so Poisonous, that it kills Men and Beast as soon as they set foot on shoar; and if they happen to escape by returning immediately, they certainly die soon after.

The Nature of the Isle.

The Isle of *Sumatra* is full of Pleasant Woods, craggy high Mountains, agreeable Valleys, fruitful Plains, very fine Rivers and large Bays affording great store of Fish; besides that the Marshes and Pools are stocked with young Oak-trees, the Bark whereof gives the Waters a red Tincture. The chief Rivers here are, the *Achin*, *Andregiri*, *Jam-* [illegible], *Palimbang*, *Manancabo*, *Banjarmasum*, *Sillebar*, *Indapura*, and *Pryaman*, all which have derived their Names from their respective adjacent Cities, or these from them. The Waters of the River *Indapura* are red for two Leagues at Sea, which proceeds from the great quantity of young Oak-trees growing in the Marshes, the bark of which imparts a red dye to the River; for which reason also the Water is very unwholsome to drink.

Its Rivers.

Its Soil.

The Soil produces Rice in abundance, and all other sorts of *Indian* fruits, such as *Bananas*, Potatoes, Coco-Nutts, Oranges, Limons, Tamarinds, Sugar, Honey, Ginger, but especially Pepper, of which a great quantity is transported from thence into Foreign Countries. Some Years ago many Plantations of Pepper were destroyed by the Soldiers upon the outward Coast of *Sumatra*, which were since replanted, yet in many places Cotton-trees have been planted in their stead. The same Coast also produces Camphire, the most durable of all others, which differs from the *Japonese* Camphire in this particular quality, that whereas in this, the scent is in the Wood; the Camphire of *Sumatra* contains it in its own substance, without imparting the least share thereof to the Wood. This Island affords likewise white Benzoin, *Kalamback* or Aloes-wood, Eagles-wood, and Sandels-wood. The Forests here feed divers kinds of wild Beasts; *viz.* Elephants, Bufflers, Tygers, Staggs, Rhinoceros's, wild Boars, Apes, Monkeys and Serpents; the Rivers, Lakes, and Ports abundance of Fishes; in some you meet with Crocodiles. The Woods are full of wild Fowl of all sorts, and the Country abounds in tame Fowl. They have Batts here of an exceeding bigness. It is very remarkable, that the Island of *Sumatra* is the only one throughout the *East-Indies*, that has Bears. The Mountains here afford Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron and Brimstone. The outward Coast of *Sumatra* especially, has very Rich Gold Mines, but they are neglected for the most part. However the Queen of *Achin* drew 1000 Pounds weight out of one Mine, and the *Dutch East-India* Company 300 in the Year 1665: They also produce Smaragds, Hyacinths and other Precious Stones. On the top of the fiery Mountain *Balabam*, is a certain Spring of Sulphurous liquor like Oyl; and the like is seen in several other parts of this Island, to sweat out of the Earth or Rocks, not unlike a *petroleum*: The *Indians* call this Liquor *Minjah Tunnah*, i. e. Earth Oyl. This is in such esteem among the Inhabitants, that the King of *Achin* has prohibited the Exportation thereof under pain of death, so that what is carried away by the *English* or *Dutch*, is brought on board by stealth. It has a very strong scent, but not nauseous; its vertue is extraordinary in curing Lameness, call'd by the *Indians Beribery*, if the affected parts be only bathed or anointed with it. This Island has a certain kind of Reed, which grow near 300 Fathom high, and twists its self round the Trees. They make Hops of it.

Earth Oil.

The [illegible]

The most general Language here is the *Malayan*, tho they use likewise several others; They maintain certain Schools for the Young People, to be instructed in Reading and Writing. The Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are large of Stature, black and brown of Complexion like the *Javaneses*. The Women are well shaped, and of a fairish Complexion, with very white Teeth, they make no account of Chastity, nor look upon it as a disgrace to expose themselves for Money. For the rest this Nation is extravagantly proud and ill-natured, which sets so high a value upon it self, as to despise all Foreigners; they are very treacherous, and make very little account of their Faith, if they find it consistent with their Interest. Every body here is like all the Mahometans, does Marry as many Wives as he is able to keep; one however has the precedency before all the rest: Women of any Quality are seldom seen to walk along the streets. In the inland Country lives still the remainders of the ancient Men-eaters, call'd *Bataches* or *Batatas*, who not only devour strangers, but likewise kill their own Fathers and Brothers, if grown very decrepit, and eat them.

Their Diet.

Both Rich and Poor, are continually chewing the leaves of *Bethel* mixt with Time and *Areka* or *Faufel*. Their Bread is made of Rice, of which they make also a dainty Papp, and Cakes, and eat them with Oyl. They feed likewise upon Fish, Flesh and Herbs. Their ordinary drink is Water; besides

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sides which, they use *Arack* destill'd of Rice and Coco-Nuts, and Palm wine. The Inhabitants of *Sumatra* are very moderate in their Diet, like all the rest of the *Indians*.

Their Cloathing.

Most of the Inhabitants, especially the poorer sort, go Naked to the middle, where they have only a piece of stuff wrapt about them to cover their Privities; both Sexes go without shooes or stockins. The Richer sort wear a kind of Coat of Silk or Callico, after the Mahometan Fashion; a Linnen Cloth wrap'd about their heads two or three times, serves them for a Cap.

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They pay a more than slavish submission and Obedience to their Kings, not so much out of inclination as fear; their Princes or Governours are stiled *Pangerang*.

Their Punishment.

They punish the least Trespass with great severity, by cutting off their Hands and Feet. Capital Crimes are punish'd after the most dreadful manner that can be invented. In former Ages, the Kings used to surrender the miscreant to the Men-eaters, who after they had chop'd of their Hands, Arms and Leggs, threw Pepper upon the Trunk of the Body and devoured it.

[illegible]

Most of the Inhabitants living near the Sea-Coast are Mahometans now, whereas formerly, both those Inhabiting the Sea-shoar and the Inland Country were Pagans, of which there are still a great number in the Countries remote from the Sea.

[illegible]

The Isle of *Sumatra*, but especially the Kingdom of *Achin*, are Places of great Traffick, whither resort Merchants from all parts of the *Indies*, as the *Chineses*, *Malayans*, *Javaneses*, Christians and Mahometants. There are certain Places on the Western Coast of the Isle, which are in confederacy, and under the Protection of the *Dutch East-India* Company, unto whom they are obliged to sell all their Pepper and Gold at a certain rate. These are *Pryaman*, *Indapoura*, *Padang*, *Tike* and *Barros*. They had also settled a Factory in 1665 at *Andragiry*, but the quantity of Pepper and Gold to be transported from thence was so inconsiderable, that it did not turn to account. The chief Commodities of *Sumatra* are, Pepper, Gold, Tin and Camphire. The Western Coast affords *Pedro Porcos*, which are sold at 200 Crowns *per* piece. *Jamby* and *Palimbang* are the chiefest Places for Pepper, where the *English* have likewise their Factories, and are much esteemed by that King. The Foreigners import commonly Pieces of Eight, Callicoes, *Chinese* Gold, Iron Wire, Steel, Woollen-Cloth, Quilts of *Suratte*, Silks, Salt and such like Commodities, which they exchange for those beforementioned. Thus much of *Sumatra*.

[illegible]

Their Diet.

We continu'd our Voyage without any remarkable Accident, till the 3d. of *February*, when we pass'd by *Punte Gale*, and arriv'd the next day at *Colomba*, both Cities belonging to the Island of *Ceylon*. Having soon dispatch'd our Business here, we set Sail again the 9th, and the 12th came within sight of Cape *Comorin* and the City of *Koylang*, steering our Course along the Coast of *Malabar*, where we met with the Ship the *Phœnix*, in the Road of that City, to load Pepper, which done it joyn'd with us, to continue its Voyage to *Persia*.

They continue their Voyage.

Pass by Cape Comorin and Koylang.

Over against the Isle of *Baypin* we met with 15 or 16 Sail under the Command of Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, who was sent thither to Attack the Fortress of *Palipatnam*, we went immediately abroad the *Wieland*, where we paid our respects to the Admiral, who enjoyn'd us, to send all our Land and Sea Men a shoar, to assist at the taking of this Fortress; which being done accordingly, and the *Dutch* Forces Marching in good Order to the Attack, they found, to their great Astonishment, that the Enemy had Deserted the Place, and left only one old Woman and a Boy behind them; thus we became Masters of this strong hold, without striking a blow. However our Design upon the City of *Cranganor* was laid aside for that time, after we were thoroughly informed concerning its Condition, and that we were not sufficiently provided for such an Attempt. So we proceeded on our Voyage again the next day, and the 5th. of March pass'd by the Bar of *Goa*, where we found several *Dutch* Ships under Commodore *Roothaes* a Cruising, which kept the Harbour of *Goa* Block'd up. The 6th. we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Wingurla*, where we met several of our Men of War, which had been a Cruising before *Goa*, and were come hither to refresh themselves; We saw likewise here the *Bantam* Yacht, which was sent on purpose hither to carry the Queen of *Golconda* to *Mocha*, (a City of *Arabia*, Situate on the *Red-Sea*) she being to go from thence to *Medina*, to visit *Mahomet*'s Tomb, and to make a present of great value there. Her Guards which had Conducted her 80 Leagues as far as *Wingurla* consisted of 4000 Men, all mounted on fine bright *Persian* Horses, well Accoutred. They had long Coats of Mail, on the Shoulders of which were imbroidred Serpents-heads in Imitation of the Ancient *Romans*; They had fine Polish'd Helmets on their Heads, being for the rest Arm'd with Bows and Arrows, and some of them with very long Beards. At the Head of them rid two Trumpeters, who Sounded the Trumpet by turns. All the Persons of Quality that attended her, were likewise mounted

Palipatnam.

Pass by Goa.

Come to Wingurla.

The Queen of Golconda goes to visit Mahomet's Tomb

1662. mounted on very fine Horſes, with a Footmen on each ſide of the Horſes Head, who held the Bridle. The Queen her ſelf and all her Ladies, were carried in *Palakins* covered on the top, to keep themſelves from being ſeen by any body; and before them were led ſeveral Camels, covered with rich Furnitures. On one of theſe was mounted a Kettle-Drummer, who with a Hammer beat croſs ways, as we do in *Europe*; the Drums, of which one hung on each ſide of the Camel, being ſomewhat ſharp at one end like our Bee-hives. The Commodore *Roothaes* and M. *Santvliet* (Director for the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company at *Gamron*) were gone to meet and complement the Queen about two Leagues from the Town; who, whilſt ſhe tarried here, dictated ſeveral Letters in divers Languages to her Secretaries: ſhe ſent ſoon after to know whether the Ships were ready to ſail, and being anſwered they were, ſhe came immediately aboard the Yacht, but finding her much leſs in bulk than the other Ships ſhe ſaw lying at Anchor in the Road, ſhe was not very well ſatisfied, till being told by Mr. *Roothaes* and *Santvliet*, that the Yacht was moſt proper for her purpoſe, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the ſhoar of the red Sea, ſhe ſeem'd to acquieſce in their judgment. Near the Sea-ſide a Tent was ſet up, and from thence a paſſage covered all over with Callico to the Chaloop, in which was likewiſe a Tent, as alſo in the Yacht, to prevent her being ſeen by the Ship's Crew. She gave a very fine preſent of Gold and Diamonds to the Commodore Mr. *Roothaes* and Mr. *Santvliet*. The Captain of the Yacht who carried her to *Mocha*, did not return from thence, but went along with her, being, as we ſuppoſe, turn'd Mahometan; becauſe the Yacht was reconducted by the Boatſwain.

Wingurla. *Wingurla* is no more than a large Village, ſituate on the Sea-ſhoar of the Kingdom of *Golconda* under the 15 deg. of Northern Latitude. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company have built a very fine Houſe here of Stone and Plaiſter-work, becauſe all Ships bound for *Perſia*, are obliged to come to an Anchor here, to provide themſelves with freſh Water and Fuel, which they buy here at a very low rate, the place ſcarce affording any thing elſe.

Come to Gamron. After we had left *Wingurla*, we came the 6th of *April* before that famous City of *Perſia*, call'd *Gamron*, and Anchored at 6 Fathoms Water. I went aſhoar the ſame day to give Notice of our Arrival, and to make the neceſſary preparations for unlading our ſhip; which being done, I apply'd my ſelf to have it laden again with all poſſible expedition; and our Cargo being for the moſt part Gold and Silver Coin; we might ſoon have been ready to Sail again, had we not been oblig'd to ſtay for ſome other Commodities, till the 2d of *June*, when we ſet ſail again from thence, and Mr. *James Williamſon* Director for the Company in *Perſia*, took this opportunity to go along with us to *Batavia*, the time of his ſtay in *Perſia* being expired.

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A deſcription of the City. The Famous City of *Gamron*, the only Sea-Haven of *Perſia*, is ſituate on a flat Sea-ſhoar, juſt at the entrance of the *Perſian-Gulph*, at the foot of a barren Sandy Mountain, producing neither Graſs nor Trees; it lies betwixt two Caſtles under the 27 deg. of Northern Latitude: This City was built out of the Ruines of the Caſtle and City of *Ormus*, the Deſtruction of which, proved the riſe of *Gamron*. It is to the Sea Side defended by three Stone Baſtions, on which are mounted, good Store of Iron Cannon. But on the Land-ſide, it is only ſurrounded with a ſtone Wall, which is much decay'd becauſe they fear as it ſeems nothing from thence. The Houſes here which are built after *Its Houſes.* a very antick manner, like moſt of the *Perſian* Houſes, ſtand very cloſe together, having each a ſquare Turret which mounts to a conſiderable hight above the whole Structure, having on each ſide ſeveral Holes for the free paſſage of the Wind and Air; in theſe Turrets they ſleep every Night during the Summer ſeaſon. The beſt of their Houſes are built only of Loom, which being form'd in four Square pieces and dry'd with the Sun, become as hard as ſtone, and keep out the Rains and Winds. They whiten them on the out-ſide with Lime made of burnt Muſſel-ſhells, but their back and out-houſes are covered only with the leaves of Palm-trees; and are miſerable Hutts, ſcarce fit to defend the Inhabitants from the injuries of the Seaſon.

Streets. The Streets here are both narrow and ſhort, with many turnings, and are covered by the Houſes on both ſides, which are almoſt join'd together on the top; notwithſtanding which, the heat is ſo exceſſive here, that they are ſcarce paſſable. They are not paved with Stones, but only with Earth beaten cloſe together, which being continually watered to allay the heat and duſt, becomes by degrees as hard as a Stone. Both the the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have their Factories here near one another, each being diſtinguiſh'd by their reſpective Flaggs; the *Dutch* is built cloſe to the Water ſide, being a goodly Structure and very convenient for the unlading of Veſſels.

Scarcity of freſh Water. The City of *Gamron* affords no freſh Water, which muſt be fetch'd by the Slaves in Earthen Veſſels or Sheep skins early in the Morning (to keep it the cooler) from the Mountains, which are near three Leagues diſtant from thence, which makes the freſh Water ſo

1662. so scarce here, that most People of Fashion will rather present you with a Cup of Wine than Water, there being no Pools or Basons here, where any fresh Water is to be met with, but during the Rainy Season. Neither does the Country produce any thing but Palm-trees; notwithstanding, which there is great plenty here of every thing, wherewith they are supplied from *Persia* and other Places. The common Drink of the Inhabitants is Water, tho' they also are provided with good *Persian* Wines; they are very Strong, and of a high red Colour, but as Sweet as Canary Wine: It grows about *Schiras* and *Yezd* and is Transported from thence in large Flasks and Casks. They have also *Arack* Destill'd of Coco-nuts and Rice. They make likewise a mixture of Water, Limons and Sugar, but if drunk in too great a Quantity occasions the Bloody-Flux.

Unwholesomeness of the Air.

The Air of *Gamron* is from the beginning of *May* till *September* more unwholsome than in any place of the *East* or *West-Indies* that ever I saw; so that there is no abiding here for Foreigners, except in *December*, *January*, *February*, and *March*. The Natives of any Quality being more used to the Air, will continue something longer, *viz.* till *May*, when they retire to their Country Houses, which are for the most part built among the Mountains, near some River or other at 10 or 12 Leagues from the City: Here they spend merrily what they have got by Traffick in the Winter, leaving the management of their City Houses to their Slaves, till *October*, the usual time for Ships and Foreign Merchants to come to *Gamron*. The Heat which is most excessive here, obliges them to Sleep upon Leather, or with the lower parts of their Bodies in Water; or in the Turrets, which are on the top of their Houses; some Cool themselves with pouring Rose-water down the Neck; such Ships as are obliged to stay in the Port during the Summer Season, must be covered all over with Sails, otherwise the Planks would split asunder, the Pitch and Tarr rising up in Bubbles as it were a Boiling; so that no Body dare Walk bare-footed upon the Deck. Those who venture to continue during the hot Season at *Gamron*, commonly get for their pains an Ague of a very malicious Nature, which if it does not kill, at least seldom quits them, but leaves such Relicks behind, as at last brings them to their Graves. The Cause of this excessive Heat seems to me to be the Situation of the Place, at the Foot of a barren Mountain, facing the South, so that the Sun-beams by their Refractions against the Mountain are redoubled in their Strength, especially if it be considered that the Wind here during the Summer Season Blows for the most part from the South, and consequently from the same corner, from whence the Sun-beams exert their utmost Strength. For, immediately after *March* is past'd the Winds turn commonly to the West and Southwest, which are sometimes so Stifling that they kill Men and Beasts. The *Arabians* call this Wind *Eliamadi*, i. e. Fish-winds, and the *Persians* *Badesamhour*, because it Chooaks on a sudden, such as it touches. It is very observable, that the Dead Carcasses of such as are kill'd by it, if touch'd with the Hands, are as unctuous as Grease or Oil, and appear as if they had been Dead a Month ago. This Wind continues here in *May*, *June*, *July* and *August*, as likewise all about *Muassil* over against the old *Nineve*, and near *Bagdat*, but those who are upon the Water, even in Boats in the River, never feel the effects of this Wind, tho' they are quite Naked.

Stifling-Winds.

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Traffick of the Inhabitants of Gamron.

Most of the Inhabitants of *Gamron* are Merchants, who Trade to several Cities Situate upon the Branch of the *Euphrates*; such as, *Bassora*, *Schiras*, *Ispahan*, *Taurin* and *Smyrna*. Once every Year, to wit, in *October*, the *Caravans*, consisting of several thousands, Men and Beasts, arrive here from the East, *viz.* from *Babylon*, *Turky* and *Persia*, with all sorts of Merchandices loaden upon Camels, Dromedaries and Asses, which they exchange for *East-India* Wares. The Staple Commodities of *Gamron* are Cloth of Gold, Tapestry and Pearls, which they take near the Island of *Bahrain*; as likewise Fruits of all sorts, Plumbs, Raisins, Currans, Nuts, Dates, Oranges, Citrons, Pomegranates, Peaches, &c. They abound likewise in Herbs, which are brought thither from other Places, especially from the Isle of *Kikmis*, not above three Leagues from thence. They have also good Store of most excellent *Persian* Wine, which is brought thither from *Schiras* and *Yezd*, in large Flasks pack'd up in Casks. They sell also abundance of the best Rose-water, which is here in greater plenty than in any other place, that ever I saw. There is at certain times such a vast Confluence of Merchants and Ships at *Gamron*, that they want Money to buy their Commodities; in such Cases they write to their Correspondents at *Lar*, *Schiras*, *Ispahan* and other *Persian* Cities, who if they have ready Cash, are sure to buy good Bargains at such a Juncture. Most of the Merchants that resort to *Gamron*, are *Persians*, *Armenians* and *Indians*, living in *Persia*. And were it not for the unwholesomeness of the Air, abundance more would come from other places, who now stay at home.

home, and rather choose to buy from the Merchants, that bring their Commodities from [illegible]

Difference of the Inhabitants.

The Women here, like as in most other Eastern Countries, are seldom seen abroad, but dwell in separate Apartments, where the Men live with them for some time, and in the mean while lay aside all other Business. The Women who expose themselves for Money, sit in the Evening upon Benches at the Doors, with Lanthorns in their Hands, where every Man is free to choose such a one as he likes best. The Inhabitants here are generally very brown. The

Their Cloathing.

Poorer sort go for the most part Naked, only with a piece of Stuff wrapt round the Middle; in the Summer Season some appear quite Naked, others only in their Shirts. The Rich Cloath themselves very magnificently after the *Persian* Fashion, tho' there are yet some few who retain their ancient Dress, with Gold, Silver, and Iron Rings on their Hands, Ears and Noses. The common

Diet.

People make use of Dates instead of Bread or Rice; for it is observable that the ordinary Food of the *Indians* all along that Coast, from *Basora* to *Sindi* is Dates and Fish, dry'd in the Air. The Heads and Guts of the Fishes, they mix with Date Stones, and boil it altogether with a little Salt-water, which they give at Night to the Cows, after they come out of the Field, where they meet with very little Herbage. They abound also in Hares, Sheep, Pidgeons and Partridges; but as for tame Fowl, tho' they have great store of them, they are not much esteem'd, because they have a brackish Taste. The Sea, especially that of *Setda* and *Sardin*, furnishes them with vast plenty of Excellent Fishes, and among the rest with very fine Oisters, but they are so little regarded by the Inhabitants, that if you have a mind to some of them, you must bespeak them of the Fisher-men on purpose. Preserv'd Fruits of all sorts are here in great abundance; The Rich Merchants, but especially the *Persian* Governour living in great Luxury and Pomp

Sepulchre of an Indian Saint.

About a League to the East of the City is a famous Sepulchre of a *Banyan* Saint, buried there some hundred Years ago, under a Tree call'd *Arvor do Rai*, i.e. Root-tree by the *Portugueses*, or *Luf* by the *Persians*, which he Planted here sometime before his death. The Inhabitants call this Tree, the *Tree of the Banyans*, either from its first Planter, or because the *Banyans* have founded a *Pagod*, or *Pagan* Temple under it, and a *Caravansera* or Inn, for the Conveniency of Passengers. This Tree has spread its Branches at a considerable distance round about, and encreases every Year so that [illegible] grees, that its Branches, which indeed all descend from one Trunk, but by degrees take root again, encompass a space of 550 Feet. Under this Tree both Inhabitants and Foreigners shelter themselves against the heat of the Sun, when they are Walking abroad, and entertain one another. Over the Sepulchre it self is built a small *Pagode*, in which you see burning Lamps hanging Day and Night under a Canopy of Silk. The Ground all round about is Paved with Bricks, and Adorned with convenient Benches and Seats, neatly kept, where every body is at liberty to take his Repose under the agreeable Shadow of this Tree. Here the *Indians* come in great Numbers to offer their Sacrifices, especially the *Siggs*, call'd by others *Geggys*, *Gieghis*, and *Jeegis*, and *Fakirs* by the *Arabians* and Moors. There are a certain sort of *Banyan* Saints (or at least pretend to be such) belonging to one of the four Sects of the *Bramins*, *viz.* the Sect of *Courawaghi*, of *Samarath*, of *Bisnou*, and the fourth the Sect of *Siggs* or *Geggys*. You see them sitting on the High-ways with their Legs across, as the *Mahometans* do; they never pair their Nails; some have locks of Hair hanging down their Backs of 4 or 5 Feet long, others never Shave their Heads or Beards, which makes them appear more like Devils than Men. They have no dwelling Places of their own, but in the Night time they Sleep in the Porches of their Temples, on Dung-hills and corners of the Street-, or perhaps in some Cave or other Hole. They always appear Naked, having only a piece of Cloth wrapt about the middle. The *Indian* Women resort to them in great Numbers out of Devotion, to touch the extremities of their Fingers, or to Kiss their Privy Members in a most humble Posture; which they admit of, without shewing the least sign of sensibility thereat, for if they should do otherwise, they would be look'd upon as unfit for that Holy Seat. They never cast their Eyes upon any Body, but draw them in a most frightful manner upwards, as if they were afflicted with Convulsions. They [illegible] most severe and miserable [illegible] constantly mortifying their Bodies, [illegible] strange and unnatural Penances [illegible] upon themselves. Some retire into [illegible] and Cellars, where they continue in the Devotions sometimes 9 or 10 days, without Eating or Drinking. Some Walk both day and night for several Years together without Sitting, and when they intend to Sleep, hang themselves with a Rope about their middle to the Branch of a Tree. Others carry both their Arms all their Life-time streight upright above their Heads, so that in process of time

Indian Saints.

A Sect of Bramins.

time they are not able to bend them downwards again. In this Posture they continue day and night throughout the Year quite Naked, without the least fear of being scorch'd by the Sun, or Stung by the Gnats, which they won't as much as remove with their Hands. Nay they Sleep with their Arms in the same Posture, a thing which needs must be very Painful at first, and at last makes their Arms thus distorted and bereaved of their usual Nourishment to hang down behind their Backs. There are 1662

Persian Shepherds about Gamron.

innumerable sorts of other Penitents, some always lifting up their Eyes against the Sun, others fixing them constantly upon the Ground, without ever looking upon or speaking a Word to any Body living. They besmear their nauseous Bodies with Ashes, and their Greasie Hair and Faces, with Sandal-wood and Saffron; but especially with Cowdung mixt with Ashes; during our stay at *Gamron* we went several times to refresh our selves under the Tree; the common Custom is to carry some Wine and sweet meats along with one, and as for Dates, Almonds, Nuts and other Fruits, they are to be sold there.

The *Persian* Governour residing at *Gamron* lives in great splendour; the King sends every Year certain Commissioners thither to take an account of the Governours Conduct; he commonly meets them at some distance off the City unarm'd, and if they find him to have transgress'd his Commission, they cut off his Head, otherwise he is regal'd with a present of Cloths; and so they enter the City, where they pass their time together in Feasting for some days. The Governour of the City did in our time meet the Commissioners with some armed Bands, and thus conducted them into the City.

Persian *Posts.*

The Posts which go from *Gamron* to *Ispahan* are wonderful expeditious in their journeys; They are appointed by the Governour of *Gamron*, after he has made sufficient trial of their nimbleness, which is done by running with the rising of the Sun, to an appointed place till Sun sett; a certain Horseman being appointed to ride along with them, and to take care they don't rest by the way: After they have performed this Trial, the Governour presents them with a suit of Cloths and with the title of Runners; so soon as any Stranger of fashion arrives at *Gamron*, some or other of the Inhabitants is ready to offer him his service, to attend him in the quality of a Porter, or as a Servant to show him the way; they are sure to wait

at

1662. at your Lodgings every Morning, and follow you all day long whereever you go, for a very ſlender allowance.

Shepherds near Gamron. I had the curioſity to take a view of the Shepherds and their Hutts, with their Flocks of Sheep and Goats; for which purpoſe by the help of my Guide, I went ſome Leagues deep into the Country, where I found them feeding their Sheep in a very barren Ground; Theſe Shepherds, who have no other houſhold Goods but a ſlight Coat, commonly manage a flock of 500 Sheep and Goats. Their Hutts they ſet up at pleaſure in the open Fields, they having no certain Grounds appointed them, but like the *Arabians* change their places according to the beſt conveniency of Paſtorage; and tho' the Grounds betwixt the City and the Mountains are very barren, yet are the Sheep and Goats here very good, an evident ſign that a ſmall matter is ſufficient to feed them. Theſe Fields extend from the City to the Mountains, which ſurround them at ſome diſtance from thence. They have ſome Sheep of an extraordinary bigneſs, with two horns on each ſide of the head. Their He-Goats have long curl'd hair, of which they make Camlets. Some have ſuch long Ears that you may tye them together. *Perſia* affords great quantities of tann'd Goat and Sheep skins. Thus much of *Gamron*.

A little to the Right of the Harbour of *Gamron*, you may ſee the Iſle of *Ormus*, at the very entrance into the *Perſian* Gulph, as likewiſe the Iſlands of *Queixome*, *Keſem* and *Lereck* of which we will give you a ſhort deſcription.

The Iſle of Ormus. Some put the Iſland of *Ormus* under 25 deg. 30 min. of Latitude, and 22 deg. 45 min. of Longitude; others under 26 deg. 4 min. and ſome others under 27 deg. and 30 min. Northern Latitude. The Iſle of *Ormus* is by ſome taken for the ſame, which by the Ancient Authors, as *Pliny*, *Pomponius* and *Dionyſius*, is called *Ogyris*, and by *Ptolomy Vorechta*; it is ſituate in the *Perſian* Gulph, about two Leagues diſtant from the Continent of *Perſia*, having the Province of *Caramania* to the Eaſt, *Arabia felix* to the South and Weſt, being divided from them only by the Streights of *Baharem*, and the Continent of *Perſia* to the North; it is very near Triangular; its largeſt ſide which faces the N. N. E. extending from S. E. to the N. W. from the Chapel of St. *Lucie* to the point of Land where the Caſtle of *Ormus* is, being the neareſt to the Continent, where formerly the *Portugueſes* had a Fort call'd *Comoran*, built juſt oppoſite to the Caſtle of *Ormus*, which thereabouts is not above a League diſtant. The ſecond ſide extends from the ſame Chappel, *viz.* from the S. E. to the S. S. W. as far as the Cape *Karu*, and ſo further to the W. S. W. and the W. and makes the Baſis of the Triangle. The third and ſmalleſt ſide begins at *Karu*, and ends at the beforementioned Caſtle; it faces the Country of *Mogoſthan*, a name commonly given to the *Perſian* Coaſt on that ſide, which is about two Leagues from the Iſle. Its whole Circuit is about three Leagues.

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Karu. The Weſtern part of the Iſland, extending along the Sea ſhoar, where the Mountains end, is call'd *Karu*, where you ſee a few houſes ſcattered up and down belonging to the Moors: At *Turumbake* are a greater number of theſe Houſes, but as wretchedly built as the former; except ſome few formerly belonging to the *Auſtin* Fryars, where they uſed to divert themſelves ſome times. Near to them is a fine Fiſh-pond ſurrounded with very fine Trees, and a large Ciſtern for Rain-water.

Mountain. The whole Iſland is divided by a ridge of Mountains, extending from the Eaſt to the Weſt, behind which there is nothing to be ſeen but white and barren Hills, producing nothing except very good white Salt. Among the reſt there is a Mountain here called *Kuykaſtaron*, or, *The Mountain of the Dead*; on the top of which the *Portugueſes* had built a Chapel call'd, *our Lady of the Rock*; which Chapel is obſerved to riſe higher and higher, becauſe the Salt, Salt-Peter and Brimſtone, which are contain'd in the Bowels of this Mountain, encreaſe daily in quantity. The Inhabitants viſit this Chapel with a great deal of Devotion, unto which they have made a pretty eaſie aſcent by cutting ſteps out of the Rock, which otherwiſe is very ſteep. Near the Mountain, where the Chapel ſtands, is another, which runs upwards in form of a Pyramid. It is compos'd of one entire Maſs of the beſt and whiteſt Salt that can be ſeen, and appears at a diſtance like a Mountain covered with Snow. Not far from hence is a Chapel call'd St. *Lucy*, built behind the Ruins of ſome old Towers, where formerly the Kings of *Ormus* uſed to keep their Brothers Priſoners, after they had bereaved them of their eyes. About half-ways betwixt this and the City, was another Chapel dedicated to St. *Lucy*, with ſome Houſes about it, whither the Inhabitants of *Ormus* uſed to retire during the Summer Seaſon, as likewiſe to ſome others built near the Sea-ſhoar of Reed only, and covered with Palm-tree-leaves.

Salt Mountain.

From this Chapel to the City is a large Plain, where the Inhabitants uſed to have their Ciſterns to gather and keep Rain-Water in, which were always lock'd up; for not only hereabouts, but alſo all over the Iſland, the Ground is Brackiſh, which makes the Rain-water which is kept in theſe Ciſterns much

1662. much better than what is gathered from the Pools or Ponds; yet does it not come near in goodneſs to the Freſh-water that is brought from the Continent, or the Iſle of *Queixome*. The remaining part of this Plain is taken up with the Graves of the Mahometans, Pagans and Jews which are buried here Promiſcuouſly without any difference; ſome of theſe Tombs are covered with a kind of a Chapel, but open on all ſides. Hither you ſee great numbers of Mahometan, Pagan and Jewiſh Women, of all ages and degrees, which come to bring their Offerings or eatables in that ſmall diſhes to the Souls of the deceaſed. And ſome of theſe are ſo Zealous as to pay their conſtant Viſits and Devotions to the Tombs of ſome of their Pious Men or Saints, that are in great reverence among them, and their Tombs ſumptuouſly adorn'd.

Ardemica. Not far from this Plain is another extending from the Mountains to the City, call'd by the Moors by a peculiar name *Ardemica*, *i. e.* The proſpect over the Plain (in the ſame Senſe as the *French* ſay *Bellvidere*) where the Mahometan Courtiers, and other Officers of the King uſed to keep their Turnaments, and running at the Ring on Horſe-back. This Plain extends to the Weſt as far as the Sea ſhoar, the way that leads to *Karu*, from whence the City has the faireſt Proſpect.

Turumbake. Behind the Mountains, being the S.S.W. and the W.S.W. part of the iſland, call'd *Turumbake* is the faireſt of all, tho' its Compaſs is leſs betwixt the Mountains and the Sea than that part beyond the Mountains. Here you ſee a Country Seat of the old Queen of *Ormus*, adorn'd with Walks of Palm-trees, and two large Ciſterns or Baſons, call'd from the Place, the *Ponds of Turumbake*, beſides ſeveral leſſer ones.

Their Water is the wholeſomeſt and freſheſt of the whole Iſland. There is another great Baſon belonging to this Seat, which is continually ſupply'd with Water out of three adjacent Ponds and a ſmall Brook; this Water is not near ſo Salt as that which is kept in the Ponds, more to the E. and N.N.E. where the Sun turns the Water into ſolid Salt. This Country Seat was already in a decaying condition 50 or 60 Years before my coming here, having only a few Appartments left, wherein the King of *Ormus* uſed to lodge during the Summer Seaſon; *Turumbake* had at that time not above 15 or 20 Huts built of Reed cloſe together, like a ſmall Village, and covered with Palm-tree leaves after a wretched manner. Moſt of the Houſes of this Iſland are built after the ſame manner, notwithſtanding which, the Inhabitants of *Ormus* retire thither with their Families in the Summer, being taught both by Tradition and Experience, that the open Country Air is much more wholeſome during the hot Seaſon, than the City Air.

1662. On the North ſide of this Iſle lies the City of *Ormus*, which before it was ſubdued by the *Portugueſes* was very Populous, Foreigners flocking thither daily from *Perſia*, the *Eaſt-Indies* and *Europe* it ſelf, for the conveniency of Traffick. To be ſhort, the City of *Ormus* was the moſt famous and richeſt trading City of the World, before the *Portugueſes* had found out the paſſage by Sea to the *Eaſt-Indies*, being inhabited and frequented by the *Perſians*, *Arabians*, *Abyſſines*, *Armenians*, *Tartars*, *Turks* and other Mahometans; beſides the *Italians*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, *Poles*, and other *European* Nations. It was much Inhabited by the *Portugueſes*, but very few *Spaniards*, becauſe the firſt would not permit them to go thither by Sea, and the Turks ſtop their paſſage by Land, betwixt the Mediterranean and the *Perſian* Gulph; ſome few dwelt there under the Name and Protection of ſome other Nations. The Natives of *Ormus* are all Mahometans, but of different Sects, ſome being call'd *Kjays*, belonging to the Sect of *Hali* Son-in-Law to *Mahomet*, whoſe Doctrine is followed by the *Perſians*; Others are call'd *Suny's*, following the Doctrine of *Mahomet*, *Oſmar* and *Oſman*, as the *Turks* do; the King himſelf is of this Sect; beſides which, divers ſorts of Pagans, as *Banjans*, *Camboyans*, &c. inhabit here.

The City of Ormus *in the* Portuguese *times.* The City of *Ormus* whilſt under the juriſdiction of the *Portugueſes*, and before the *Perſians* made themſelves Maſters of it 1619, was a very Stately, Rich and Magnificent place, of which the Inhabitants uſed to boaſt, *That if the World were a Ring*, Ormus *muſt be conſidered as the Diamond.* For, after the *Portugueſes* had conquered this City, they were very careful in adorning it from time to time with moſt Magnificent Structures, to ſuch a degree, that all the Iron belonging to their Windows and Doors were gilt; and it was the common opinion in thoſe days, that if they had remain'd Maſters of it till now, they would have turn'd them into Maſſive Gold. They had built a ſtately Church upon an Eminency, dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, with an adjacent Hoſpital call'd the *Miſericordia*. Next to this was the Exchange or Cuſtom-Houſe, call'd by the *Perſians Beneckſal*; this was a fine Edifice ſurrounded with Galleries on the out ſide. They had likewiſe ſeveral Monaſteries, amongſt which thoſe of the *Auſtin* Fryars and Carmelites were the chiefeſt. There is yet to be ſeen a very high Steeple, a moſt noble piece of Architecture, exceeding in Magnificence all others of this City; the Mahometans,

1662. call it in the *Arabian* Tongue, *Alkoran*; on one side of the Castle stood formerly a famous *Mosque* which the *Portugueses* caused to be demolish'd, as being too near the Castle which prov'd the occasion of the most inveterate hatred against the *Portugueses*, not only among the Moors Inhabiting there, but likewise amongst the *Persians*, their King *Tahemes* or *Tahamas* Grandfather to *Schach Abas* having been the Founder of it. No sooner was this City under the Persians. fain into the hands of the *Persians*, but she was by them dispoiled of her Ancient Glory, and most of her Inhabitants, many of whom were kill'd in the Siege, the rest fled for shelter to some other place. All the Churches, Houses, and other Publick Edifices, were laid level with the Ground, except some few shops in the *Bazar* or Shopkeepers-street. The *Dutch* Ships which unloaded there and returned commonly empty from thence, used to make it their Practice at that time to ballast their Vessels with the finest Marble stones the Remnants of the stately Structures of this City, and would questionless by degrees have taken all that was left, had not the *Persian* Governor there prohibited the exportation of them under a severe Penalty. For the *Persians*, whose Intention was to lay the Foundation of the greatness of *Gamron* upon the ruines of *Ormus*, did remove all the best Stones from thence, which they made use of in their best Buildings at *Gamron*. The Fortifications of the City of *Ormus*, in the *Portuguese* times, in 1619, were but in a slender Posture, the Ditch about the Castle being fill'd up with dirt, having scarce 6 Foot of Water; besides that, it was not spacious enough for the Garrison. Their Commanders in chief, who were removed from thence every Year, had according to the custom of the *Portugueses*, but a slender share of knowledge in Martial affairs, the Governor at that time being an ancient Man, not trained up in the Wars, and not provided with experienced Engineers and Gunners.

The Castle of Ormus. The Old four-square Castle was built on the utmost Northern or North-West point of the Land of the Isle, where it approaches neareſt to the *Persian* shoar, two sides of it being wash'd by the Sea, the other two facing the City; betwixt which and the Castle, is a very fair Square, of about 300 Feet long, from whence you have a fine Prospect into the Sea. This Castle, whilst in the possession of the *Portugueses*, was not very large, being defended only by four Bastions, which as well as the Curtines, were built with a kind of small Flint-stones mixt with mortar and Sea-water; so that they were not proof against the Thunder of the Great Cannon. The Ditch was likewise very shallow, tho' it might have been made deeper, without any great Cost, by reason of the nearness of the Sea, which waters it on two sides. In this Condition was the Castle of *Ormus*, under the *Portugueses*, of which the *Portugueses* boasted, that that it was impregnable. After the *Persians* had made themselves masters of it, they were very carefull to repair the Old Fortifications, and to add some new ones; especially on the point of the Ditch, they made a half-moon, the Cannon of which Commanded the Plain and a Gallery; since which time they keep it always in a good posture of Defence, and maintain a considerable Garrison there, under the Command of the Governour of *Ormus*, who residing for the most part at *Gamron*, appoints a Deputy for this place, who has his residence in the Palace formerly belonging to the Kings of *Ormus*.

The Harbour of this Isle is a certain Bay, made by two Points of Land that jett out on both sides; upon one of these Capes stands the Castle, on the other the *Portugueses* had built a Church, dedicated to our *Lady of good Hope*; but this Point turns somewhat nearer towards the City, so that the Harbour where the largest Vessels, Galleys, and smaller Vessels used to cast Anchor, lies opposite to the North-East part of the City, betwixt the two Monasteries built by the *Portugueses*, one of which belong'd to the *Carmelites*, the other to the *Austin* Fryars. The Tide where this Bay is deepest rises at high Water, near 4 feet high up above the Foundations of the Houses; notwithstanding which, at low Water, the shore is dry for above 200 Paces; and 150 Paces further, the Water is not 3 feet high where it is deepest; so that the largest Vessels are obliged to cast Anchor at 600 Paces from the City, and the Galleys at 500, which renders this Harbour very unsafe, especially if a Storm arises from the East, which often forces the Ships asshour; nay, this Harbour would be much more dangerous, were it not for the nearness of the Continent, which covers it on the N. and N. E. side, and the Isle of *Queixome*, which lies to the N.N.W. of it, and breaks the violence of the raging Waves. Some tell us of two different Bays belonging to the Isle of *Ormus*, which afford a safe Harbour to Ships; the one to the East, the other to the West, being divided by a neck of Land which jetts out betwixt them a considerable way into the Sea.

Scarcity of Water. This whole Island is destitute of Water, except what some standing Pools or Ponds afford, which is always brackish, tho' some more than others; some, especially such as are near the Sea-side, being tolerably fit for

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1662. uſe; for the further they are from the Mountains, the leſs they participate of the Salt. It does ſometimes not Rain in *Ormus* for three Years together; the only Springs of Freſh Water they have, being in the Royal Gardens. *Ferra Gutka* who reign'd in 1596 in *Ormus*, found out a Spring with freſh Water in *Turumbake*. Not far from thence near the Sea-ſide, ariſes a ſalt Water Spring from among the Rocks, call'd by the *Perſian* Inhabitants *Abdarmon*, *i. e.* Medicinal Water, which has a Purging Quality, and cleanſes the Bowels from all impurities. Here you ſee abundance of People drink the Waters at a certain Seaſon of the Year; when they have a mind to be ſatisfied whether their Bowels are throughly cleanſed, they cut a piece of an Orange or Citron, and if immediately after they go to ſtool they reckon themſelves ſufficiently purged. 'Tis true, there are three Springs here, which all having their riſe among the Mountains, afford Water ſufficient for three Rivulets, but it is as brackiſh as the Sea Water it ſelf. Thus ſeveral Brooks are to be ſeen to the S. E. among the Mountains which carry a very clear Water, but ſo ſtockt with Salt, that in the Summer, when theſe Rivulets are dry'd up, you ſee vaſt lumps of Salt, which cover the Banks on both ſides. The vaſt quantity of Salt which is to be met with all over this Iſland, being in ſome places burnt up and blackned by the violence of the Sunbeams, affords a dreadful ſight at a diſtance. They have alſo a kind of Salt Clay, out of which they make Earthen Veſſels.

The whole Iſle is nothing elſe but a barren vaſt lump of Salt, which ſcarce affords either Graſs or Trees, except what is brought forth by force in the Royal Gardens in the Plains, neither does it afford any thing for the ſuſtenance of Human life. It has however ſome few Trees in certain places, but bear no Fruit except Dates, and another ſmall Fruit growing on Thorn Buſhes with green leaves; another kind of theſe Thorn Buſhes they have with a pretty large ſtem, and ſmall red leaves. In the opening of the Rocks you ſee now and then a large green and well ſpread Tree, notwithſtanding ſeveral have poſitively aſſerted that this Iſle did procure neither Tree, Herbs nor Graſs. The Mountains are full of Rock Salt which is very Tranſparent, and contain likewiſe a conſiderable quantity of Brimſtone. In ſome Winters the Salt is waſhed by the Rains down from the Mountains, which afterwards is again coagulated by the Sun, which is the only made uſe of here, for the Rock Salt being of too corroſive a Nature, does conſume the Meat inſtead of preſerving it. The *Dutch* Tranſport abundance of Salt from hence to the *Eaſt-Indies*. The Iſle alſo affords a certain kind of white Plaſtering call'd by the Inhabitants *Gueche*, and another that is red of the ſame kind, but not ſo good as the white. They have alſo a Certain way, of preparing dung for Plaiſter-work, which they perform in the following manner: They take the uppermoſt part of an Old dunghill away, the reſt they make up in balls, and let them dry in the Sun. This done, they burn them to Aſhes with fire, the Aſhes they beat for a conſiderable time, upon an even piece of Ground, and immediately after mix it for uſe; for, if they let the Aſhes be cold, or keep them only two or three Days, they are not fit for their purpoſe; but this prepared and uſed keeps the water out of any place, for many Years. There are ſcarce any other Stones to be met with here, but Flint-ſtones, of which the greateſt part of the Fortifications of the Caſtle are compoſed. There is alſo a kind of Black Gliſtering Sand to be found here, which the *Portugueſes* uſed to Tranſport from thence to their Factories in the *Eaſt-Indies*. No Barley or Oats is to be ſeen here. Their Cattle they feed with a peculiar ſort of Peaſe or Beans, which they grind, and afterwards ſteep in water, being otherwiſe too hard to digeſt. Of theſe they give a certain quantity, every Night, to their Horſes. But in the Morning they give to each horſe two pounds of Black Sugar mixt with a Pound of Butter, and ſome Flour, which they make up into Balls; then they waſh the Horſes mouth, and Teeth, becauſe this mixture ſticks very cloſe to their Teeth and Gums; in the day time they feed them with ſome Herbs, which they draw out of the Ground with Roots and all, and cleanſe them very well from all impurities.

Sinking Wood. In the Bay and all along the Coaſt of the Iſle of *Ormus*, they fiſh for Wood, of which they find great ſtore in the bottom of the Sea, but not very large. This Wood is by the violence of the Currents of the Rivers ariſing from among the Mountains of the Continent of *Perſia*, (which is not above two Leagues diſtant from hence) torn of and carried to the ſhoar of *Ormus*; a thing moſt ſurpriſing and contrary to what is obſerved of this kind in other Iſlands lying near the Continent, or ſome other great Iſlands, whither the adjacent Rivers force abundance of Wood, which however always ſwims on the ſurface of the Water, and commonly is found rotten, whereas the Wood upon the Coaſt ſinks to the bottom, and is not quite rotten, but affords the Inhabitants great ſtore of Fuel, which has induced ſome to believe that this Wood did grow under Water.

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1662. On the *Perſian* Coaſt you meet alſo with certain kind of light porous ſtone under water, not unlike our Pumice Stones; eſpecially near thoſe places, where ſubterraneous fires are; which makes theſe Stones to be always white, in which they differ from the common Pumice, which are either blackiſh or gray; They are found here in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they build their Houſes of them, becauſe they mix very well with the Mortar, by reaſon of their ſpongeous ſubſtance, and very light; and when well Cemented with the Mortar, reſiſt the violence of the Winds, which blow here exceedingly about the change of the Seaſons, better than any other Stones. Some are of opinion, that theſe Stones were caſt out by a burning Mountain, which ſeems not improbable, there being on the back ſide of a neighbouring Mountain found vaſt quantities of theſe Stones, as black as Coals. The reaſon why thoſe on the Sea ſhoar are white, ſeems to be, becauſe they have for many Years, nay, for many Ages paſt, been ſcowred by the Water of their impurities; The Inhabitants call them *Sanchmay*, *i. e.* Rock Fiſh, becauſe as many as are taken away, grow again in a little time, and furniſh them with materials for Building. They report that in former Ages this Iſland did burn for ſeven Years together, of which they ſhew the marks to this day; the Earth upon the Mountains being red, and in the Valleys ſpongeous like Aſhes or Quick lime; beſides that, the whole Iſland is ſubject to frequent Earthquakes. The Mountains are all over covered with Salt, and the Grounds are full of Salt-Peter. As often as the Wind blows from the South-Weſt, there ariſes ſo violent a ſtink of Brimſtone from the Mountains, as infects the whole Air. The heat is more intenſe at *Ormus* than at *Gamron*; for it continues at leaſt five Months, *viz.* from *May* till *September*, and ſometimes till the beginning of *December*; In the Winter Seaſon the heat is ſomewhat allay'd by the Dew which falls all the Night long, but in the Summer the Nights are ſo exceſſive hot, that it would be impoſſible for the Inhabitants to abide here, if by ſeveral ways they did not aſſwage in ſome meaſure its violence. For on the tops of the Houſes they ſet certain Wooden Veſſels like Bathing Tubs, big enough to contain two Perſons at a time; in theſe they ſit and ſleep all Night in the open Air with the Water up to their necks. The cauſe of this intolerable heat, is attributed chiefly to the Nature of the Soil, which is not only Sandy, but full of Salt-Peter; which occaſioning a continual loſs of Spirits, the Inhabitants are forced to repair in ſome meaſure this defect, by continually keeping themſelves in cold Water, notwithſtanding it be none of the beſt here; all the Water that is brought hither from *Bandel Kongo*, or the Iſle of *Queixome*, being taken out of Ponds, and conſequently not purified from its dregs, for want of motion; which is ſufficiently demonſtrable by its colour which is like Milk, and its Settlement which is ſometimes two or three inches thick at the bottom of the Veſſel it is kept in. During the violence of the hot Seaſon you may ſee People of both Sexes and all Ages, flock to the City Walls; but the *Europeans* ſeldom venture at ſwimming in the Sea, the Water being ſo exceſſive ſalt, that it excoriates their Bodies; but they allay the exceſſive heat of the Nights by wetting their Quilts and Pillows with cold Water. It is further obſervable, that the Winds are ſo changable here, that you may in a quarter of an hours time remarkably feel their different effects; ſome by opening, others by obſtructing the Pores of your Bodies. During the Summer Seaſon the Winds blow for the moſt part E. and S. E. or W. S. W. but ſeldom from the South, the laſt of which is not ſo unwholeſome as the reſt; and what is more ſurpriſing is, That this Wind always cools the Water contained in any Veſſels, but not the Chambers or Rooms where the Water is kept.

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The Drink of the Common People is Water, thoſe of the better ſort drink *Spaniſh* Wine, or *Perſian* Wines of *Shiras*, but theſe are very ſcarce and dear. They diſtil alſo a Spirit of Rice and Sugar here, as well as in all other parts of the *Indies*. They have alſo a certain kind of Drink call'd *Tari*, which is drawn from a Tree, and as ſweet as Muſt; this is the ordinary Liquor ſold in Publick Houſes, who pay a conſiderable Tax for their Licenſes to the King. This Liquor is brought every day to Town in Casks on Horſe back, each Horſe carrying one on each ſide. *Their Drink.*

The Iſle of *Ormus* was in Ancient times Governd by its own Kings, or Princes, deſcended from the race of theſe great Kings, that Ruled all over *Arabia*, *Perſia* and the adjacent Countries. The firſt famous in their Hiſtories, was, a certain *Arabian Emir* or Prince, call'd *Mahamed Dramku*, of the race of the antient Kings that Ruled in *Saba*, or *Arabia Felix*. This Prince being extreamly deſirous to Conquer new Dominions, extended his Conqueſts to the *Perſian Gulph*, where he landed with a great Fleet from *Kalayatta*, a City of *Arabia Felix*, and laid the Foundation of a City call'd *Ormus* or *Hormuz* on the Coaſt of *Perſia*. He left for his Succeſſor *Solyman* his Son, who was ſucceeded by the following Kings: *Iſa* the third in rank, Son of *Solyman*; the fourth *Lax Kari*, Son of *Iſa*, who *Origin of the Iſle of Ormus.*

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1662. who left the Court, and embraced a private Life. The fifth was *Katkobad* his Son; the fixth *Iſa* II. Son to *Katkobad*; the ſeventh *Mamud* Son of *Iſa* II. who ſuſpecting *Mir Xabadin Molong* his Nephew, made him a Priſoner in the Caſtle of *Gati*; from whence he eſcaped to *Sengon*, and Married the Daughter of the Governour of that Caſtle. The 8th *Xavanta* Son of *Mamud*, he engaged in a War againſt *Molong*, but was ſlain in an Engagement with his Enemy.

The 9th, *Mir Xabadin Molong* was declared King in his ſtead; his Daughter *Sed Acatum* was Married to *Emir*, or Prince *Seyfadin Abencaſar*, his Brother *Aly*'s Son, King of the Iſle of *Keys*, who dying ſoon after, his Son *Seyfadin* obtained the Kingdom of *Keys*. *Mir Xabadin* dying likewiſe not long after, his *Vizier Xarcar* made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom of *Ormus*; and thoſe of *Keys* having at the ſame time depoſed *Seyfadin*, he fled to *Ormus*, where being well received by the Inhabitants, he beſieged the Uſurper *Xarcar* in the Caſtle of *Kaicar*, whom he kill'd, and thereby became Maſter of the whole Kingdom. After *Seyfadin* had well ſettled his Affairs here, he undertook an expedition againſt thoſe of *Keys* of whom he kill'd many, and made ſome of their chief Men Priſoners. From thence he went to the Iſle of *Gevun*, (ſince call'd *Ormus*) where he cauſed all his Priſoners to be ſlain upon a certain Mountain, which from thence was call'd *Kay Kaſtaron*, i. e. The Mountain of the Dead. He returned at laſt victorious to *Ormus*, where he ſpent the reſt of his Days in Peace. The 11th was *Xabadin Mamud*, Son of *Iſa* II. who ſucceeded his Uncle in the Kingdom. The 12th *Emir Roknadin Mamud*, *Xabadin*'s Nephew, Son of *Hamud*, who was very victorious, and extended his Conqueſts as far as *Safar*, a Province of *Arabia Felix*. He Reign'd 35 Years, and died 1278.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Emir, Seyfadin Nocerat*, but was ſoon after forced by *Emir Kodbadin Thahantam* and *Emir Mocizadin Fulad*, or *Pulad*, to Fly the Kingdom, and to ſeek for Shelter, together with his mother, by *Sultan Gohaladin Suraget Mex*, Governour of *Kernon*, by who's aſſiſtance he was reſtor'd to his Kingdom: But being a ſecond time vanquiſh'd, by his Brother *Emir Kodbadin* was forced to ſave himſelf by Flight in a ſmall Bark, in the Iſle of *Queixome*. In the mean while, King *Seyfadin*, who had aſſiſted *Kodbadin*, having cauſed him to be murthered, the Soldiers conceived ſuch a hatred, againſt this *Seyfadin*, that they inſtantly recalled *Emir Seyfadin Nocerat*, chaſed away *Seyfadin*, and reſtored him to the Throne. Notwithſtanding which he was not long after murthered, by his two Brothers, *Emir Maſaud*, and *Emir Turkonxa*, together with his two Siſters, *Bibi Banek*, and *Bibi Neyty*, after he had Reign'd 12 Years, *viz.* 1290. 1662.

Maſaud the murtherer of his Brother, ſucceeded him in his Throne, being a very Couragious but Cruel Man, which brought upon him the hatred both of the Nobility and Common People, of whom he Cauſed many to be killed. This made them Implore the Aſſiſtance of *Emir Babadin Ayas Seyfin*, formerly a Slave only of King *Nocerat*, but now Governour of *Kalayatte*, a Sea-port of *Arabia Felix*; who forced *Maſaud* to Fly to *Kernon*, and from thence into *Syria*, where he Dyed, after a Reign of three Years. He was ſucceeded, by *Babadin Ayas Seyfin*, who cauſed two Brothers of *Maſaud*, to be beheaded, for endeavouring to Reſtore him to the Kingdom.

About that time, a great ſwarm of *Turks*, came out of *Turkeſtan*, Conquered a Conſiderable part of *Perſia*, and by their frequent Inroads, into the Kingdom of *Ormus*, Forc'd the Inhabitants to ſeek for Shelter, at the Command of their King *Azacz*, in the Iſle of *Queixome*. Whilſt they were Roving about in the Neigbouring Seas, to find out a Place where to fix there Habitations, they happened to light upon a certain Iſland, 2 Leagues from *Queixome*, where meeting with a very Ancient-Man, living juſt on the point of the Iſle, a Fiſher-man by Trade, He adviſed their King, to ſettle there. The King approving of his Counſel ſent to the King of *Keys*, the Proprietor of this, and all the other Iſlands in the *Perſian* Gulph, to deſire him to ſell him the ſaid Iſle, for a certain Sum of Money, which being Granted, he ſettled there a Colony of his Subjects, 1300, and gave it the Name of *Ormus*, after his Native Country. His ſucceſſors afterwards extended, their Conqueſts over a Great part of *Arabia* and *Perſia*, and over the *Perſian* Sea, as far as *Baſora*; and maintain'd themſelves in the poſſeſſion of it, till this Iſland was conquer'd by the *Portugueſes*. This King dyed, 1312 in the 22 Year of his Reign.

Some Hiſtorians give us the following account of this, and the ſucceeding Kings of the Iſle of *Ormus*.

After this King had ſetled his new Colony, He ſurrendered the Government, to *Emir Ayzadin Gordonxa*, Son of *Salkor*, and and *Bibi Zeinel*, a Nephew of the Ancient King of *Ormus*, and retiring to *Kalayatte* in *Arabia*, there finiſhed his Days in Peace. *Gordonxa* was engag'd in War, with the King of *Keys*: Becauſe he had intercepted ſome Ships coming from the *Eaſt-Indies*, his Dominions; *Ormus* he vanquiſhed and

1662. and forced him to Fly his Dominions; but the King of *Keys*, Returning ſoon after, found means to make *Gordonxa* his Priſoner, under pretence of an Interview concerning a Peace, betwixt them; and *Bili Sultan*, *Gordonxa*'s ſpouſe, committed the adminiſtration of the Government to *Malek Gaaya Hadin Dinar*, ſon of her husband's Brother *Xanxa*, ſcarce five Months were expired, before the King of *Keys* came to *Ormus*, with *Gordonxa* his Priſoner, where he was joyfully received by his Subjects, except *Dinar*, who being uſed to Rule, would not ſubmit to *Gordonxa*, but forced him to retire to the Caſtle of *Minal*, on the Continent of *Perſia*. Notwithſtanding which, *Dinar* being ſenſible what affection the people bore to *Gordonxa*, and fearing his Return, he thought it his ſafeſt way to retreat in time to the Kingdom of *Makyon*, betwixt *Perſia*, and the Country of *Send* or *Ind*. After which *Gordonxa*, once more Returned to his Kingdom, where he dyed 1318.

He was ſucceeded by his Son *Emir Mebareſadin Bararon Xa*, who together with his Brother, was by *Emir Xaladin Iſſuf* his General put in Priſon; *Iſſuf* afterwards mounted the Throne, but was engaged in a war, immediately after, with *Emir Xa Kodbadin*. Brother to the Impriſon'd King; *Dinar* came likewiſe with a ſtrong flying Army, to his Aſſiſtance, from *Makyon*, but finding *Iſſuf* too ſtrong for them both, he Entred into a Confederacy with him; and *Iſſuf* after having cauſed the Impriſoned King, his Mother, and one of his Brothers to be Slain, forced *Kodbadin* to Retire to *Kalayatte*, with *Bili Mariam*, the ſpouſe of *Ayas Ceſin*. But *Kodbadin* afterwards Returned, unexpectedly to *Ormus*, with a conſiderable force, and having made *Iſſuf* his Priſoner, he put the Crown upon his Head, and cauſed him, his wife and his two Sons, to be killed; after which he likewiſe made himſelf maſter of *Keys*. It happened that *Kodbadin* being abroad, a hunting, on the Continent 1345. *Rud Xar Nefomadin*, in the mean while, got himſelf, Proclaim'd King of *Gerun* or *Ormus*, but finding moſt of the Inhabitants averſe to him, he quitted the Country. However it was not long before he Returned with a great Power, and having gain'd *Homer Sejadin*, *Kodbadin*'s General, to join with him, He Forced *Kodbadin* to fly to *Kalayatte*. He had ſcarce ſtay'd here a Year, when word was brought him, that *Nefomadin* was Dead, and that by his Laſt-will, he had enjoined his Sons, *Xembe* and *Xady*, to throw themſelves at the Feet of *Kodbadin*, and to Surrender the Crown to him; But finding that the two Young Men, inſtead of performing their Fathers-will, had ſeized upon the Kingdom, He Attacked them and Regained the Crown of *Ormus*. He dyed 1347, in *Nakeſtan*, a Province of *Mogeſtan*.

He was ſucceeded by *Turonxa* his Son, (who writ the Lives of the Kings, his Predeceſſours both in Verſe and Proſe) He vanquiſhed *Xembe* and *Xady*, and dyed 1378, after he had Reigned 30 Years. After him his eldeſt Son *Mazud*, obtained the Crown of *Ormus*, who was ſucceeded, by *Xaladin*, the ſecond Son of *Turonxa*; after whom Reign'd *Salgar*, *Turonxa*'s third Son. Under his Reign, *Sefi Ilhalila* Conquered all *Perſia*, even to the Continent, directly oppoſite to the Iſland of *Gerun*, or *Ormus*, which eſcaped his Hands, for want of Shipping; but *Salgar* loſt all that he was poſſeſſed of on the Continent. For the reſt he Reigned, in Peace, as did his Succeſſor *Xanxes*. Him ſucceeded *Seyfadin*, who Reigned 1507 when the *Portugueſes*, after they had diſcovered the Paſſage by Sea to the *Indies*, firſt ſet footing in the Iſle of *Ormus*, under the Command of *Alfonſus Albuquerque*, the King being then yet in his Minority, was under the Protection of one *Atar* or *Kegear*, his Fathers Slave, a brave but Cunning man; whoſe Chief aim was to let the young King bear the Title of King, but to keep the Adminiſtration of Affairs in his own hands. *Albuquerque* being not Ignorant of it, lookt upon this as a favourable opportunity to bring the City of *Ormus*, under the Power of *Emanuel*, the then King of *Portugal*, or at leaſt to make it tributary to him, by erecting a Fortreſs near it, by which means he might clear the *Perſian Gulph* of all the *Turkiſh*, and other Mahometan Veſſels, Trading to the *Indies*, and conſequently Entail that whole Trade upon *Portugal*. He was about that time with ſix ſtout Men of War well Man'd, Cruiſing in thoſe Seas; but thinking it below himſelf at ſuch a juncture as this, to lie Privateering at Sea, he ſteer'd his Courſe the 20th of *Auguſt* 1507. towards the *Perſian Gulph*, and paſſing by the Cape *Roſalgat*, came to an Anchor before *Kalayatte*, (a Noble City, and the firſt on that Coaſt under the juriſdiction of the Kings of *Ormus*) to provide himſelf with freſh Proviſions. The Inhabitants dreading the name of the *Portugueſes*, which was then already become famous throughout the *Indies*, entred into a confederacy with him, upon ſuch conditions as *Albuquerque* was pleaſed to preſcribe them. From thence he ſet ſail for *Kuriatte*, another City belonging to the Kings of *Ormus*, on the *Arabian* Coaſt. Here the Inhabitants being of a different Opinion with thoſe of *Kalayatte* chooſe rather to defend themſelves by force, than to ſubmit to *Albuquerque*, tho with very ill ſucceſs.

The Portugueſe came firſt into the Perſian Gulph.

1662. Succefs. For *Albuquerque* having Landed his Men, fo vigorouſly attack'd the City, that the Garriſon after ſome Reſiſtance were forced to leave it to his Mercy, which he burnt to the ground, with all their Ships he found in the Harbour. In the ſame manner he made himſelf Maſter of the *Maskate* and *Orfafan*, two ſtrong and well fortified places, belonging to the King of *Ormus*; and from thence directly taking his Courſe to *Ormus* it ſelf, the chief Aim of this Expedition, he ſent word to King *Seyfadin* and *Atar* the Protector, That *Emanuel* King of *Portugal* having taken a Reſolution, out of an hereditary Hatred to the *Mahometans*, the declared Enemies of *Chriſtendom*, to make War againſt them, which ſhould not end but with the total Conqueſt of either ſide, he was come to tell them, that if they were ready, according to the Example of ſeveral other *Aſiatick* and *African* Kings, to pay his Maſter a certain Yearly Tribute, he would leave them in the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Iſland, but if they refuſed to acknowledge the King of *Portugal* for their Lord, he was come to denounce them War, which was not to end, but with their Total Deſtruction.

The King being ſorely frightned at the laſt Succeſs of the *Portugueſe*, and dreading the ſame Fate, thought it his beſt way to cajol *Albuquerque* with fair Words into a Belief of his ſincere Intentions of Peace; but at the ſame time, by the Advice of *Atar* ſought to gain time, and to delay his poſitive Anſwer, till the expected Auxiliaries from the Continent of *Perſia* were Arrived. No ſooner had he received theſe Supples, but he altered his Note, and in plain terms ſent word to *Albuquerque*, that the Kings of *Ormus* were not uſed to pay, but to recieve Tribute from Foreigners; That in caſe the *Portugueſes* would be contented with the ſame Privileges of Trading, other Nations enjoy'd there, they ſhould be welcome; but, that if they once came to Hoſtilities, they ſhould be convinced to their coſt, what difference there was to fight with well appointed *Perſians* and *Arabians*, and with an undiſciplin'd Rabble of *Moors*. By this time *Atar* the Protector had got above 20000 Men together, part of which he Embark'd aboard the Merchant Veſſels then in Harbour there, which he poſted in a Line along the Shoar, to prevent the Enemies Landing, whilſt he with the Men of War put to Sea with an Intention to Attack *Albuquerque* in the Rear; ſo ſoon as he ſhould be engaged with the Merchant Men: But *Albuquerque* inſtead of Attacking the Merchant Ships, came up with *Atar*'s Fleet and Engaged them ſo furiouſly, that in a ſhort time he ſunk many of them, and burnt the reſt, with a great Slaughter of Men on the Enemies ſide, whereas the *Portugueſes* loſt not above Ten Men during the whole Engagement. King *Seyfadin* being ſenſible that the Loſs of his Fleet muſt of neceſſity draw that of the whole Iſland after it, ſent immediately his Deputies to *Albuquerque* to Treat of Peace; They were kindly received by the *Portugueſe* General, who gave immediate Orders, that the Fire which had ſeized by this time upon the Merchant Ships, ſhould be extinguiſhed immediately, and the next day a Peace was concluded betwixt them upon theſe following Conditions. 1662.

That *Ceyfadin* King of *Ormus* and all his Succeſſors ſubmit themſelves to, and ſhall acknowledge the King of *Portugal* their Protector, and pay him an Annual Tribute of 15000 *Serafs*.

That *Albuquerque* ſhall have Liberty to pitch upon a Place, ſuch as he judges moſt convenient for the erecting of a Fortreſs, for which purpoſe he ſhall be ſupply'd with ready Money, and other Neceſſaries by the ſaid King.

Accordingly *Albuquerque* apply'd himſelf with all imaginable ſpeed to the Building of the Fortreſs; but many of the Gentlemen Volunteers and other *Portugueſes* looking upon it as a great Hardſhip, to ſpend their time here in Slaviſh Drudgery, whilſt they miſs'd their opportunity of getting a Rich Booty at Sea, from the Mooriſh Ships, (the main intent of their Voyage) began to murmur, and at laſt with the conſent of their Captains, embark'd themſelves aboard two Men of War, and in ſpite of *Albuquerque* return'd to the *Indies*. He was vex'd to the Soul, to ſee himſelf thus Diſappointed in this great Deſign, but being forced to comply with Neceſſity, he follow'd the reſt. But ſome years after he being ſent from the King of *Portugal* in the Quality of Viceroy of the *Indies*, he did, after the Conqueſt of *Goa* and *Malacca* bring it to Perfection in the following manner.

He cauſed 1577 22 Men of War, and a good Number of Merchant Ships to be Equipp'd at *Goa*, and to have it rumour'd abroad, that he intended to go with this Fleet to *Aden* (a City at the Entrance of the *Red-Sea*) to prevent thoſe of *Ormus* to conceive any Jealouſie of this Equipment. But no ſooner was he come to *Maskate*, but he changed his Courſe, and Steer'd directly for *Ormus*, where his Arrival cauſed an incredible Fear both in the King and People. For *Atar* being dead ſince, and King *Seyfadin* poiſon'd by *Noradin* Governor of the City, his Brother *Toro* or *Toruxa* had Uſurp'd the Kingdom from his Children.

Noradin,

The Portugueſe came firſt into the Perſian Gulph.

1662. *Noradin*, who had both by this Act, and before heap'd so many Obligations upon this new King, got thereby the sole Administration of the Government into his own Hands, and daily appear'd in Publick with a strong Guard, consisting most of his own Kinsfolks. Those that bore the chiefest Rank among these were three Brothers, among whom was one *Hamades*, *Noradin*'s Chief Favourite, a Man of about 35 Years of Age, Bold, Prudent and very Ambitious, and resembling in every respect the late deceas'd Protector *Acar*. He took effectual Care, by placing his Creatures in all places of Trust, whereby he Establish'd himself in the Management of the Government, so that not only *Noradin*, but also *Toro* himself durst not attempt to Act contrary to his Sentiments. From hence it was, that, tho' the League with *Portugal* had been kept inviolably hitherto, the *Portugueses* had been civilly receiv'd there, and the Yearly Tribute punctually paid, yet was the Power of *Hamades* so prevailing, as to have constrained *Toro* to accept of the *Persian* Turbant, sent him by *Ismael Sophi*, an evident sign, that *Hamades* his Inclinations were rather for the *Persians* than *Portugueses*. *Albuquerque* being not ignorant of what pass'd at *Ormus*, resolved, by delivering King *Toro* from the slavish Submission imposed upon him by his Subjects, to Confirm him absolutely in his Fidelity and Intereſt to the King of *Portugal*; for which purpose he surrounded the whole Island with his Fleet, to take away from them all Hopes of Relief, and immediately sent word to the King, that he was come thither with no other Intent, than to enter upon a new League betwixt the Kings of *Portugal* and *Ormus*.

King *Toro* being not a little surprised at the unexpected Appearance of so great a Fleet, dispatch'd immediately his Deputy's to *Albuquerque*, to Treat with him concerning the Conditions of it; *Albuquerque* demanded, that, besides the Annual Tribute to be paid to the King of *Portugal*, Liberty should be given him to build a Fortress and a Factory House to secure the Trade of the *Portugueses*; and King *Toro* being willing enough to grant what he desired, the League was Confirmed by a Solemn Oath on both sides. But *Hamades* who soon foresaw that the building of this Fortress would tend to the no small Detriment of his Authority, left no Stone unturn'd to prevent its Accomplishment, which *Albuquerque* being soon aware of, he caused this ambitious Favourite to be kill'd. After his Death, the *Portugueses* meeting with no other Obstacle, the Fortress was soon after brought to Perfection; King *Toro* readily furnishing them with Materials and other Necessaries. The next Care of *Albuquerque* was, how to remove all the Opportunities of a Future revolt among the Inhabitants of *Ormus*; for which purpose, after having taken the Oath of Fidelity from King *Toro*, he removed all the great Cannon out of the City, and sent about 30 Persons of the Royal Family, who had their Eyes taken away before, and were maintain'd at the King's Charge, from thence to *Goa*, where they were to be provided for by certain Persons appointed for that purpose by *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. *Albuquerque* having thus settled the Affairs of *Ormus* return'd to *Goa*, where he was no sooner Arrived, but dy'd. The *Mahometans* call this *Albuquerque Malandy*, because he was born at *Melinde* in *Africa*, call'd by them *Maland*. Albuquerque dies.

1662.

It was not long before King *Toro* refused to pay the usual Tribute to the *Portugueses*, alledging that they did not defend him against the Violences committed by *Mekrin* his Vassal Prince of the Island of *Baharen*, who hinder'd the Ships from coming to *Ormus*. *Sequeira* then Governour of the *Indies* for the King of *Portugal*, sent hereupon seven Men of War (aboard of which were 400 *Portuguese* Soldiers) to the Assistance of King *Toro* under the Command of *Anthony Correa*; which were join'd by 200 Barks of the Kings, Mann'd with 3000 *Persians*, under the Conduct of *Xavaf* his Admiral. *Mekrin* brought together an Army of 12000 Men, consisting of 3000 *Arabian* Horse, 4000 *Persian* Archers, and the rest of *Turkish* Firelocks, and some of his own Subjects, Arm'd only with Scymeters and Javelins; But being Overthrown and Slain in Battel, the Isle of *Baharen* fell into the Hands of the King of *Ormus*, who gave it to one *Bardadi*, under Condition, that he should pay him an Annual Tribute of 40000 *Serafs*.

By this time *Sequeira* being sufficiently convinced, that the King his Master was circumvented in his Share of the Customs and other Taxes, appointed certain *Portuguese* Commissioners to have a watchful Eye over them, which so exasperated the Inhabitants, that King *Toro* in 1521 Revolted, and caused all the *Portugueses* at *Ormus*, except such as fled into the Fortress, to be kill'd; the same Treatment received the *Portugueses* at *Kuriatte*, *Soar*, and in the Island of *Baharen*, who were either all slain or Imprison'd. Then he attempted the taking of the Fortress, but meeting with a brave Resistance from the *Portugueses*, and dreading their Return with a good Fleet, he retired with all his Subjects and their Effects to the Isle of *Queixeme*, and set fire to the City of *Ormus*, which burnt four days successively.

But

1662. But not long after *Xarefs*, the Chief adviter and promoter of this Revolt, having received intelligence of the coming of the *Portugueſe* Fleet, and fearing to be call'd to a ſevere Account, kill'd King *Toro*; and in his ſtead put *Mamud Scha*, one of the Sons of *Seifadin*, upon the Throne. This King being but 13 Years of Age, made a new League with the *Portugueſes*; by vertue of which, he was oblig'd to pay an Annual Tribute of 20000 *Serafs* to the King of *Portugal*: The Inhabitants of *Ormus* were to reſtore to the *Portugueſes* all that they had taken from them; in conſideration of which, the *Portugueſes* were not to intermeddle with their Cuſtom-Houſe, or other Courts of Judicature. In the Year 1550, the *Turks* made an In-road into the Iſle of *Ormus* and laid it almoſt deſolate. The King who in 1566, Reign'd in *Ormus* was call'd *Siafiruſia* of *Xahuxa Gialedin*; and in 1580, Reign'd one *Ferraguixe*, who, tho' very Ancient, had a great inclination to Marry *Bifatme*, the Widow of *Rex Bradadin* his late Governour of *Mogoſtan*, thereby to be Maſter of her Treaſure, which was very great; She gave him for Anſwer, *That ſhe would comply with his deſires, as ſoon as he had perfected his new Gardens at* Tarumbake, *and found out a new Spring of freſh Water*; both which the King having found means to effect in a ſhort time, he was nevertheleſs diſappointed in his expectation by the crafty Widow. He that Reign'd in *Ormus* in 1606, was *Xeque i. e.* Prince *Aje*, or as ſome call him *Ajeſia*, *i. e.* King *Aje*.

For tho' the *Portugueſes* by the Conduct of *Albuquerque* had got into the Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Ormus*, ever ſince 150⁷, nevertheleſs the Succeſſion of their Kings from Father to Son, was kept inviolable under the Protection of the Crown of *Portugal*; for no ſooner did the King of *Ormus* die, but the Inhabitants ſet another of the Royal Family, tho' not without the conſent of the *Portugueſe* Governour upon the Throne, who was oblig'd to take the Oath of Fidelity to the King of *Portugal*, after which he was inveſted with the Crown and Scepter by the ſaid Governour, who Conducted him in great Pomp to the Royal Palace, and afterwards gave him all the demonſtrations of reſpect and honour, tho at the ſame time he durſt not ſtir from the Iſland without his approbation.

Vaſt Territories belonging to the Kings of Ormus.

The Ancient Kings of *Ormus* were Maſters of vaſt Territories on the Continent of *Perſia* and *Arabia*; and among the reſt of the Countries of *Lar* and *Mogoſtan* in *Perſia*, the laſt of which is commonly call'd the *Perſian* Coaſt; and the Country of *Lar* being a Mountainous Country of very difficult acceſs, ſerv'd them as a Bulwork againſt the *Perſians*. For, after theſe had once taken from the King of *Ormus*, the Country of *Lar*, and what elſe they were poſſeſs'd of on the Continent of *Perſia*, (whoſe Example was followed by the *Arabians*) the Iſle of *Ormus* was bereaved of its chief defence, and expoſed to the inſults of the *Perſians*.

1662.

It was the cuſtom of the Ancient Kings of *Ormus*, in order to ſecure to themſelves the quiet poſſeſſion of the Throne, to confine their next Kinsfolks, or ſuch as had any pretenſions to the Crown, with their Wives and Children, where they were well entertain'd, and kept till the King thought fit to diſpoſe of them otherwiſe. They alſo uſed to blind their Brothers, and others deſcended of the Royal Line, becauſe it was a fundamental Law amongſt them, that no blind Man could Sway the Scepter. It was performed thus; They made a Copper Baſon red hot, which they immediately after it was taken out of the Fire, held frequently cloſe before the Eyes of him that was to be bereaved of his eyeſight; which without any further Application, had the deſired effect, without giving the leaſt blemiſh to the Eyes in outward appearance, which look'd as clear as before. Some will have it to have been done with a red hot Iron.

How they [illegible] the Succeſſion.

Their Riches.

The Kings of *Ormus* poſſeſſed vaſt Treaſures in former Ages; the Cuſtoms they received from all Goods Exported and Imported there, amounting to an immenſe Summ yearly; which empower'd them to extend their Conqueſts on the Continent of *Perſia* and *Arabia*, which they afterwards loſt again, by their own neglect. For whilſt they themſelves were drowned in voluptuouſneſs, they left the ſole management of affairs to their Favourites, who increaſing in Pride as they did in Riches, at laſt left them nothing but the bare Royal Name, whilſt they acted in the Government at their own Pleaſure, diſpoſing of the Treaſury and all other Matters of Moment, as it ſuited beſt with their own Intereſt, whereby both the Power of the Kings and the ſtrength of the Kingdom being weakned, they were no longer able to Cope as before, with their Enemies, and at laſt were forced to yield themſelves Tributaries to the *Portugueſes*, who were afterwards, *viz.* in 1622, chaſed from thence by the *Perſians*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*, under the Reign of their King *Schach Abbas*; which happened in the following manner.

The *Portugueſes* at *Ormus* had no ſooner been advertiſed of the taking of the Fort of *Queixome* (Situate upon the Point of the Iſland of the ſame Name); but they ſent Deputies in the Name of the King of *Ormus* and

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of *Goazi* to the *Persian Chan* of *Shiras*, to come with them to an amicable Composition; but with such evident marks of Fear, that the *Persians*, who had lately received advice of a Powerful Incursion made by the *Usbeck* and *Nogayan Tartars*, and consequently would have rested satisfied with the Conquest of the Isle of *Queixome*, being sensible thereof, resolved not to let slip this opportunity of Plundring as it were *enpassent* the City of *Ormus*. Accordingly the *Chan* of *Shiras*, without tarrying any longer in the Island of *Queixome*, Embark'd about 40000 *Persians* and *Arabians* under the Conduct of *Emanculibes* his Lieutenant, in some Barks, who coming before the City of *Ormus*, found it deserted by the *Portuguese* and most of its other Inhabitants, but met with a prodigious quantity of Merchandice, which they either could or would not bring into the Castle. The *Persians* seeing themselves thus Masters of the City, without striking a blow, and finding that under the Protection of the Houses, they might open their Trenches, without any considerable danger from the Cannon of the Castle, fell to work without delay, and soon carried them on to the foot of the Ditch, which being dry on that side, they pass'd without much opposition. Then they attack'd the Bastion of St. *James*, which they undermin'd and made themselves Masters of it in a few days; the Garrison all this while not making one Salley, but were forced to surrender the Place the 3d of *May*, after a Siege of ten Weeks. They consisted of 400 Men, regular Troops, besides Women and Children, which were some days before sent to *Maskate*. The *English* had the chief hand in making the conditions for this Surrender, which were,

Conquest of Ormus by the Persians.

That all the Soldiers should have their lives granted them;

And that all such as were willing should be transported to Maskate *in two English Ships appointed for that purpose*; which was strictly observed by the *Persians*; They made the King of *Ormus*, and *Goazil*, with their Families prisoners, and Seized upon their whole Treasure, which in Pearls, and Gold Amounted to above Two Millions, besides a vast Booty of Precious Stones, and other Riches belonging to the Inhabitants, and [illegible] pieces of Cannon, all which fell to the *Persians* Share, who lost a great Number of Men, in the Siege of this Fortress. The *Portuguese*, before they Surrendered the Fort, took Care to make all the Cannon Useless, by Nailing of it up. The King of *Ormus*, with some other *Arabians* of Note, were carried Prisoners into *Persia*, together with the before mentioned, *Goazil Raia Noradina*. This Last was a young Lord, a Subject of the King of *Spain*, a very handsome Person, and well versed in the *Persian*, and *Arabian* Histories. He had at the Beginning of the Siege, Offered 100000 Crowns in Ducats and *Xerafins*, to the *Persians*, to be transported to *Maskate*, or *Goa*; and the unfortunate King of *Ormus*, had likewise made an offer of his whole Treasure to the *Portuguese*, to obtain the same Favour, which was refused by the *Portuguese*, notwithstanding they were both Vassals of the King of *Portugal*; which has given no Slender cause of Suspicion, to some, as if the *Portuguese* had invited the *Persians* thither, when they sued for peace to them, in the Isle of *Queixome*. The *English*, in consideration of this Service, had the moity of all the customs, and other Revenues granted them by the *Persians*. The Chief reason of the loss of the Fortress of *Ormus*, is attributed to the Revolt of the Garrison in the *Portuguese* Fort of *Queixome*, who in spight of *Ruy Freira* their Governour, surrendered it to the *Persians*. It was also alledged, that if the Governour of the *Portuguese* Fortress of *Ormus*, had, according to the advice of the other Commanders, filled the ditch betwixt the City, and the Fortress with water; by opening the Sluices the *Persians*, would have found it a much harder Task, to have approached so near to the Bastion of St. *James*.

Before the *Portuguese* had discovered, the passage by Sea, to the *Indies*, all the *Indian* Commodities, were brought into *Europe* by the way of *Ormus*; whither they were first transported, out of all parts of the *Indies*; and from thence through the *Persian Gulph*, and along the River *Euphrates*, to *Bassora*, which City lies upon the Confluence of the two great Rivers the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. From *Bassora* they were by Land, carried by Camels, to *Bagdad*, a City upon the *Tigris*. From hence they Travelled with their Merchandices in Caravans through the desarts of *Syria* to *Aleppe*, being a journey of forty days; and from *Aleppo* to *Tripolis*, in *Syria* bordering upon the Mediteranean (only three days journey) from whence they were transported by the Mediterranern into all parts of *Europe*. From hence it is evident that *Ormus* in former Ages was the Staple of all the *Indian* Commodities. But since the discovery of the Sea passage to the *East-Indies*, by the *Portuguese*, by the *Cape of good hope*, this way of transport[illegible] the *Indian* Commodities by Land, is laid aside, tho' even to this day, certain *Indian* Merchandices, but especially *Persian* Silks, are brought from *Ormus* by Land by the Caravans, this Island by reason of its Situation, at the Entrance of the *Persian*

Vast Traffick of Ormus in former Ages.

Gulph

1662. *Gulph*, and its two harbours, lying very commodious for traffick and Shipping, from the Eastern parts of the World. After the City of *Ormus* was fallen into the Hands of the *Persians*, most of its Traffick and the Staple of the *Indian* Commodities, was from thence transferred to *Gamron*, a City upon the *Persian* Coast; built upon the ruines of *Ormus*. We will not proceed to a short description of the Islands of *Baharen* *Qeixome* and *Kesem*.

Isle of Baharen. Among a great Number of other Islands in the *Persian Gulph*, and under the Jurisdiction of *Persia*, one of the chief is the Isle of *Baharen*, or *Bahrem*, called by *Strabo* and *Pliny Tilis*, and is by some taken to be the same Island, Called *Ichara* by *Ptolemy*. It is Situate in the Streights of *Bassora* or the *Persian Gulph*, betwixt *Bassora* and the Isle *Gerun*, or *Ormus*, about 60 Leagues distant from each, near the *Arabian* Coast, overagainst the harbour of *Katira*. This Island abounds in water, but is brackish, the best of all being found in certain ponds, or pools, in *Nasrah* in the midst of the Island; next to which that which is taken out of the Sea, is in most esteem which is performed in the following manner.

There are certain Springs of fresh water arising, in the bottom of the Sea, at 3 Fathoms and ½ deep. Near the City of *Manama* certain Divers go early in the morning in boats, about three Musket shop deep in the Sea from the Shoar, and dive to the bottom of the Sea, fill their Earthern or Leathern Vessels with the water that Issues from the Springs, and so come up again and Return to the shoar; this they do with a great deal of dexterity, and nimbleness. These Springs are supposed to have been formerly on the Shoar, not far from the Sea-side, which since that time have been swallowed up by the inundations of the Sea, occasioned by Earthquakes. This Isle, is very Fertile, abounding in Fruits of all Sorts, but especially Dates. But all the Rice, which together with the Dates, is the General Food of the Inhabitants); is from the *Indies* Transported to *Ormus*, and from thence into this Island, which is famous throughout the *Indies*, by reason of the Pearl fishery here, from whence the King of *Persia*, draws a Vast Revenue yearly, as may be gathered from thence, that after this Island, was fallen into the hands of one *Bardadin*; (who succeeded *Anthony Korrea Mokrin*, a Vassal of the King of *Ormus*) he promised to pay, a Yearly Tribute of 40,000 *Serafs*. Besides this, the Pearl-trade here produces yearly at least 500000 Ducats, in ready Money, not to Reckon 100000 Ducats more, which are Shared betwixt the *Persian* Governour and the other Officers: For there is a great resort of Merchants to this place, which come hither from all parts of the World, to buy up Pearls, and to transport them to the *Indies*, and other places, the best and most precious Pearls in the World, been found near this Island of *Baharen*, and the Isle of *Gionfar* or *Giolfar* which both in bigness; and Roundness, far exceed those found near the other Islands of *Latif*, *Lesen*, *Barechator*, *Zezirasilhar*, *Alul*, *Seran*, *Dsiud*, *Daas*, *Emergeenen*, *Ancevi*, *Sereche*, *Delmesialmas*, *Sirbeniast*, *Aidane*, *Festebruatich*, *Cherizorn*, *Dibei*, *Sarba*, *Agiman*, *Ras*, *Emelgovien*, *Rasagiar*, *Dacin*, *Rasaclchimes*, *Sirkorkor*, *Kasab*, *Konzar*, *Mesendenderadi*, *Lima*, *Debe*, *Chorf*, *Cheib*, *Sarar*, *Suet*, *Mestar*, *Garajat*, *Teuji*, *Golaf*, *Furgatile*, *Sam*, *Gameda*, *Batha*, and *Jadi*. All which afford Pearls, but they are not exactly round. Near *Maskate* about 33, or 34 Leagues from *Ormus*, are likewise very good Pearls to be found.

Pearl fishery.

The Pearl fishery near *Baharen* begins sometimes in *June*, but Generally in *July*, and continues till the End of *August*. About 200 Barks go abroad together, *viz.* 100 belonging to the Isle of *Baharen*, 50 to *Pilfar* and 50 to *Nihely*; their Rendezvous being commonly near *Katar*, a Sea-port of *Arabia*, 6 Leagues South of *Baharen*. The Pearls taken here, Exceed all the Rest in Goodness, Beauty, and Weight, tho' not in bigness. They Catch them by means of a Stone, which by its weight is let down 12 or 18 Fathom under water. They sell the Pearls by *Karats* and *Abas* three of which make one *Karat*; and by *Matikals*, or *Mitigals*, each of which contains 42 *Karats*. The Small Pearls are sold by *Mitigals*. Besides this General fishery near *Katar*, which Continues for two Months, there are several other particular Fisheries, near *Nihely*, *Baharen*, *Julfar*, *Maskate*, *Teude*, and *Rezalgate*, in the *Persian Gulph*, which, tho' not of so great Consequence as the first, yet are commonly, greatly beneficial to the owners. As they take up the Oysters, they open them, when the Pearls drop out. It is Generally believed, that these Pearls, are progenerated by the May-dews, during which Month, the Oisters rise up to the Surface of the Waters, and Opening themselves receive a small quantity of dew, which being Coagulated, afterwards produces these Pearls. Certain it is, that if these Oisters are opened before *June*, the Pearls are soft and pliable like Pitch. Most of the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Baharen*; are *Arabians*, but the Garrison Consists of *Persians*, under the Command of a Vizier sent thither by the King of *Persia*. Formerly this Isle was under the Jurisdiction of the Kings of *Ormus*, and

1662.

and in 1602, taken from them by the *Portugueses*. But when the *Persian Sultan* of *Xiras* had laid Siege to the *Portuguese* Fortress of *Comoran*, He made himself Master of *Baharen*. The King of *Persia* alledging, that he had not taken it from the *Portugueses*, but from a Vassal of the King of *Ormus*, who was his Vassal; so that ever since 1602 the *Persians* have been in Possession of it.

The Isle of Queixome or Kechmiche.

The Isle of *Queixome*, or *Queixume*, or *Quezome*, otherwise called *Kechmiche*, and by the Inhabitants *Bukt*, lies close to the Continent of *Persia*, being separated from it only by a small branch of the Sea: It has about two Leagues in Circuit, and is three Leagues distant from *Ormus*. Its two chief Places are *Arbez* and *Hemeal*, where the [illegible] of *Ormus* at the time when *Albuquerque* [illegible] happeared hereabouts, had strong Garrisons. The other Places of Note are, *Laght*, [illegible] best Harbours of this Island, *Darbaga* not far from the *Laght*, *Chau*, and *Sirmion* or *Sermion*. It bears plenty of Corn, but especially Barly, without which, the Inhabitants of *Ormus*, who are supplied from hence with it for their Horses, could Scarce subsist there. Here is also a most Excellent Spring of Fresh Water; to secure which, the *Persians* had Erected a Fort hard by, for fear of the *Portugueses*, who were then as yet Masters of *Ormus*. If we may believe some Historians, this Island was not Inhabited in Ancient times; partly by reason of the Frequent Earthquakes, that happened there, partly by reason of the vast Number of Serpents, and other venomous Creatures, which infected both Air, and some Trees, so, as to render the Island uninhabitable. Among these Trees, is one called *Baxama* or [illegible], the Fruit of which is so Poisonous that the least Tast of it, kills in an Instant; [illegible] its Shadow is so pestiferous, that it kills [illegible], who abide there, in less than a quarter of an Hour. The Root of this Tree, [illegible] several other parts, esteemed as the greatest Antidote that can be, but here it is Mortal, as are its Leaves, and Fruit called *Rabagit*.

The *Portugueses* in 1622, Conquered this Island from the *Persians*; and on the point [illegible] to *Ormus*, Erected a Fort, fortified with a Wall, and Surrounded with a broad and deep ditch, but the Wall was very slight being sustained from behind only by some [illegible] Earth. In short it was a Place of no [illegible], without any Great Cannon, neither in a Condition to bear the weight of them. It had three Ponds within its Precinct, being Chiefly built by the *Portugueses*, for that Purpose, because the Inhabitants of *Ormus*, were from thence supplyed with Water. Scarce had the *Portugueses* finished this Fort, but the *Persians*, out of the Country of *Lara*, in 1622, besieged it by Land, as the *English* did at Sea; The *Portuguese* Commander *Ruy Freira de Andreada*, defended himself bravely for some time, and killed many of the *Persians*, who would have bought it perhaps at a dear Rate, had not the *English* Threatned to bring their Great Cannon against it; which obliged the Garrison who were not provided with them, to Capitulate, and to Surrender the Fort upon Honourable Conditions, which were not performed on the Enemies side. There are some others who have given us the following Account of the Occasion of this Siege.

The King of *Persia* had 1612, taken the Isles of *Queixome* and *Baharen* and the Fortresses of *Bandel* and *Megostan* on the Continent, from the King of *Ormus*, which he refusing to restore, the King of *Portugal* sent his express Orders to *Ruy Freira*, that in case the King of *Persia* would not restore the Isle of *Queixome* and the Fortress of *Bandel*, he should declare War against him, and erect a Fort on the Point of the Isle of *Queixome*. Accordingly *Ruy Freira de Andreada*, who in the beginning of *June* 1620, came to *Ormus*, caused a Fort to be built on the Point of the said Island, surrounded only with a slender Wall made of Stone and Clay, or Loam; being scarce to be compar'd in strength to some Private Buildings: The *Persians* with the assistance of the *English*, having erected a small Battery against it, did play upon the Fort with their Cannon, which did strike such a Terror into the Garrison, that they refused to stand the brunt any longer, but forced *Ruy Freira* to capitulate. For *Emanchulican* Governour of *Shiras* being just then come with 5000 Men to *Bandel* or *Gamron*, he sent part of his Forces under the Command of *Emanculibey* to the Siege of the Fort of *Queixome*; *Ruy Freira*, as I told you, being forced to surrender, had obtained certain conditions from the *English*, for himself and the Garrison, among which the chiefest was, That the whole Garrison as well *Portugueses* as *Arabians* (the last of which were come thither from *Zulfa*, upon the Coast of *Arabia*, under the Command of *Emir Alikamai Zemur Mahomet*, and had done signal Services by Sallies and otherwise) should be safely conducted to *Maskate*, a City on the Coast of *Arabia*, belonging to the *Portuguese*; but this was but ill perform'd by the *Persian* General, who before the *Portugueses* were Embarked, caused all the *Arabians* to be beheaded, in spite of the Protestations of *Ruy Freira*, who accused the *English* with breach of Faith, but these excused themselves, alledging that these *Arabians* having formerly been

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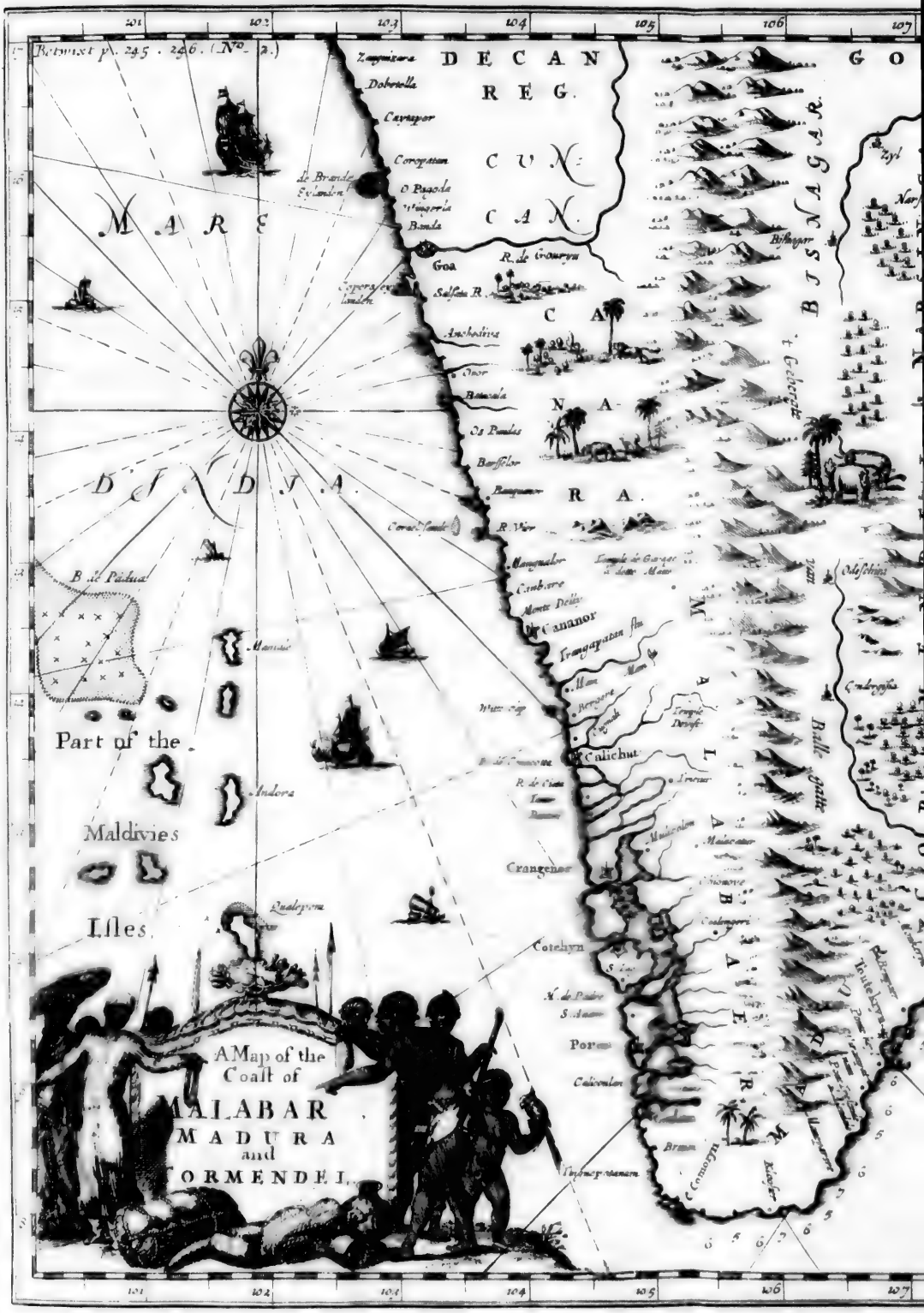
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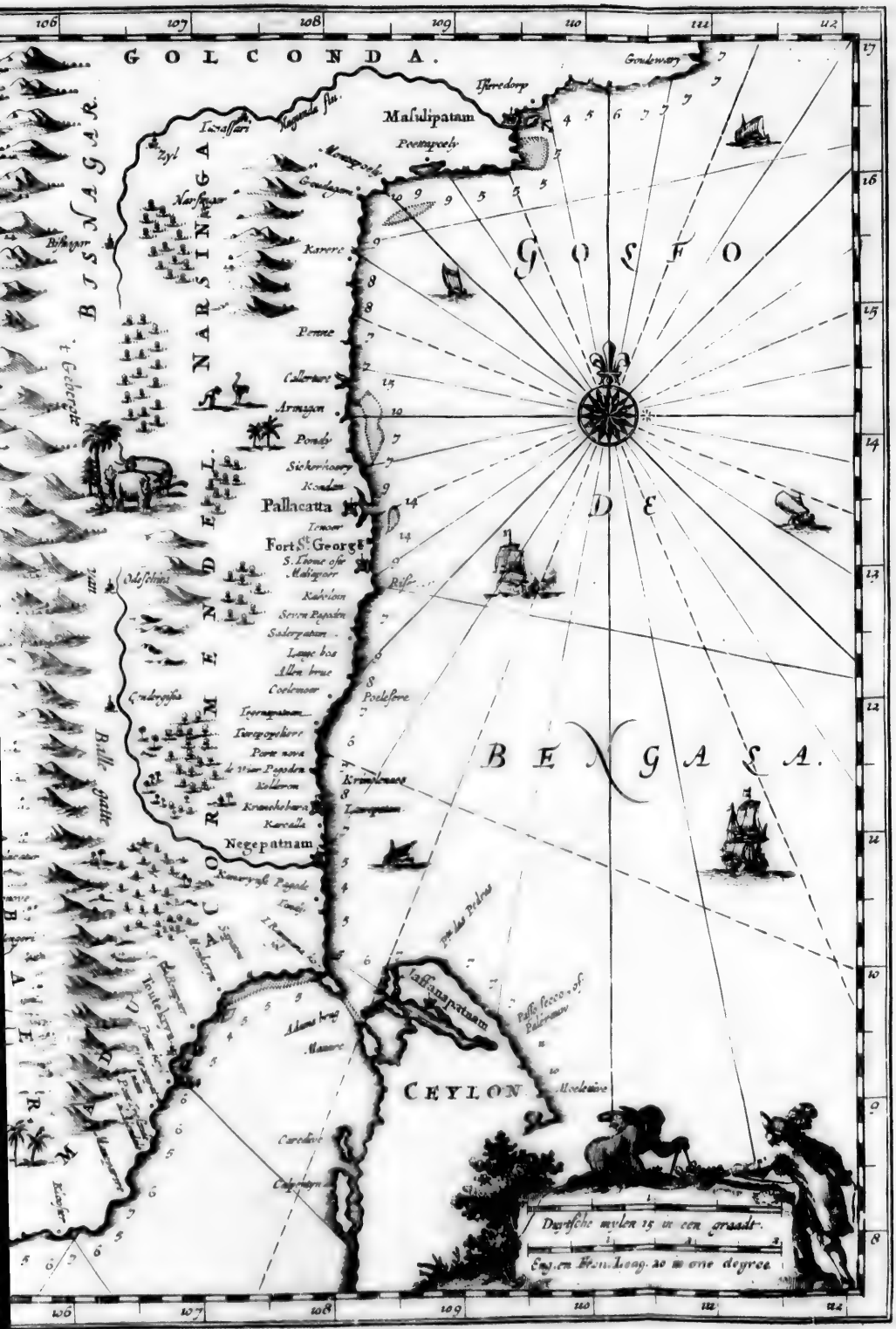
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1662. been Subjects of the King of *Persia*, it was not in their Power to prevent it; No more than 20 out of 250 *Arabians* escaped with life, who were hid by the *English* Seamen. The Commander in chief of these *Arabians*, *Emir Genedin* being brought before the *Persian* General, was by his Orders stabed in his presence, by *Xarial* his Son-in-law, and then Governour of *Megostan*; but the *Portuguese* Garrison consisting of 200 Men, were, by the *English*, instead of conveying them to *Maskate*, set on Shoar in the Isle of *Ormus*, from whence they got safe into the *Portuguese* Castle.

The Isle of *Jarck* is Situate three Leagues from the Coasts of *Arabia*, to the South of the Isle of *Ormus*, and to the East of the Isle of *Kechmiche*. It is destitute of Inhabitants, and very small in Compass, the *Dutch* who reside on the behalf of the *East-India* Company at *Gamren*, have planted there only a Garden near a Certain Pond, whither the Wild Boars and Staggs, which are here in great Numbers, come to drink; They also keep here, some Tame Fowl for their Recreation. It is now time we should leave *Gamren* and *Ormus*, and proceed on our Voyage.

After we had taken in our Lading at *Gamren*; we set Sail from thence the 2d, of *June*, and with a favourable Gale, passed along the Coast of *Malabar*, towards the Isle [illegible]; for before you come to the coast [illegible], you are obliged to sail Round [illegible] vast tract of Land. I had Letters [illegible], for the Governour of *Punto Gale*, a City of *Ceylon*, which I delivered to a Certain Master of a Small Vessel; without going [illegible]. After we had provided our [illegible] with Fresh water here, that the Rendezvous of the *Dutch* Ships, was appointed to be at *Punto Pedro*, where Mr. *Rikloff van Goens* Commanded a Body of Troops, in order to Besiege the City of St. *Thomas*; whither we also directed our Course. But whilst the Great Train of Artillery was Embarking, and the Troops ready to go on Board for this Expedition, we received Intelligence, that the *Portugueses* had sold the City of St. *Thomas* to the *Jentyves* or *Pagans*; which made us also alter our Measures; and I went to *Jafenepatnam*, to dispatch my [illegible].

The City of St. *Thomas* is situate under 12 or 13 deg. 30 min. of Northern Latitude, 26 *German* Miles from *Negapatnam*, one and a half off the River *Ganges* near Cape *Komorijn*; and a days Journey, or five *German* Miles to the South of *Paliakatte*, on the Coast of *Coromandel*, close to the Sea-shoar. The City of St. *Thomas* was otherwise called *Kalan* [illegible] and by the Natives *Meliapor*, which Name the *Portugueses* changed into that of St. *Thomas*; in honour of that Apostle, which Name it retains to this day, not only among the Christians, but also the *Turks*, and *Indians*. *Meliapor* Signifies in their Language, as much as a Peacock, intimating, that as this Bird is the most Beautifull of all others, so, this City did in Beauty excell all the rest of the East. Some will have the City of St. *Thomas*, or *Meliapor*, to be the same called *Mapura* by *Ptolemy*. This City was quite desolate, when the *Portugueses* first came there, who Rebuilt it in 1545. Since which time it has Encreased to that Degree, that not many Years after, she was Accounted one of the finest Cities in all the *Indies*: Both in respect of the Magnificence of its Building; and the Number of Rich Inhabitants. It is Fortified with Stone-wall, strengthned by several Bastions; and had under its Juridiction above 300 Villages and Towns. It is one of the Richest Sea Port of all the *East-Indies*, its situation being in the midst of all the best Harbours of those Parts; which renders it the more Convenient, for the *East-India* trade. Whilst this place was in the Hands of the *Portugueses*; it was at first, Incorporated with the Diocess of the Bishop of *Cochin*, but afterwards erected into a Bishopdom, under the Juridiction of the Archbishop of *Goa*. They had a Church here, Dedicated to St. *Francis*, belonging to the *Capuchins*, and two others, one dedicated to St. *John*, the other to the Virgin Mary. Where the *Mahometans*, and *Pagans* were Instructed, and Baptized. In the Suburbs, was the Church of St. *Luc*, and in the City, the Monastery of *Charity* and *Lazarus*, besides three others. The Jesuits, of whom there was a Considerable Number here; had a Goodly College within the City, wherein the Children of the *Portugueses*, and of the Chief *Malabars*, were Instructed in the Fundamentals of the [illegible] Religion. Next to this College, [illegible] ry large Parish, Inhabited by [illegible] such as were by the Jesuits Converted from Paganism and Mahometanism, of which 120 where Baptized in 1604. [illegible] see also, the Famous Church of [illegible] this Apostle as the *Portugueses* [illegible] ing Buried here; His Sepulchre is shown to this Day on the top of a [illegible] near a City, over which they have [illegible] a small Chappel, which may be discovered at some distance at Sea. Close to this College, upon a pretty high Hill [illegible] Chappel; which as they [illegible] *Thomas*'s usual Sleeping place. [illegible] to shew their [illegible] have Adorned that part of the [illegible]

1662. pel where St. *Thomas* uſed to ſay his Prayers, with gilt Iron ſteps.

Here you ſee alſo a Stone Croſs, which they ſay is the ſame, that in the Apoſtles time did fall from Heaven; for which reaſon they have covered it with an Arch, as they have done with the adjacent Spring, which ariſing from a Rock, is covered by another Arch reſting upon four Columbs. The whole Chappel is likewiſe adorned with many Ornaments, and the Wood of the Chappel being look'd upon as a precious Relick, is frequently ſet in Gold, and carried away by the Devout Pilgrims.

We continued our Courſe along the Coaſt till we came to *Negapatnam*, where we were to unload part of our Cargo.

Negapatan. *Negapatan* or *Negapatnam* is compoſed of *Naga*, which in the *Malabar* Tongue ſignifies a Serpent, and *Patnam* or *Patan* a City; becauſe round about this place uſed to be ſeen a certain kind of very venomous Serpents, call'd *Cobros Capellos*; *i. e.* Head Serpents. It is Situate under the 9 deg. 45 min. and the Adjacent Cape under 11 deg. of Northern Latitude; beyond the Rocks of *Romanankir*, overagainſt the Iſle of *Manar*, juſt oppoſite to *Tripalikorin*, three Leagues from the City of *Tranguabar*, and about 39 Leagues from the Cape *Comorin*, at the beginning of the Coaſt of *Biſnagar* and *Coromandel*. This City as well as its Caſtle call'd *Ragu*, acknowledge the *Portugueſe* for its founders; the Caſtle being built for their better ſecurity againſt the attempts of the *Naik* or *Neyk*, Lord of the Circumjacent Country. They had ſeveral goodly Churches here, and a very fine Monaſtery belonging to the *Franciſcans*, which was maintain'd at the Charge of the chiefeſt of the Inhabitants. There are to this day remaining divers fine Churches and other large Structures, with ſpacious Appartments, and Galleries according to the *Portugueſe* Faſhion. Next to the Jeſuits College ſtood the Church of *Tranguabar*. The City is pretty well Fortified with defenſible Towers; ſurrounded with a good Moat: It is very Populous in proportion to its bigneſs, but moſt of the Inhabitants are of a tawny Complexion; being generally either *Meſtices*, *i. e.* ſuch as are born of a *Portugueſe* Father, and a ſhe Blackamore; or *Kaſtices*, *i. e.* ſuch as their Fathers were Blackamores, and their Mothers *Portugueſe* Women. It is alſo inhabited by *Banyans* and Mahometans, who are the chiefeſt Traders here.

Surrendered to the Dutch. This City was the 23d of *July* 1658, ſurrendered to the *Dutch* by Compoſition. For Mr. *John vander Laen* then Commander in chief of the *Dutch* Forces in thoſe Parts, did, purſuant to his Orders from Mr. *Rijklof van Goens*, Admiral General of the *Dutch* Fleet, ſet ſail from *Jafenepatan* in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, on *Friday* the 19th of *June*, to *Punto Pedro*, where he caſt Anchor in the Evening, and found the Yachts *Workum*, the *Morningſtar*, *Manaer*, *Waterpaſs*, *Narſapour*, the Galliot the *Amſteldam*, and the Chaloop *Japara*, ready to join him; but the Pidgeon Yacht was run aground, and the *Workum* was fain to ſtay behind, having loſt three of her Anchors. He took care to provide the Fleet immediately with as much Meat and other Refreſhments as the Place would afford; and on the 20th, was likewiſe join'd by the Yachts the *Goes*, the *Pidgeon*, and the *Workum*. Next day Mr. *Lucas vander Duſſen* took a Review of the Land Forces, which conſiſted of 500 Men, divided into 11 Companies, beſides the Sea men. Mr. *Vander Laen* having ſummon'd all the Captains aboard the Admiral's Ship, where he gave them the neceſſary directions, how every one ſhould behave himſelf in his Poſt, at their arrival before *Negapatan*.

The Dutch come before Negapatan. The 21ſt of *July*, the Fleet ſet ſail from *Punto Pedro*, and arrived the 22d. early in the Morning in the Road before the City of *Negapatan*, where he met with the Yachts the *Pipelen*, the *Naiſepour* and a *Daniſh* Chaloop. Mr. *Vander Laen* ordered to ſet up the White Flag in the Yacht *Vander Goes*, and ſent Mr. *Lucas vander Duſſen*, with three Captains and an Interpreter in a Chaloop, and Credential Letters to *Caſpar Alfonſo de Karvalho* the *Portugueſe* Governour of *Negapatan* and his Council, to ſummon the ſaid City to a ſurrender upon honourable Conditions. About Noon Mr. *Vander Duſſen* return'd, and gave an Account to the Admiral, that the *Portugueſe* Governour and his Council, refuſed to admit any of the Company, except himſelf and the Interpreter; that he was very civilly received, and admitted to appear before the Council, where he had made uſe of all the Arguments he thought might induce them to ſurrender, deſiring that they would ſend aboard the Admiral their Plenipotentiaries to treat about the Conditions. They deſired time till the next Morning to conſider of the Matter, and that the Admiral would be pleaſed to ſend another Chaloop to Morrow, becauſe the *Jentyves* or Natives did ſtop the Paſſage of their Boats at the Mouth of the River. Accordingly the 23d Mr. *Vander Duſſen* with two Enſigns returned to *Negapatan* in the ſame Chaloop with a white Flag, and brought back from thence *Manuel Karvalho* a Jeſuit, *Lewis de Quintal Parſive*, and *Diego Beriſero* two Captains, and *Antonio d' Almeyda* a Lieutenant, inſtructed with Credentials and full Power from the *Portugueſe* Governour, to treat about the ſurrender of the

Summon the City.

Dutch *pos-n of City.*

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2 a Wooden Battery
3 French Outgards
4 Stone Battery
5 Outgard at Sea
St Thomas
COMMAND

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Negapa tan.

Surrena red to the Dutch.

1662. the City to the *Dutch East-India* Company upon Reasonable Terms. The Conditions proposed by them were these: That a Church should be allow'd to such *Portugueses* as were willing to remain there, with as many Priests as were requisite.

The Portuguese send Deputies to treat.

That the Inhabitants should have liberty to retire to *Bengale*; and that they might carry along with them all what belong'd to the Poor.

Their demands.

After some Contests on both sides, it was agreed to surrender the Place upon these following Conditions.

Conditions agreed upon betwixt them and the Dutch.

That the City of *Negapatan* belonging to his *Portuguese* Majesty, should be surrendered on *Wednesday* the 24th of *July*, to the *Dutch East-India* Company, with all its Territories, Cannon, Ammunition or Arms, as likewise the Keys of the Magazines and other Store-Houses thereunto belonging.

That Immediately as many Soldiers of the *East-India* Company shall be admitted into the City, as shall be thought requisite by them and the *Portuguese* Governour, for their mutual Security; and all Merchandices or what else may belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, shall at the same time be delivered without the least fraud.

The *Portuguese* Garrison now in the City shall March out with beat of Drum, Matches lighted and Bullets in their Mouths, to a certain Place to be appointed by the *Dutch* Admiral Mr. *Vander Laen*, where they shall be disarm'd, except that the Officers even to the Ensigns shall have liberty to retain their Swords.

All the Inhabitants whether Clergy or Laymen, Married or Unmarried, shall be left in the free Possession of all their Goods, except their Arms, as well moveable as unmoveable, Houses, Gold, Silver, Merchandices, Slaves of both Sexes, till the last day of *October*, of the same Year; against which time they shall be provided with convenient Shipping, at the charge of the *Dutch East-India* Company, in order to carry them to *Goa*, or further to the North, if they please.

The Clergy-men shall then be at liberty to carry along with them all the Church Ornaments, or what else belong'd to the exercise of the Divine Worship, except the Bells, as likewise all the moveable Goods belonging to them.

The Lay-men, Soldiers and Merchants, may, without the least exception, Transport all their Moveables, Money, Gold, Silver, Jewels, Slaves of both Sexes, and all their Merchandices, provided the same don't belong to the King of *Portugal*.

The day of their departure being come, the *Portugueses* shall have their Swords restored to them.

Caspar Alfonso de Karvalho the *Portuguese* Governour, shall be Transported to what place he shall think fit. 1661.

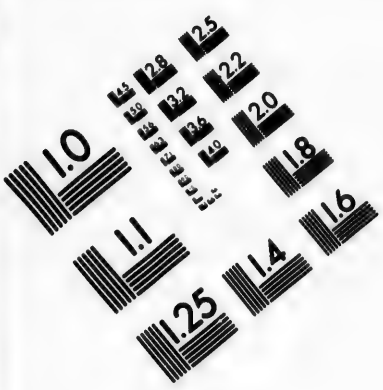
Accordingly the 24th about Noon, seven Companies of *Dutch* Soldiers, one of *Bandaneses*, and one of *Laskaryns* under the *Modlier* of *Negombo* took possession of the Gates of the City, at which time the *Portugueses* drew off from the Bastions, and Proclamation was made immediately, not to Molest, much less Robb the Inhabitants, under pain of Death.

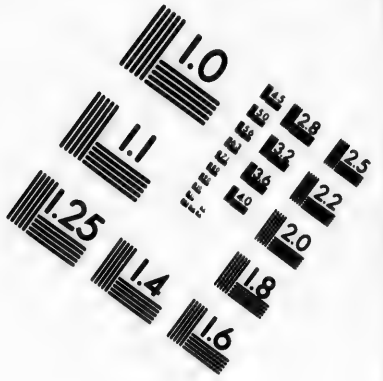
The Dutch take possession of the City.

Mr. *Vander Laen* himself, was received by the *Portuguese* Governour, who was not very well at that time; at the entrance of one of the Gates, where he had the Keys of all the City Gates deliver'd to him: From thence he went to take a view of the Bastions, and after having given the necessary Orders, he commanded the Inhabitants to appear the same Afternoon in the Court of the *Stadthouse*, in order to be disarm'd, pursuant to the last agreement. They were no more than 670 strong, divided into 17 Companies, consisting of *Portugueses*, *Mestices* and *Topasses*, being all Inhabitants, not in the King of *Portugal*'s Pay. Their Artillery consisted in 28 Brass, and 53 Iron Pieces of Cannon, small and great; their Ammunition in 8000 pounds of Gunpowder, Lead, and other things of this Nature in proportion; besides which, there were ten large, and eight small Bells in the Town.

Much about the same time the *Dutch* appeared before the City, the *Kapado Nagape*, or General of the *Neyk*, or Lord of the Country came to lay siege to it, but understanding that the *Dutch* were got into possession of it, he desired to be admitted into the City to conferr with them, concerning the sudden surrender of it. His request being granted, he took a great deal of Pains to perswade the *Dutch*, that both the City, and all the *Portugueses* ought immediately to be delivered to the *Neyk* his Master, to make satisfaction for what they stood indebted to him; but this request was civilly refused by Mr. *Vander Laen*, who told him that he was very ready to cultivate a good Understanding with the *Neyk* and his Subjects, but that both in point of Conscience, as he was a Christian, and in honour he could not recede from the Articles of the surrender; By this time the hour approaching when the Inhabitants were to be disarm'd at the *Stadt-house*, he invited the *Kapado* to go along with him, which he courteously accepted of: The Inhabitants earnestly intreated Mr. *Vander Laen* to permit them to be Transported to *Bengale* instead of *Goa*, unto whom he gave for Answer, That he would intercede for them in Writing with the *Dutch* Admiral General *vander Goens*. The 25th.

Publication





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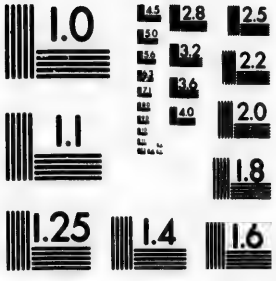

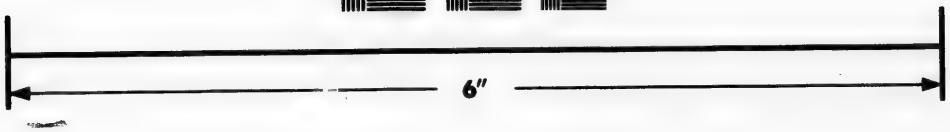

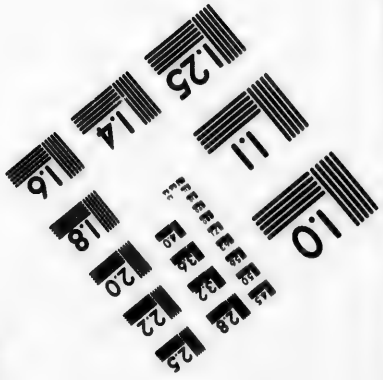

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1662. Publication was made by beat of Drum, that every one without any exception of Persons or Quality, should deliver forthwith all his Arms at the Stadt-house, unless they would be excluded from the Benefit of the Capitulation; which was punctually performed the next day, which was spent altogether in receiving their Arms.

In the mean while the *Neyk*'s Army had so inclosed the City, that we began to have some scarcity of Provisions; and the *Dutch* living at *Tranguabar*, a *Danish* Colony, began to be sorely afraid of being attack'd by *Wardarade Parmal*, who, as it was given out, was sent for, from the Country of *Tanjaor* by the *Neyk* to chastise those of *Tranguabar*; the Governour of which, *Esbeck Anderson*, had promised to cruise before the Bar of *Negapatan*, with three stout Yachts well man'd; instead of which he had sent only one small Chaloop; so that the Inhabitants fearing the worst, fled daily with their best Moveables into the Fort of *Danesburgh*. The 17th the *Kapado Nagapa* sent by the *Neyk* with an *Ola* or Letter from *Maniegul* appear'd in the City of *Negapatan*, where he delivered the following Letter to Mr. *John vander Laen*.

A Letter from the Neyk, *to Mr.* vander Laen.

THe 16*th day of the Year* Welenby. *I* Assy Para Neyk *send to the* Dutch *Commander* Moor *this Letter; by which I would have them to understand, that the* Portuguese *Inhabitants of* Negapatan *have for these* 12 *Years last past, not payed their usual Taxes, but are run much behind. It is for this Reason, I sent my Army to Attack them in the City of* Negapatan, *to demolish its Fortifications, and after the Inhabitants were reduced under my Obedience to grant them liberty to live as before, under my jurisdiction; having always lived in a good correspondence with the* Dutch East-India *Company, I desired their assistance by Sea; but now I am credibly inform'd, that you have made an Agreement with the* Portuguese*s of* Negapatan, *who have delivered the City into your Hands; which is very displeasing to us; If you had a mind to maintain a good understanding with us, you ought first to have given us notice of it, and obtained our consent; but now you must surrender the City to us; therefore send one of your Deputies to Treat with me, and he shall be honourably received, and receive all the* [illegible] *that may tend to the maintaining* [illegible] *Correspondence betwixt us. If you* [illegible] *you will have occasion to repent* [illegible] *I know you to be Persons of Wisdom I don't question but you will surrender the City to our People; in Witness of which I have sent our* Kapado Nagapa *with this Letter.*

Unto which Mr. Vander Laen *sent this Answer.* 1662.

Mr. vander Laen's *Answer.*

THE Ola *or Letter delivered to us by your Highnesses Envoy* Nagapa, *I received with all imaginable respect, under the discharge of three pieces of Ordnance; out of which, having fully understood your Highnesses intentions, I am obliged to tell your Highness, That the* Portuguese *having surrendered to us the strong City of* Negapatan *without making the least Opposition, and under certain conditions, agreed on betwixt both Parties; we are bound by our Duty as Christians, to observe Punctually in all respects the said Articles; it being unquestionable that without any injustice to your Highness, we have power to annoy the* Portuguese*s, our Enemies, wherever we can meet with them; which makes us live in hopes that the friendship establish'd betwixt your Highness and the* East-India *Company will not suffer the least detriment upon this Account. What has the undertakings of the said Company not long ago against the* Portuguese*s, in the Country of the* Neyk *of* Madura *and in other neighbouring Countries, and Kingdoms, which were never interpreted to their prejudice, makes us believe that your Highness will not be displeased with the advantages obtained by us against the* Portuguese*s, which as they tend to no other end than to increase our Trade in your Highnesses Dominions, so they must in time turn to your own Advantage. In the mean while we have Communicated your Highnesses Sentiments, by two several Yachts sent for that purpose, to the Directors of* Jafenepatan, *from whence we hourly expect an Answer, which we don't question will be to your Highnesses satisfaction.*

In the mean while *Kamerapanijk* the adviser of this Siege was faln in disgrace with the *Neyk*.

The 30th Mr. *Vander Laen* received Letters from *Rijklof Goens*, dated the 29th, with the Ratification of the Capitulation, with Orders to send the *Portuguese*s to the number of 150, according to their Request to *Bengale*, where they were likely to do them the least mischief, and they might soonest rid their hands of them. As to what concerned the difference with the *Neyk*, he advised to endeavour to compose the Matter by the means of some Presents; but if that would not succeed, to make his Forces to retire deeper into the Country; in the mean time to give all the Courteous Entertainment to his Deputies, and to assure them, that he intended in a few days to be with them in Person, to adjust all matters in question betwixt them and his Highness; but if he committed any Hostilities against the City, to

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1662. to ſtand upon the Defenſive, and to proteſt in writing againſt his proceedings. In the mean while the *Neyk*'s Forces continued in their Camp, which extended to the very Ditch of the City; and as it encreaſed daily in Number, ſo it occaſion'd great ſcarcity within. The firſt of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Vander Laen* was inform'd that the Commander in chief of the *Neyk*'s Forces before *Negapatan* had received a Letter from the *Neyk*, directed to Mr. *Van Goens*, and in the afternoon, three Perſons were ſent into the City, to give Notice of the ſaid Letter and ſome preſents, which they deſir'd mig't be received with all imaginable Demouſtrations of reſpect. In compliance with which Mr. *Vander Laen* commanded immediately Captain *Waſh* with his Company, and the *Modlier* of *Negombo* with his *Laskarins*, to poſt themſelves in good Order without the Gates of the City, in Order to receive the Preſents with all imaginable Reſpect, under the diſcharge of three pieces of Cannon. They kept their Poſt till Evening, without ſeeing any Body, when a certain Perſon belonging to the *Neyk*'s Camp came privately to the *Modlier*, and told him in the *Singaleſe* Language (for fear of being underſtood by others) that there was no *Ola* or Letter, nor any preſents ſent from the *Neyk*, the whole being only a Stratagem contriv'd on purpoſe to draw ſome of our Forces without the Gates into an Ambuſh; which they had been diſappointed in, by our Forces not ſtirring from the Gates, upon which the *Modlier* and Captain *Waſh* return'd with their Troops into the City, and the *Neyk*'s Forces retir'd back into the Country. This *Neyk* Beſieg'd *Negapatan* a ſecond time, 1666. in *September*; but the *Dutch* Garriſon making a vigorous Sally, in which they kill'd 400 of his Men, they came to a Compoſition for that time, notwithſtanding which, he appear'd before it again in the next following Year.

The Country hereabouts bears ſuch great plenty of Rice, that abundance of it is Tranſported from hence to other Places. But they have great Numbers of Lewd Women and Idle Fellows here.

The Temple of Tzina. Not far from the City is a *Pagode*, with a ſtone Steeple, call'd *Tzina*, the Pinacle of which reaches to the very Clouds; the Inhabitants believe that it was built by the Devil, and that in one Night. In the Suburbs to the North, which are of Magnificent Houſes, there are likewiſe many *Pagode*'s or *Pagan* Temples, wherein you ſee many Idols of a terrible aſpect, made only of Clay. Thus far concerning *Negapatan*.

From hence we purſu'd our Voyage towards *Paliakatte*, and ſaw the lofty and moſt ancient *Pagode* call'd *Tyripopeliri*, which ſtands within the precinct of a Fort at a little Diſtance from the Sea-ſhoar, and of which I had the Curioſity to take a full View. It is an antient Structure, the front of which is adorn'd with many Statues Artificially cut in Stone. It is ſurrounded by a Wall with a Gallery on the top of it, over which are placed a great Number of large Coffins, which reſt upon Statues of divers Figures, ſome repreſenting a Horſe, others ſomewhat elſe. The Walls are made of large blue Stones, which are brought thither a vaſt way, out of the Country, and moſt Artificially join'd together. The *Indian Pagodes* or Temples, ſeldom have any Light but what comes through a hole in the Frontiſpice; notwithſtanding which, I ventur'd in, and found ſeveral Lamps burning there, by the Light of which I aſcended by a pair of Stairs of Wood, to the top of the Temple, from thence to take a view of the circumjacent Country. But ſcarce was I come to the Stairs-head, when I ſaw my ſelf in an inſtant ſurrounded by thouſands of Batts, that were ſtriving to get out thro' the hole in the Frontiſpice, ſo that I was glad to get away from this unwelcome Company, which to avoid the brightneſs of the Sun-beams, ſhelter themſelves by day in theſe dark lurking Holes.

The Temple of Tyripopeliri.

We ſoon ſet Sail again, and Coaſted it along the Shoar, which is flat and ſandy here, till the 15th of *June*, when we arriv'd at *Paliakatte*, where I deliver'd our whole Cargo of Gold and Silver we had taken in, in *Perſia*, to the Direction *Lawrence Pit*.

They come to Paliakatte.

The Fort of Geldria. The *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company has a ſtrong Fort here, with four Baſtions of Stone Work, call'd *Geldria*, of which they have been poſſeſs'd ever ſince the Year 1619. without the Caſtle is a Plantation or Town, which to the Land ſide is defended by an Earthen Wall, which is but indifferently kept, but the Houſes within are very cloſe and well built. It is Inhabited partly by *Hollanders*, partly by *Gentives* or *Pagan* Natives; the laſt of which live for the moſt part upon Trade with Painted and White Callico's and Linen. The Rice which grows in this Country in great plenty, is as well as all other ſorts of Grains brought Weekly to Market here. The Fort is on one ſide waſh'd by a River, which ſwells very high in the Rainy Seaſon, when the Merchandices may be unloaden here, by the help of Lighters. But in the Summer Seaſon the River being quite dry'd up, the goods are forc'd to be carried a Shoar on their Backs. This River abounds in Fiſh in the Winter-time, moſt of which die in the Summer; which makes the Inha-

1662. bitants catch them before that time, and dry them in the Sun, and ſo Tranſport them to other places. The North *Monſon* begins here in *October*, and holds all the *November* and *December*, with ſuch violence, that the Ships can ſcarce ride in the Road. In *January* the *Monſon* changes, and the fair Seaſon returns.

As to the City of *Paliakatte*; its Inhabitants are for the moſt part *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*; *Meſtices* are ſuch, whoſe Parents were Married with Foreigners; as for Inſtance, when a *Hollander* Marries an *Indian* Woman, or an *Indian* Man a *Dutch* Woman; but the Children of the *Meſtices* are call'd *Kaſtices*. Thus many of the Natives, eſpecially of the *Thioles* have Married *Dutch* Women, as on the other hand, ſeveral *Hollanders* are Married to Women of the *Thioles*; from whence is come a numerous off-ſpring of *Meſtices* and *Kaſtices*. Many *Bramans*, *Banyans* and *Panekayers* or *Themiſts* and *Jews* live here; of great Traffick; for every Month comes hither the *Kaffila* or *Caravan* of *Agra*. The *Banyans* and *Jews* are the chiefeſt of all the Traders here, this City being a place *Golconda*, *Suratte* and *Cambaia* by Land; both *Chriſtians* and *Mahometans* bring to this place their Merchandices from the *Red-Sea*, the *Perſian-Gulph*, from *Suratte*, *Goa*, *Malabar*, *Sumatra* and *Malacca*. There is great plenty of Fiſh at *Paliakatte* and a Neighbouring Country furniſhes them with all other ſorts of Proviſions.

They leave Paliakatte. After we had diſpatch'd our Buſineſs here, we purſued our Voyage towards the great City of *Maſulipatnam*, where we were to load Wood and other Materials for the Building of our Fort at *Paliakatte*. We ſet ſail the 20th of *July*, and came to an *Arrive at Maſulipatnam.* Anchor before *Maſulipatnam* the 22d, I went a Shoar the ſame Evening to take care of our Loading, which conſiſted for the moſt part in Timber and other Materials for Building, beſides ſome Callicoes, which took us up till the 14th of *Auguſt*, when we were ready to ſet ſail again. In the mean while I had ſufficient leiſure to take a full view of the City of *Maſulipatnam*. It lies near the Sea Shoar upon a Branch of the *A deſcription of the City.* great River *Kiſna*, a few Leagues from *Negenapatnam*, being ſurrounded on all ſides with Water. It is cloſely Built and well Peopled, it being the only place of Traffick in Callicoes, Indigo, Diamonds, and other precious Stones, in the Kingdom of *Golconda*. To the Land ſide, North Weſt of the City, is a ſtanding Pool, over which *Its Bridge.* is built a Bridge of 2000 Paces long, in the midſt of which ſtands a Houſe, for the conveniency of the Paſſengers, to repoſe themſelves there. This Bridge reſts upon very thick Poſts, which are covered with Shells of 12 or 14 Feet long, without any leanings on either ſide. Moſt of the Inhabitants are *Pagans* and Merchants. The *Perſian Mahometans* have here likewiſe a Moſque Built of white Stone, after a very antick Faſhion, in the very Center of the City. The Houſes are all of Wood cover'd with Pan-tiles, the King having expreſly forbid the Building of Stone Houſes, for fear of encouraging his Subjects to Revolt; who, tho' *Pagans*, wear white Callico Veſts, and Turbants like the Moors. They uſe Rice inſtead of Bread, and drink commonly Water; they have alſo great plenty of all ſorts of Fiſhes, Ducks, Geeſe, and Tame and Wild Fowl. Both the *Dutch* and *Engliſh Eaſt-India* Company's have each a Houſe here, with their reſpective Flags on the top of them. The *Franciſcans*, who are all *Portugueſes* have here a Monaſtery; over-againſt the City, on the Continent, is a Village, where the Governour has a Country Seat, where he Diverts himſelf ſometimes.

1662.

The River of *Kiſna* ariſes very deep in *The River Kiſna.* the Country, and exonerates it ſelf with one Branch about five Leagues below the City of *Maſulipatnam* into the Sea, where it is but ſhallow; but the other turns to *Maſulipatnam*, which is much deeper. This River is not joyn'd to the City by a Bridge, but they paſs it in Boats; It has plenty of Fiſhes, as likewiſe Crocodiles, it ſwells ſometimes to ſuch a heighth, during the Rainy Seaſon, that you may paſs in Boats through the Streets of the City; but in the Summer Seaſon it is ſo ſhallow, that near the City it is ſcarce four Feet deep. About half a League to the Weſt is a Champaign Country; and on the Eaſt ſide the Country is Planted with Palm and Syry Trees, behind which you may diſcern the tops of the Mountains. We left *Maſulipatnam*, and the 29th return'd to *Paliakatte*; where meeting with ſeveral ſorts of Commodities, that were wanting at *Batavia*, I made all the haſt I could to have the Ship Loaded; but when we were almoſt ready to depart, the Yacht call'd the *Parreket* arrived in the Road, with Advice, that the Ships *the Houſe of Zwieten*, the *Sea Horſe*, the *Exchange*, the *Stadthouſe of Amſteldam*, the *Riſing Sun*, and *The Dutch lay a Deſign againſt the Coaſt of Malabar.* the *Encreaſing Moon* were at Sea, being ſent from *Holland* with Men and all ſorts of Ammunition to aſſiſt in the Expedition againſt the Coaſt of *Malabar*. This ſoon made us alter our Meaſures, every one having received Orders to join the ſaid Fleet, ſo that after we had unladen our Ships, we ſet Sail the 10th of *September* for *Colombo*, the general Randevous of our Fleet. We ſtopt at *Pedro Punto*, where having provided our ſelves with freſh Water and Fuel, we came

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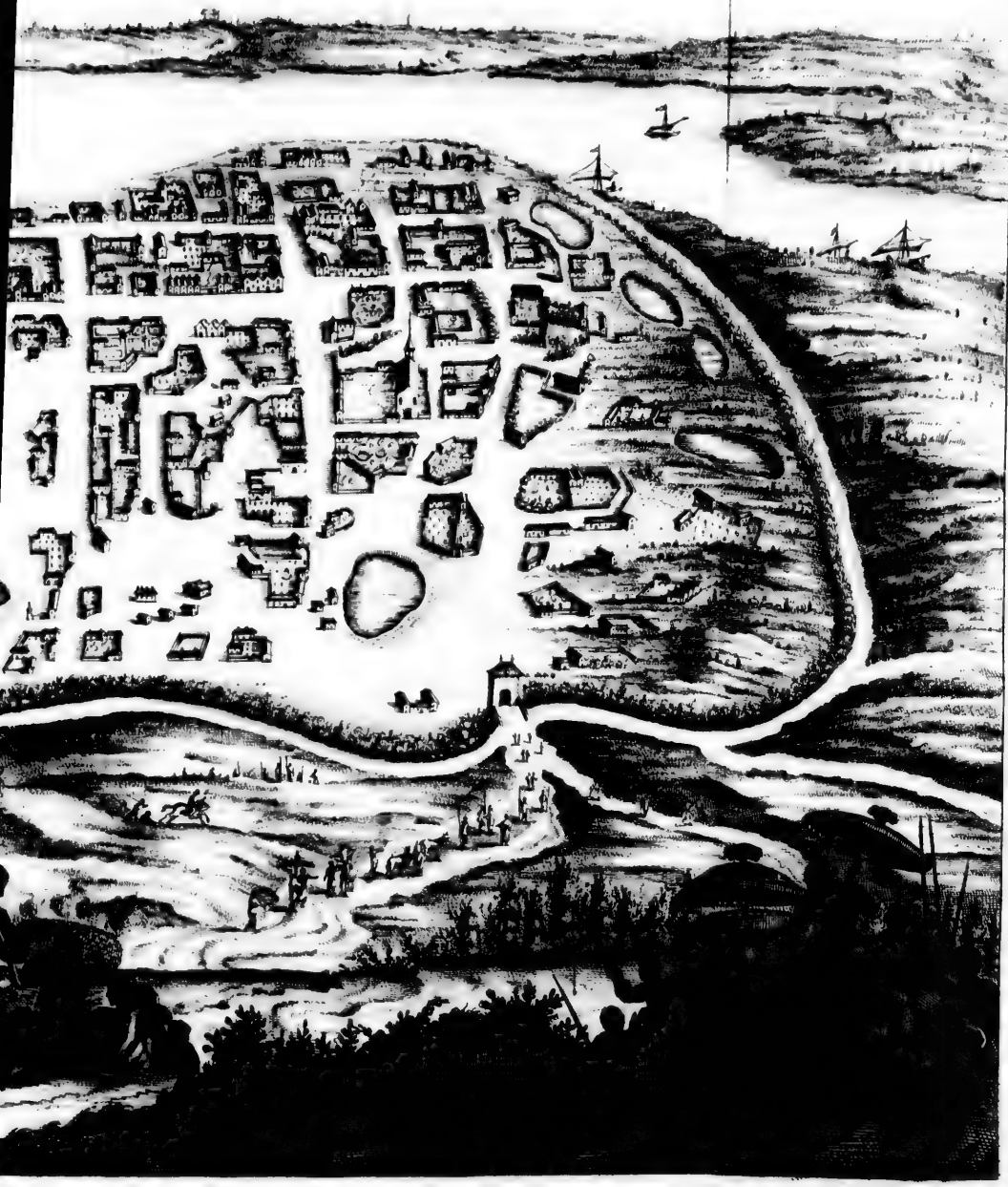

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1662. to an Anchor the 7th of *October* before *Colombo*, where we were employed among the reſt to take the great Train of Artillery aboord of us. The Commodore *Roodhaes* in the mean while went out before the reſt with ſeven Ships only, ordering the reſt to follow him to *Manepara*, one of the ſeven Sea Port Villages on the Coaſt of *Madure*, where all our Ships were to meet, which we did accordingly on the 15th of *November*. Mr. *John vander Wyf*, Mr. *Symonſon* and my ſelf were made not only Superviſors, but alſo Treaſurers of the whole Train of Artillery: Being provided with every thing requiſite for ſuch an expedition, we ſet ſail from thence, and came with the whole Fleet the 7th of *December* to an Anchor, about two Leagues to the South of the City of *Kolang* or *Koulang*. The remaining part of the day was ſpent in landing our Soldiers and other neceſſaries, and bringing the Ships as cloſe as poſſible could be to the Shoar. The 8th we March'd in Battle Array into the Country, and the Negros had thrown up a ſmall redoubt, within half a League from the City, from whence they Fir'd thick upon our Yachts, but without any great loſs, yet they ply'd us ſo warmly near the Shoar, that we were forced to cut our way throw the Woods, to attack them from behind. Immediately all our Carpenters were ſet to Work, to cut down the Buſhes and Trees, whilſt the Seamen were employed in leveling the Grounds, to make way for our Artillery. After we were advanced a little way into the Wood, we came into a ſmall plain, to the left of which leading to the Sea ſide we ſaw a Stone Houſe, where we halted a little to take Breath, becauſe the Seamen had been hard put to it, in drawing the Cannon through the deep Sand, along the Sea ſide. The Enemy at the ſame time kept within his Strong hold, but as we advanced further they charged our Vanguard, who were order'd to break in upon them, they bravely ſtood the firſt brunt, but afterwards retreated again to their Fort. In the mean time our Cannon having join'd us, we prepar'd for a general Attack, which was carried on ſo vigorouſly, that the Negros deſerted the Fort, in hopes of ſaving themſelves by Flight, but were moſt of them either kill'd upon the ſpot or in the Flight. A ſtrong party of them happen'd accidentally to fall in with Captain *Polmans* Company of Fire-locks, who were ſent thro' the Woods to attack the Fort from behind; Here you might have ſeen them Fight like deſperate Men, the Engagement was very terrible conſidering the Number of Men on both ſides; at laſt they were overcome with above 100 Kill'd and as many Wounded on their ſide; we had no more than three Kill'd but a great many Wounded, who were ſent aboard the Ships to be taken care off. We found two Iron pieces of Cannon in this Fort, which we Nail'd up, and beat the Carriages in Pieces: After we had placed Guards in all convenient Poſts thereabouts the Souldiers repoſed themſelves under the ſhadow of Trees; but within two hours after, we continued our March to the City of *Kolang*, paſſing all the way by a great many fine Plantations, ſurrounded on all ſides with Walls; the Road betwixt them being very narrow. As we advanc'd to the City, the Enemy fired briskly upon us from a ſmall Fort near the Water ſide, where they had ſet up the *Portugueſe* Standard, but perceiving us notwithſtanding this to March undaunted towards the Walls, their Hearts began to fail, and betaking themſelves to Flight, left the City to our Mercy, which we took without the leaſt Reſiſtance. All the Officers and Souldiers, each according to their reſpective Qualities had their Quarters and Poſts aſſigned them; we reſted the next day, but every one being animated by the laſt ſucceſs in taking ſo conſiderable a City without oppoſition, long'd for Action, ſo that before the Morning the whole Body being put in Battle Array, without the Water Gate, the chief Miniſter of the Camp, Mr. *Baldeus*, made a ſhort but very fervent Speech, and the Commanders exhorted them to Fight courageouſly, for the honour of their Country and Religion; which being joyfully accepted by the Soldiers, who promiſed to hazard all for the Service of the Company, the Drums and Trumpets began to ſound the March. Mr. *Tibrand Gerkeled* Commanded the Van, and Commodore *Roodhaes* the Reer, being both Perſons of known bravery; Mr. *Riklof van Goens*, Commanded the main Battle; we carried ſome Field Pieces along with us, to ſerve us upon occaſion. We were forced to March through narrow Ways, where ſcarce four could march a Breaſt, and finding that the Enemy gall'd us from an adjacent ſmall Fort, ſome Companies wheel'd to the right and the reſt to the left, whilſt the Seamen undauntedly approach'd with their Scaling Ladders, and mounting the Walls, took the Fort with little reſiſtance. We found here no more than two Iron pieces of Cannon ready Charged; notwithſtanding all this they Skirmiſh'd briskly with our foremoſt Troops as they were advancing beyond the Fort, but gave way by degrees, and retreated to the Royal Palace, where they made another halt and engaged our Troops a ſecond time; but with no better ſucceſs; for being once ſeiz'd with a Panick fear, they ſoon gave Ground, and left the

1662.

Their Fleet meets at Manepara.

They arrive at Kolang.

Kolang taken.

Place

662. Place to our Mercy, which we Plunder'd and Destroy'd. They had however in the mean while attack'd our Reer several times, [illegible] heavy Cannon could not come [illegible] of the nar- [illegible] of the Way [illegible] Enemy making use of [illegible] attack'd us very furiously, but were bravely [illegible] of our Field [illegible] charged with small [illegible] among them, with such [illegible] them remained dead upon the spot; and by this means we [illegible] play, till we received [illegible] ment, when they be- [illegible] to their Heels, and eft us [illegible] Field. In the mean [illegible] were advanced to the [illegible] they made themselves Masters of another Fort, in which they found 2 [illegible] and [illegible] Iron Pieces of Cannon. In [illegible] next to the Royal Palace, [illegible] we found a great Chest with Gun-Powder, which being set on Fire, in an instant blew up and destroy'd this [illegible] on the top with [illegible] Then our Troops beat the Country, [illegible] and [illegible] with [illegible] Bamboo canes making a most [illegible] Noise, and [illegible] Brimstone; a miserable spectacle to the Enemy, who from the other side of the River saw the Flame consume in an instant, what had cost them many Years Labour. *John Pi[illegible]* my Nephew, a Captain Lieute[illegible] *Tillingen* were [illegible] with some Chaloops up the River *Ar[illegible]* to pursue the flying Enemy on that [illegible] but these took another way; most of them wading throw the River, where they cou'd not come near them with their Chaloops. Mr. *Piccard* then Landed his Company [illegible] the other side, where he set 40 Houses on Fire, which occasion'd a fresh Consternation among the flying Enemy. After we had thus ravaged the Country, we return'd to the beforemention'd *Pagode*, where our Troops reposed themselves for a while, and the same Evening return'd Conquerors to the City of *Koulang*. The 12th, all the Ship Carpenters were sent for a Shoar, to cut down the Trees, that stood upon the City Walls, and Orders were given for breaking down part of it, and to bring it into a narrower Compass, which was put in Execution immediately. About the same time the Natives sent some Deputies to sue for Peace; by what we were inform'd, that at the time of our Arrival, there were not above 30 [illegible] *Portuguese* in the City, who fled immediately, and that the *Negroes*, who were near 8000 strong, having had some notice of our Design near 15 days before, had resolved to kill all the *Hollanders* they met with, except a few, whom they intended to preserve to send them aboard their Gallies; But the Scene was alter'd, In the mean while we continued with breaking down and removing, which had almost proved fatal to the Ship the Sea-horse, which happened to take Fire, and was in great danger of being burnt by the violence of the Flame, had not the Sea-men quenched the Fire.

1663. *Cruel Design of the Negroes.*

By this time it being resolv'd to prosecute the career of our Victories, the Commodore *Roodhaes* with eight Ships, sail'd towards the City of *Cranganor* to block up the Entrance of that River; the rest being to follow with all convenient speed. The 19th I went on board the Commissary *James Borchorst*, with whom I had some earnest Business, but scarce was I come thither, but on a sudden there arose such a Tempest, that with much ado I could get a Shoar again; for the Wind arose first from the Land side, with most violent Rains, but soon after chop'd about, with such violence, that it tore Roots of Trees out of the Ground, and untiled abundance of Houses. By this sudden change of the Wind, our whole Fleet consisting of thirty Ships great and small were in no small danger of being Shipwrack'd. The Ship the *Stadthouse* was driven among the Rocks, where having lost her Rudder she gave the Signal of being in utmost distress, but no Body durst venture to bring her off. The Ship the *Achilles* was likewise forced from her Anchors among the Rocks, but by good Fortune happened to cast Anchor again, not far from the *Stadthouse*. The Ship the *Erasmus* was also got a drift and was in great danger of running upon the Shelves; several of our small Craft were beaten to pieces by the Sea, and many others much endamaged. The Ship the *Stadthouse* continu'd in great Distress all that day and night, striking several times against the Rocks, but next Morning, the fury of the Tempest being somewhat appeas'd, we sent out some Boats to her Assistance, which brought both her and the *Achilles* safe from among the Rocks, into the open Sea. So that at last, through God's Mercy all our great Ships escap'd the danger of this Storm without any considerable damage except what was in their Rigging, which however fell most upon the smaller Vessels.

The 24th the Garrison of the conquered City of *Koulang* consisting of 663 Men, both Soldiers and Mariners, under the Command of Captain *Cox*, and *Henry Walling*, being provided with all necessaries, during our intended stay before *Cranganor*, Mr. *Van*

Goens

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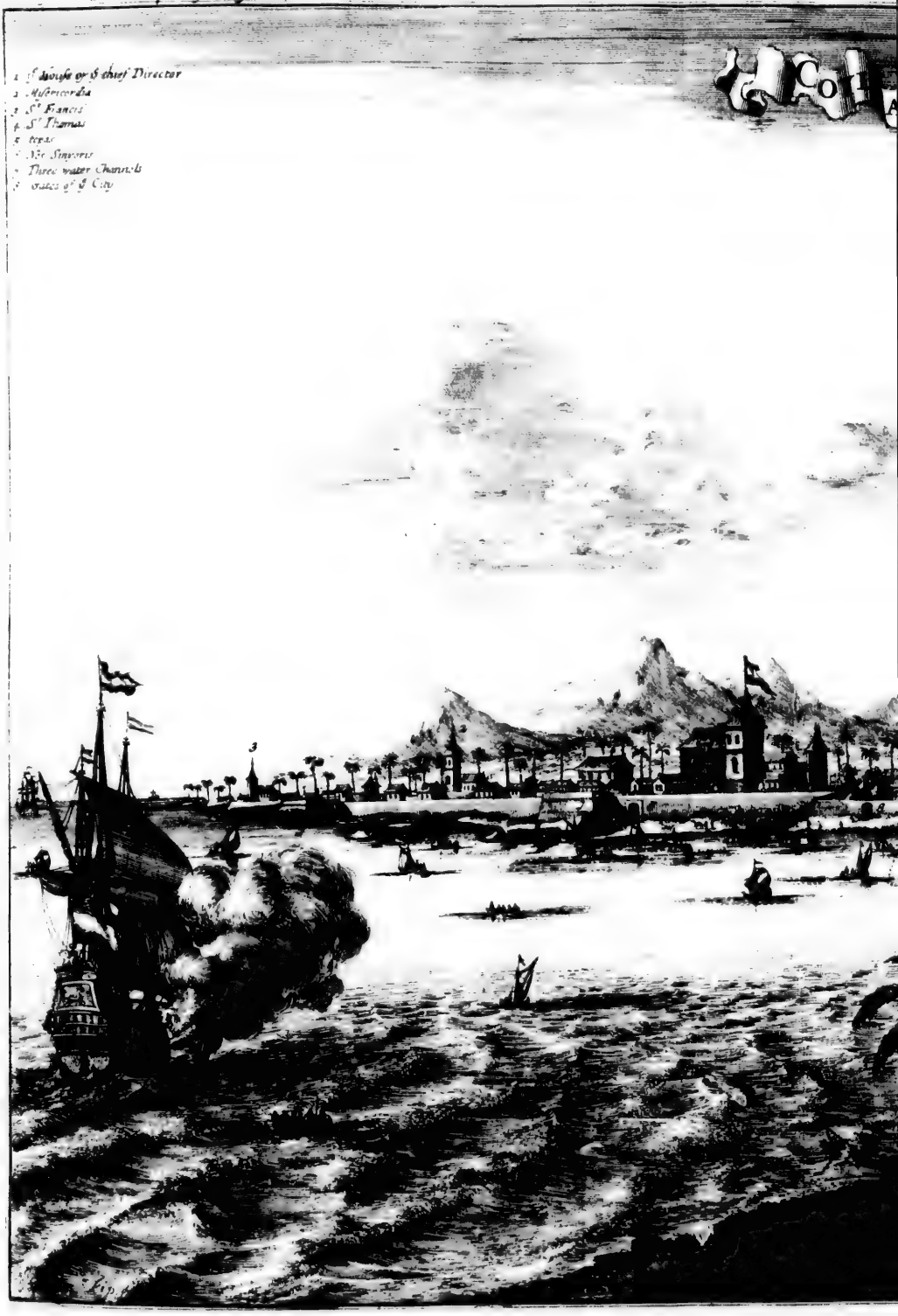

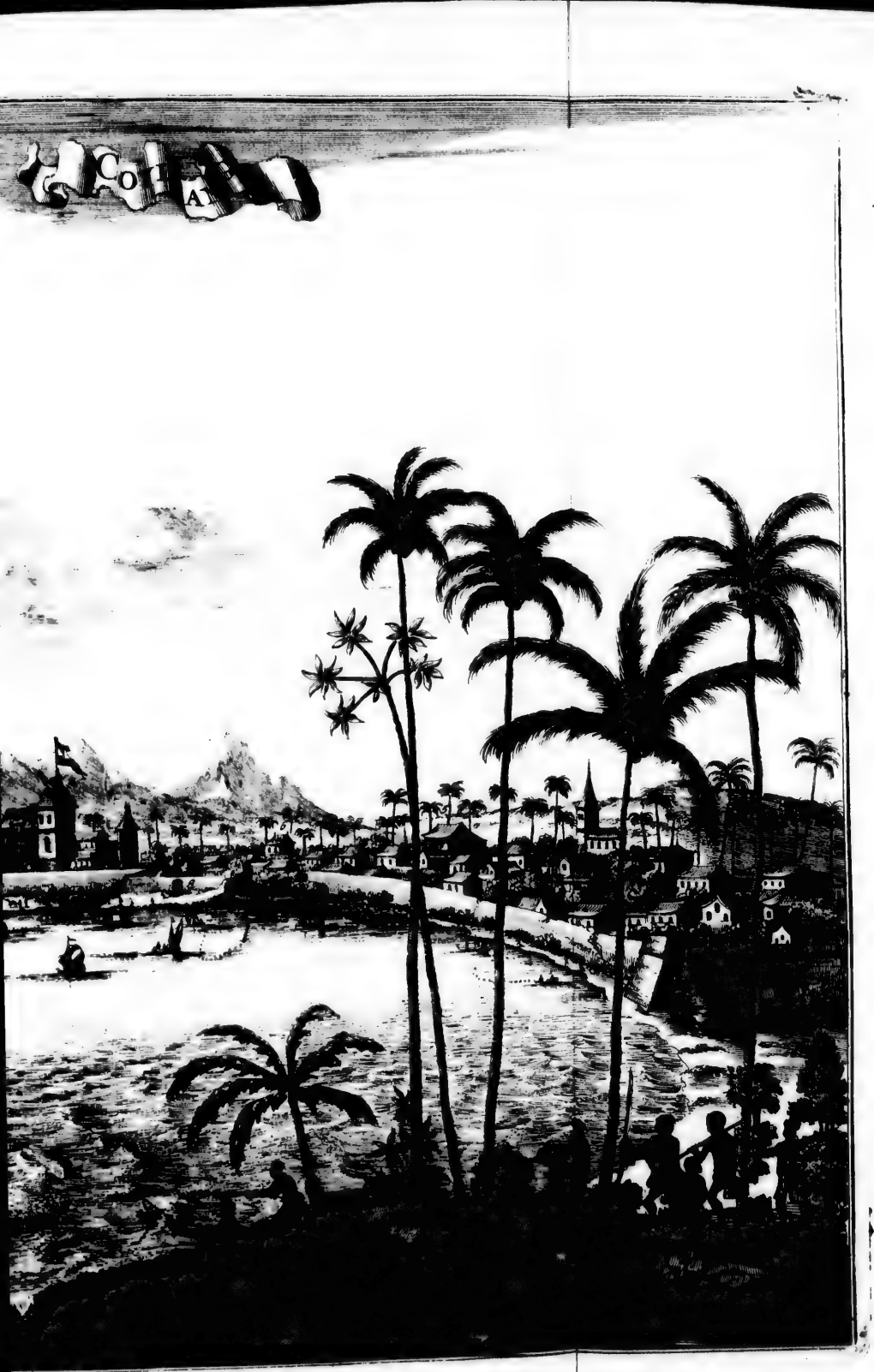

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Vol. I

1662. *Goens* set Sail the same day with the Ships the *Walnut-Tree* and the *Vlieland* towards *Cranganor*, Commodore *Gotske* being to follow with the rest; we were in the mean while busie with refitting the Ship the *Stadthouse*, and I stay'd a Shoar with Mr. *Gotske* till such time that the Gun-powder, of the *Stadthouse* and several other Ships, which had got wet in the last Storm, could be dry'd again; about the same time we were inform'd, that the *Negros* had receiv'd a good Summ of Money, to Fight against us, but when they perceived we wear in earnest, they left the *Portugueses* in the lurch, who as we told you before, left the City of *Koulang* the same Afternoon, when we Landed. The 29th we set Sail in the Ship the *Exchange* to follow the Fleet; by an Express sent us from some of the *Malabars*, we were desired to stay till the next day, which we refus'd, it being not our Business to tarry here for Matters which might well be deferr'd till another time. The next following day we pass'd by *Kalkoulang*, the Governour of which came aboard of us, with a present of fresh Provitions, which we accepted. The 31st we Coasted it along the Shoar, where we cast our Anchor, because one of our Yachts approach'd so near to the Shoar, that we feared she would run her self into danger, which made us detach 20 Soldiers in a Boat, to her relief if occasion should require. The 1st of *January* 1662. by break of day, we found our selves within a League of the City of *Cochin*, and soon after Sail'd so near the Shoar, that we could hear the Centinels Speak. We saw five Ships lying in the Road, the foremost of which carried *English* Colours. The same day about Noon we came into the Road, at the entrance of the River *Pallipore*, and the next day having embark'd our Men in Boats, and our Ammunition with two Field Pieces in another, we landed them without any opposition, except that the Enemy Discharg'd some of his great Cannon against us, from *Cranganor*, but without any loss on our side.

The Dutch land near Cranganor.

We had posted our Forces in three several places, the better to cut off all Correspondency betwixt the Enemy and the Country. The next following day we brought two Tuns of Rice, and two brass Guns a Shoar, and soon after our whole Train of Artillery, with all other necessaries requisite for such an Undertaking. For some time we had kept the place Block'd up both on the Land and River side, but now we began to open our Trenches with such success, that in a short time we carried them on under the Cannon of the City; the Garrison being all this while not idle on their side, but endeavouring to hinder our approaching, by their continual Fire out of their Cannon, and Fire-arms, which they did with such Dexterity, that they kill'd many of our Men in the Trenches; among the rest a certain Soldier had his Arm and Shoulder shot off at once, notwithstanding which, Mr. *Van Goens* order'd him to be dress'd, which the Surgeon did accordingly, who told me at the same time; That since he must infallible die, he would give him something that might ease his Pain; I ask'd the poor Wretch how he did, he answered me without any alteration in his Countenance, *Pretty well, I don't find my self very ill*, tho' he dy'd in a few hours after. Fourteen days after we had carried our Trenches to the Body of the place, during which we had several smart Skirmishes with the Enemy, it was resolv'd to venture a general Assault; pursuant to this Resolution I was sent with two Servants to confer with Commodore *Gotske* and Mr. *Roodhaes* concerning the most convenient place, the Assault was to be made in. I was sometimes to Wade up to the middle in Water, and met with Captain Lieutenant *Piccard*, who had the advanced Guards. He forewarn'd me, not to approach too near the City, from whence they fir'd without intermission; but I was forc'd to venture at all, being oblig'd to be with the Admiral General again the next Morning. I went close under the Walls of the Place, the Sentinels ask'd me in *Portuguese, who was there?* I answered in the same Language, *a Friend*, and so escap'd the danger. Mr. *Gotske* and *Roodhaes* had been before inform'd concerning the Condition of the Place, by a certain *Negre*, and where it might be most conveniently Assaulted, of which they have given me a circumstantial Account, I return'd forthwith, and was with the Admiral by next Morning, who thereupon resolv'd to Assault the City, and as he left me said, *To Morrow the City shall be ours.* So soon as every thing was prepar'd for the intended Assault, I went on board the Fleet, to keep a watchful Eye over the Ships, which were of the utmost consequence to us all.

Consultation about the Assault.

In the mean time our Forces mounted the Breach, and Assaulted the Town with great fury under the favour of the smoak of their Cannon and Fire-arms, which by the Wind was forced towards the City; I saw from a board the Ships the Smoak approach nearer and nearer to the place, which I look'd upon as a good omen on our side; The Enemies Defended themselves with a great deal of bravery, for a considerable time, but our Men pushing on the Assault with the utmost Vigour, they were at the last forc'd to give way, and to leave us Masters of the

1662. Cranganor taken by Storm.

City. Mr. *Polman* and *Shuilenburgh*, two of our Captains were dangerously Wounded, 80 Common Souldiers were kill'd in the Assault and a great many more Wounded. The loss on the Enemies side was much greater, 200 *Portugueses* being slain during the Action, besides a great Number of *Negros* who were all thrown into the River, and carried back and forwards several times by the Tides, a most terrible Spectacle to behold. For we found the taking of this place to be another piece of Work than that of *Koulang*, and we were upon the point of sounding the retreat, had not the Commanders by their own example animated the Souldiers to do their utmost; it being almost surprising, how with so small a force, we were able to attack and conquer so strong a place as this. After the City was plundred, it was laid level with the Ground, except one Stone Tower, which standing upon the River, was preserv'd entire, and a Garrison put into it, for the security of the River.

Its last Estate.

This City of *Cranganor* (for there is another on of the Coast of *Malabar*, nearer to the Sea-shoar) lies about four or five Leagues to the North of the City of *Cochin*; being the capital City of a Kingdom of the same Name, bordering to the North upon *Cochin* and to the South upon *Koulang*. It was very famous among the *Indians*, by reason of its Antiquity; being Situate upon the banks of a River, about a League from the Sea-shoar, defended by a Wall of Earth, and a Stone Breast Work; which had seven Bastions and the Wall of Earth three more. At the Point near the River is remaining to this day a strong stone Tower, for the defence of the River, which served instead of a Bullwork on that side; on the other Point, was a small Fort, which Commanded the River, and all Ships going out or in. Several goodly Stone Houses were in this City, and among the rest a Church, excelling all the rest, on the opposite side of the River, towards the side of *Cochin*, is the Redoubt call'd *Palliport*, built for the better defence of the River; upon a long Island call'd *Baypin* extending to the River of *Cochin*. The Royal Palace is not far from hence, in a very pleasant Country; The King then Reigning being a Prince of great Bravery, and well versed in Military Affairs, in the flower of his Age.

A description of this City.

The Redoubt Palliport.

After the taking of *Canganor* it was concluded by the Majority of Voices to Attack likewise the famous City of *Cochin*, not questioning but that the fame of our late Victories, would open as likewise a way to the Conquest of this Place, before the Enemies of this could recollect themselves, from the fear they were in at that juncture. Accordingly we Decamp'd from thence and sat down before *Cochin*, our forces as in the last Siege were again posted in three several places, from whence the Attacks were to be carried on against the City; Mr. *Tibrand Gotske* had his Post assign'd him near the Sea-shoar; Mr. *Roodhaes* upon the bank of the River; and the Admiral Generals Quarter was betwixt both. But the Garrison of *Cochin* were not so much Frighted, as we had Flatter'd our selves, but made a brave Resistance We did all we could to perswade the *Negros* that we were not come hither with an intention to hurt them, but the *Portugueses* our Enemies; but in vain, for they all appear'd in Arms against us, and several times Attack'd us like Mad-men; throwing themselves in among our Ranks, tho' they were sure to die in the Attempt; and thrusting themselves upon our Swords and Pikes, not like Men, but rather like Wild Boars or enraged Bears. Not far from the Royal Palace, was a very large *Pagode*, where the *Negros* had Fortifi'd themselves, Our Men, notwithstanding their fury, Attack'd them in this Advantageous Post, with so undaunted Courage, that they chas'd them from thence with the loss of 400 *Negros*, and many more Wounded. The Old Queen would fain have hid her self in a corner on the top of the *Pagode*, but was found out, and brought a Prisoner by Captain *Henry Rede* into our Camp. But after we had spent near two Months in the Siege, the Waters beginning to rise more and more every day, which fill'd up our Trenches to the middle, and our Forces by the several losses we had sustain'd in divers Engagements and Attacks, and thro' the Garrisons we had been oblig'd to put in the conquer'd Places, being considerably diminish'd in Number, it was thought most expedient, to raise the Siege for this time, and to return with a greater force against next Spring. Accordingly we Decamp'd without any Noise and in one Night got all our Men, Artillery and Ammunition aboard, without being perceiv'd by the Enemy, who were not sensible of our departure, till next day about Noon, as looking upon our Motion, only as a faint, to draw them out of the Town, into an Ambush; But when they found how Matters stood, the Discharged all their Cannon round the Walls, unto which we gave no answer for that time, but delay'd it till a more convenient opportunity. The next thing the Enemy had to do, was to flight our Works and Trenches, which they did immediately, and to cut down all Trees and Edifices which they had found to be an obstacle to them during the Siege, they also took effectual Cure to have their Fortifications repair'd and strengthen'd, as not questioning but that we

1662. Cochin Besieg'd.

The Siege rais'd.

1662. we ſhould give them another Viſit, with the next fair opportunity; in which they found themſelves not deceiv'd.

After the raiſing of the Siege of *Cochin* our Land Forces and Ships were order'd to ſuch Places, where their preſence was judged to be moſt neceſſary at the preſent juncture, Mr. *Vibrand Goſche* fail'd with a Squadron of Ships to *Batavia*, and the reſt ſteer'd their Courſe to other places thereabouts, I went aboard the Ship the *Exchange* and paſs'd by the City of *Kalkoulang*, in my way to *Koulang*, where I was appointed chief Director of the Company; At the ſame time, it was thought convenient to ſtrengthen the Fortifications of *Kalkoulang*, and to put a good Garriſon in it, under Captain *Polman* and ſeveral other Commanders till we could diſpoſe our Forces in more convenient Quarters.

The Author comes to Koulang. I arrived at *Koulang* the 7th of *January* where I gave immediate Orders for the Repairing of the Caſtle, and ſuch Houſes, as belonged to thoſe that were in the Company's Service; and ſettling every thing that might tend to the re-eſtabliſhment of Traffick with the Queen of *Koulang*, and other Neighbouring Princes, unto whom I was ſent as a Deputy, to treat with them concerning the moſt convenient Methods, and to enter into a Confederacy with them for that purpoſe.

Treaty ratified with the Queen of Koulang. The firſt Treaty that was ſet on foot after the taking of the City *Kalkoulang*, was with the Queen of *Koulang*: which was ſoon concluded upon theſe Conditions. That her Palace and great Guns ſhould be reſtor'd to her; for the Rebuilding of which and other Damages ſuſtain'd, ſhe was to have a certain Summ of Money to be paid her by the Company; who's intereſt it was, rather to purchaſe a Peace upon reaſonable Terms, than be at the Charge of a War.

A Deſcription of Koulang. The City of *Kolang* or *Koulang* or *Koulon* and *Koylang*, the Capital of a Kingdom bearing the ſame Name, is Situated upon the Sea-ſhoar of the Coaſt of *Malabar*, under 9 deg. of Northern Latitude, about 13 *French* Leagues (*Linſhot* ſays 24) to the South of *Cochin*. It is fortifi'd with a Stone-wall of 18 or 20 Foot high, and 8 Baſtions; Its Suburbs which are very large and ſtately, are by the *Portugueſes* call'd *Kolang China*. For *Koulang* is ſeparated into two Bodies, one of which is call'd the *Upper* or *Malabar Koulang*, the other the *Lower Koulang*; In the firſt the King and Queen kept their Ordinary reſidences; the laſt was formerly in the Poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſes*, as lying nearer to the Sea-ſide; Here the Fryars of St. *Paul* and the *Franciſcans*, had each a Monaſtery, adorn'd with ſtately Chappels and Steeples Beſides which, there were four other *Portugueſe* Churches here, Dedicated to as many *Romiſh* Saints; They had no leſs than ſeven goodly Churches, amongſt which was the famous Church, built many Ages ago by the Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, which was left ſtanding, after we reduc'd the place into a narrower Compaſs; in this Church is the Tomb of a certain great *Portugueſe* Captain, who was Governour of *Koulang* 60 Years. The Houſes of the Inhabitants were very ſtately and lofty built of Freeſtone; Among which the *Stadthouſe* ſurpaſs'd all the reſt; it was two Stories high, and had very curious Stone Steps on each ſide. But the Caſtle, the Reſidence of the *Portugueſe* Governour, ſurmounted all the reſt in Magnificence; This I took up for our own Lodgings, it lies very near the Sea-ſide, at one end of the City, being cover'd on the top with Coco-leaves, as likewiſe two of its Turrets, the third being Til'd with Pan-Tiles. Juſt upon the Sea-ſhoar is another four-ſquare Tower, where I ſet up the Company's Flag, on the top of a Maſt. In the midſt of it is a very lofty Edifice, which the *Portugueſes* uſed for a Chapel, which I order'd to be made up into divers convenient Chambers, and to be fitted for the uſe of the Company's Officers This Caſtle is the ſtrongeſt, the *Portugueſes* ever were Maſters of on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, being built ſome hundred Years ago, by the famous Engineer *Hector de la Caſa*.

This City as I told you before, was drawn into a leſs Compaſs by the *Dutch*, which they fortifi'd on the Land-ſide, with two half, and one whole Baſtion. Moſt of the Churches and other publick Edifices were pull'd down, except the Caſtle, St. *Thomas*'s Church, and ſome Monaſteries, which remain'd ſtanding within the ſaid Precinct. Behind moſt of the Houſes here are very Pleaſant Gardens, Planted with *Cocoa*, *Mango*'s and other *Indian* Fruit-trees; and about the City you ſee very fine Baſins cut out of the Rocks, unto which you aſcend by Steps: They have alſo ſome Ponds with freſh Water, their Water being elſe for the moſt part Brackiſh and full of Saltpeter. The Air is very Wholeſome in this Country, which is low and full of Rivers, which afford a convenient Paſſage from hence to *Kalkonlang*, *Cochin* and

Cranganor &c.

1662. *Cranganor*; and is accounted the beſt both for Fruitfulneſs and its pleaſant Situation, in all the *Indies*. This part of the Country affords abundance of Pepper, which twiſts it ſelf round the Trees; the Fruit is gather'd in *January* and *February*. The Harbour is very convenient for ſmall Veſſels, but not for great ones, becauſe the South Wind blows directly upon the Shoar, and forces the Waves with great violence thither. They call it *Koydamel*. Near the Sea-ſide you ſee great ſtore of Stonelike Rocks, but they lie looſe upon the Sand, and are frequently waſh'd away by the Sea. About a League to the Weſt of *Koulang*, the great River *Egnick* diſembogues into the Sea.

The *Dutch* were once before Maſters of the City of *Koulang*; till the *Negros* took the opportunity of Murthering Captain *Henry Glanning* their Governour there, as he was taking a Walk without the Gates, and afterwards Maſſacred all the *Dutch*; ſince which time the *Portugueſes* got into poſſeſſion of it. On the the ſide of *Koulang China*, along the Sea-ſhoar, the Jeſuits had built a great Village for the *Parvees*, a poor ſort of *Malabars* living upon Fiſhing; where the Governor of the King of *Travankor* and Prince *Bayette Pocle* kept their Reſidence; which are about a mile in Circuit, and ſurrounded with an Earth Wall, with ſome Points like Baſtions, on which are mounted good ſtore of great Cannon, which Command the Roads, without which there is ſcarce any acceſs to them. If we may believe the *Malabars*, the *Maldive* Iſlands, which lie about 60 Leagues deep is in the Sea, juſt over-againſt the Place, were formerly part of the Continent and Town from thence by the Sea; and as a confirmation of their Opinion, ſhew certain Rocks, betwixt the Shoar, and theſe Iſlands, upon which they aſſure us ſtood at that time a goodly Church. The beſt Houſes, are built along the River ſide, with very good Gardens, ſtock'd with all ſorts of Trees, Fruits, Flowers, and Herbs, but eſpecially with Citrons, which grow here not on Trees, but Shrubs; their Houſes are ſeldom above two ſtories high, their Stairs within of Stone, their Rooms above Stairs are Pav'd with Green and Yellow four ſquare Stones, the ceiling of which is commonly of *Indian* Oak, ſome being finely Carved, others Painted: They commonly have an Arbour or Summer-houſe belonging to each Garden, which is commonly near the River-ſide; where they ſpend generally their Evenings, and divert themſelves with Angling.

1662. The Mouth of the River *Kalchan*, or *Mangal*, or *Mangar*, upon which this place is built, is a very large Bay, where Yachts of 300 Tuns may come cloſe to the Shoar and unload, being 28 Feet deep at high Water; but of very difficult entrance if the Winds be not favourable, becauſe they blow the Waves directly upon the Shoar. In the midſt of this Bay you ſee three vaſt Rocks laying all together in a Ridge. During the Rainy Seaſon this River frequently overflows the Neighbouring Country, and carries away a great deal of the adjacent Grounds; Theſe violent Rains are occaſion'd by the Clouds, which gathering among the tops of the Mountains, break out into ſudden Storms and Tempeſts. The Country is flat and marſhy hereabouts, and the Air not altogether ſo Wholeſome as at *Koulang*.

The River Kalchan.

By this time the Seaſon for Action drawing near, and every thing being prepar'd for a vigorous Expedition, the Siege of *Cochin* was reſolv'd upon the ſecond time. For which purpoſe Mr. *Jacob Huſlart*, one of the Members of the Great Council of *India*, with Captain *Peter du Pon* and *Henry van Rode* ſet Sail the 25th of *October* 1662. with 11 Ships from *Batavia*, Mr. *Van Goens* being ordered to follow with three more, with all imaginable ſpeed. No ſooner had they landed their Men, but they began to Form their Attacks, notwithſtanding they found the place much Strengthned by ſome additional Fortifications, ſince the laſt Siege, and put them ſo to it, that the Belieg'd being enclos'd on all ſides, and beyond all hopes of relief, were forc'd to Capitulate, and to Surrender the City, after a Siege of three Months; after the *Portugueſes* had (with the Conſent of the King of *Cochin*) been in poſſeſſion of it above 150 Years. The *Portugueſes* had not long before forc'd *Momadavil*, the lawful King of *Cochin* to leave the City, in whoſe ſtead they had ſet up an Aunt of his of the Houſe of *Godarme*; but whilſt our Forces lay before *Cochin*, the Dethron'd King ſtay'd with me, at *Koulang*, in order to his ſolemn Coronation after the taking of the place. I had taken all imaginable Care to have his Room hung with Tapeſtry, and furniſh'd with other moveables, the beſt the Place afford; he came often to Viſit us, being commonly clad in White Callicoe, with his Hair ty'd in a Knot on the top of his Head, Rings on his Fingers, and a Gold

Siege of Cochin.

It Surrendred.

Momadavil the King of Cochin.

The Taking of ye City
of
COTCHIN
in
MALABAR

aking of y City
of
TC HIN
in

1663.

1662. a Golden Chain hanging down before him. He spoke the *Portuguese* and *Malabar* Tongues, and was of a pleasant Conversation. But scarce a few Days were pass'd, when finding himself not very well, he desir'd to go to the Queen of *Koulang*, for his Diversion; which I was very unwilling to Grant, being sensible that his Person being committed to my Care, I might be call'd to an account by his Subjects who much esteem'd him, if any sinister Accident should befal him; But at his reiterated Instances, and the earnest request of the Queen of *Koulang*, who was an excellent good natur'd Person, and engag'd her Word to bear me harmless, I conducted him thither, but he found no considerable Alteration in his Health, for when not long after a Yacht was sent to *Koulang*, [illegible] to fetch this Prince to the Camp before *Cochin*, he was so very Weak, that he would fain have avoided going thither; but there being positive Orders given for his coming I sent him my *Lalakin* or Letter, and conducted him with some of our Officers aboard, but before he could reach *Cochin*, his Sickness encreas'd to that degree, as to put an end to his Life. His Brother, who was aboard the same Yacht, being the next Heir to the Crown, was after the taking of the City, Crown'd King of *Cochin* by the *Dutch*, his Crown, which was of Gold, having the Cypher of the *East-India* Company, engraven on one side. He kept his Residence not far from *Cochin*, in a place Situate in a very pleasant Country, call'd by the *Dutch*, *Malabar Cochin*, had his Guards, Musicians, and all other things belonging to a Royal Court, according to the Custom of that Country.

[illegible] Brother.

The City of Cochin.

The City of *Cochin* by the *Portugueses* call'd *Cochin*, and generally *Kakochin*, is the Capital of a Kingdom of the same Name, and indeed of the whole Coast of *Malabar*. It is Situate under 10 deg. of Northern Latitude 4 or 5 Leagues to the South of *Koulang*, extending along the Bank of the great River *Koulang*, or *Kolchan*, or *Mangat*, or *Mangar*. Some Authors make mention of two different *Cochins*; *viz.* the *Old Cochin* lying about a League and a half from the Sea shoar; the *Portugueses* call it *Cochin Dacima*, or *Arabia*, *i. e.* the *Higher Cochin*, because it lies higher up the River; by the *Dutch* it is call'd the *Malabar Cochin*, where the King keeps his Residence; being Situate upon the Banks of a River, and pretty well Peopl'd, and adorn'd with several goodly Structures and *Pagodes*, according to the Custom of the *Malabars*. The other *Cochin*, call'd commonly the *New Cochin* is scarce a League distant from the Sea, just at the entrance of the same River; it was for many Years together in the Possession of the *Portugueses*, who had Fortifi'd it with a Stone Wall, and several Bullworks, and Beautifi'd it with several fine Edifices, Churches and Monasteries. In the Suburs towards the Land-side were several goodly Churches, and a little nearer to the Sea-shoar the Monastery of St. *John*. Here the *Austin Fryers*, *Franciscans* and *Jesuites* had likewise their several Convents, all Magnificently Built, with very pleasant Gardens and Walks; the place being Inhabited only by *Portugueses*. But since this City was Conquer'd by the *Dutch*, the greatest part of it was laid Desolate, and the rest Fortifi'd with regular Stone. Bastions, Curtines and a very broad Ditch, so that it is now look'd upon as impregnable. Among other Steeples, that of St. *Paul* being magnificently Built of square Stones, exceeded all the rest as well in Height as Beauty, which is since demolish'd with all the other Churches, except one, where divine Service is exercis'd according to the Tenets of the Reform'd Religion. The Houses here are cover'd with Tiles of about the Breadth of a Hand, and are fastned to the Laths by small Hooks. Some make their Windows only of a kind of Lettice Work, others of Canes very Artificially twisted together; others make use of large Shells in which the Pearls grow, these they Shave and Flatten, and make Windows of them, as we do of Glass.

After we thus had made our selves Masters of the greatest part of the *Malabar* Coast, and had taken all imaginable care, to re-establish the Commerce in those Parts, it was judged necessary for the better obtaining of this end, to enter into strict Alliances with the Kings and Princes of the Adjacent Countries; For which purpose Mr. *James Hustart* chief Councellour of the *Indies*, of *Ceylon*, and the *Malabar* Coast, having sent me the necessary Instructions and Credentials, I provided my self with all things requisite for such a Journey, and the 21 of *January* 1664. embark'd aboard a small Vessel, with one Serjeant, several Soldiers, an Interpreter, and divers Mariners, which carried us up the River as far as to the City of *Kalkolang*, where we Arriv'd safely the next day. So soon as I had provided my self with a conveni-

The Author sent to Treat with divers Malabar Princes.

ent Lodging, I gave notice of my Arrival, by our Interpreter to the King, who ſoon after returned in Company of a *Reſidoor* from the King, to fetch me to Court. Accordingly I and Mr. *Willing*, who reſided there in the Quality of Under Factor of the *Eaſt-India* Company, were introduced by the ſaid *Reſidoor* into the Kings Preſence, whom we found ſurrounded with a good Number of Courtiers, that conſtantly attend his Perſon. After the firſt Ceremonies and Compliments, ſuch as are uſual in this place, were paſs'd, I ſurrendred my Credentials to the King, who receiv'd them with a great deal of Reſpect and Kemning Satisfaction. After he had perus'd them, he gave Orders to one of his Officers, one of his chief Favourites to treat with me concerning ſuch Points as I ſhould propoſe to him, tending to the maintaining of a good Correſpondence betwixt us and them, and to make his Report to him. This Prince had the Character of a very Sincere Perſon, which appear'd both in his Countenance and Actions; but leaves the chief Management of all Affairs of Moment, to the beforemention'd *Reſidoor*, who knows how to make his Advantage of it. After I had Treated with the *Reſidoor*, as far as my Commiſſion would give me leave, I deſir'd to be diſmiſs'd, under pretence of fetching new Inſtructions, which being Granted, I took leave of the King, and with Mr. *Willing* purſu'd my Journey to *Porka*, whither I had ſent a Serjeants with ſix Soldiers before. But at our Arrival there, being inform'd that the King of *Porka* was ten days before gone to his Palace call'd *Kudda Malaur*, or *Kovarvallur*, or *Koromallo*, about Ten Leagues diſtance from hence, I reſolv'd to go thither. We were forc'd to go by Water, through ſeveral Channels and Rivers, the Country hereabouts being full of both, like the Province of *Holland*, which affords ſcarce any Paſſage by Land, but by the Dikes, all the reſt being Rice Fields, curiouſly Planted with Trees on all ſides.

We were forc'd to have our *Manſiool* (Veſſel) drawn through a narow Sluce, which open'd us the Paſſage into a large Lake, which to the North is about two Leagues broad; from thence we enter'd into a Channel of about a League in length, its entrance is ſomewhat narrow and ſo full of Flaggs, that there was ſcarce room enough to manage our Oars. At the end of this Channel you ſee very pleaſant Rice Fields, which extend to the foot of the Mountain, and are ſtock'd with prodigious Quantities of Wild and Water Fouls. The Inhabitants hereabouts have a certain way to drain their Fields, which makes them bear Rice all the Year round; ſo that whilſt they are Sowing and Planting in one Field, in another the Rice is half Ripe, and in another its come to its full Maturity; which renders this Country both very Fruitful and Populous. The Mountains produce ſome Pepper, but in no great Quantity. This part betwixt the Channel and the Mountains is Water'd by a very fair and large River, Beautifi'd on both ſides with many fair Houſes, Gardens and Trees, which afford a very agreeable Spectacle to thoſe that paſs by that way the Houſes being all Built among ſmall Groves. After we had ſpent ſeveral hours in coming up the River, we in the Afternoon caſt Anchor before the Court of the King of *Porka*, Situate upon the Right ſide of the ſaid River, near a Village inhabited by Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, who enjoy great Privileges here. As we were paſſing up the River, not far from the Court, we ſaw a large Crocodil Sunning himſelf upon the ſandy Bank; I Order'd our Souldiers to fire at him; which they did, but he eſcap'd under Water. This Creature was us'd to ſet upon the People as they paſs'd by that way, and conſequently much dread-ed by them. The King of *Porka* was at time Rebuilding his Palace, in which they ſay he had already beſtow'd 20 Years; It was but an odd Old Faſhion'd piece of Structure, ſurrounded with Walls of Earth and a dry Ditch; I ſent our Interpreter to notifie our Arrival, and to provide us a Lodging, who being return'd, we ſcarce had ſet a Foot a ſhoar, but the chief *Reſidoor* of the King came to conduct us to Court, where he introduced us into his Preſence. After the uſual Compliments I deliver'd him my Credentials, which he receiv'd with extraordinary marks of Reſpect, Ordering the *Reſidoor* to entertain me till he had Read, and Conſider'd of them. In a little while after he return'd with ſome of his Attendants into the ſame Apartment, where he aſk'd me whether I had any other Commiſſion to Treat with him, and I anſwering that I had, he declared to me, that his Inclinations had been always for us, even whilſt we appear'd in Arms on that Coaſt, though at the ſame time he was not inſenſible, that ſome had endeavour'd to perſwade us to the contrary, but that time and opportunity ſhould

1662. should discover the good Sentiments he had for us. He told us further, that he had caus'd the Flags of the *English* and some other Nations to be taken down, and the *Dutch* Flag to be set up, for which they threatned him with an open War, in his own Territories, and refus'd to quit the Country, which made them to be look'd upon but with a very indifferent Eye by all the Neighbouring Princes. Having afterwards given him a further Account of the occasion of my coming, he told me that he should be very glad now he was convinc'd of the intentions of the Company, which were agreeable to his, to [illegible] Return'd for Answer that the Company was sensible of his favourable Sentiments to them, and had always a great value upon his Person, invited him at the same time to *Cochin*, [illegible], the last of which he Modestly Declin'd, alledging that for several reasons he could not come to *Cochin*, but that if Mr. *Hustart* would come either to *Porka*, or any other Place under his Jurisdiction, he should be very ready to Treat with him concerning such Matters, as tended to their mutual Advantage. The King further ask'd me, whether I desir'd an Account of my Negotiation in Writing, which I having accepted of, he said it it should be sent to my Lodgings, and at my departure Conducted me in Person to the Door of his Apartment, from whence the *Resident* carried me to his Lodgings, and treated us with all sorts of Refreshments, a very welcome Entertainment to some of my Attendants, who had not met with the like since the beginning of our Journey. Towards the Evening the *Resident* brought me the Writings, with whom whilst we were taking a View of the Court, I had abundance of Discourse concerning the intended Treaty.

Palace of the King of Porka. This Palace of the King, is a four square Structure, of about 40 Paces in the Square, in the midst of which is a Court, about which the Apartments, (of which there is a great Number) are Built; they are all four Square, their outer Ornaments within being the Carving of Lear and other Work in all sort of fine Wood; In some of these Lodgings you see fine Cisterns for the conveniency of Bathing, you ascend to them by certain broad Stone Steps, like our Grave Stones. In one of these Lodgings is a very large Bason, surrounded with such Stones, which are about 20 Feet broad, and a Foot and a half thick, which have been brought thither with incredible Pains and Charges, a great way out of the Country. The Palace it self is cover'd with small Tiles, of a Hand broad, the Windows being made either of twisted Canes, or Shells, which transmits the Sight. 1662.

After my return from thence to *Kouslang*, I went further to *Cochin*, to give a verbal Account of my Transactions to Mr. *Hustart*, who thereupon Order'd me to go once more to the Court of the King of *Porka*, in order to set Matters there upon a sure Foundation; Accordingly I set out the 3d of *February*, with some of my former Attendants from *Cochin* to the King of *Porka*'s Court, where within an Hour after giving notice of my Arrival, one of the King's *Residents* came to introduce me to the King, whom that time I found [illegible] in a most Magnificent Array, (after the *Malabar* Fashion) in the midst of His Courtiers. After the usual Respect pay'd, I deliver'd to him my Credentials, which he having receiv'd, he Order'd all his Attendants and my Interpreter among the rest to withdraw, because he had a mind to Discourse with me alone in *Portuguese*, which he understood very well. I told him that I was sent on purpose by my Masters to his Majesty, to assure him of their Friendship, and to pay the Money Stipulated by the last Treaty, which Summ, though it much exceeded the value of the thing receiv'd, yet notwithstanding all this my Masters had thought fit not to recede from what had been promis'd in their Name. The King gave for Answer, That it never had been a Custom to weigh the Pepper at *Cochin* (which I had desir'd should be done) and that therefore he hop'd the Company, would not Introduce any Novelties in his Territories; assuring us withal, that he would be ready to Assist the Company, and their Officers upon all Occasions, besides several other Assurances too tedious to be inserted here. I soon understood his meaning, to wit, that he would not have the Pepper Trade Transfer'd to *Cochin*, which was a Matter of no great consequence, so I did not insist any longer upon it, but agreed, that that the Pepper should be receiv'd and Weigh'd at *Porka*; assuring him, that the Company had never had the least intention to impair any Bodies Right, as his Majesty might easily be convinc'd, as well by this as several other Transactions and Treaties, made lately with other Kings and Princes. The King appear'd to be highly satisfi'd thereat, desiring that a Factor might be sent thither forthwith,

The Author goes a second time to the King of Porka.

His Audience.

1662. with, to Buy and Receive the Pepper; which I having promis'd to the King, he Order'd *Resident* to receive the Money and granted me leave to Depart.

Departs from thence.

The next following day, just as I was ready to Depart a *Resident* come to my Lodgings, which was an old Chappel, and presented me, from the King with several Refreshments, according to the Custom of the Country, and knowing this *Resident* to be a Person in great esteem with the King, I requested his favour in behalf of the Company, which he promis'd to do.

The King of Porka and Government.

The King then Reigning at *Porka* was a Person of 30 Years of Age, very stately and well made. He was Adorn'd with many Jewels, of Diamonds and Rubies, which he wore on his Hands, Arms and Ears, according to the *Malabar* Fashion. He is a most absolute Prince, acknowledging no Superior, every Foot of the Country being his own, and at his Disposal. Justice is Administred here with extraordinary severity, especially on the Account of Theft, which makes this Crime scarce ever to be heard of here, of which I saw the following Instance my self; whilst I was paying the Money to the beforementioned *Resident*, I was call'd away to the King, and seeing above 50 Persons in the same Room, I charg'd one of my Attendants, to take care of the Money; The *Resident* having taken notice of it, Laught heartily; and told me; *You need not give your self that trouble, no Body will dare to touch the Money; tho' it was untold and unguarded, for we know scarce what Thieves are*; which surpris'd me not a little, knowing that the *Malabars* in general are the errants Thieves in Nature.

Theft unknown in Porka.

The Kingdom of Porka.

The Kingdom of *Porka* or *Porkah*, otherwise *Perkatti* has borrow'd its Name from its capital City; It borders to the North upon the Kingdom of *Cochin*, to the South upon that of *Kalkolang*, it has *Takken Berkenker*, to the North East, and the Sea to the West, being about twelve Leagues in length; its capital City is *Porka* or *Porkah*. Another of the chief City is *Koramallur* or *Koromallo* Situate upon the same River with the Cities of *Cochin* and *Koulang*. The Kings of *Porka* were in antient Times great Idolaters, who Worship'd at least 900 Idols, unto each of daily Sacrifices were offer'd, and Visits made them about six or seven a Clock in the Morning, till twelve at Noon. It was not till the Year 1590. that the *Romish* Religion was openly profess'd here with consent of the King. Tho' many Years before, the Christians call'd of St. *Thomas* liv'd in these Parts. This King granted considerable Privileges to the Jesuits; such as the Building of Churches with Crosses on the top of them, and the necessary Bells, near unto which no *Pagodes*, *Jewish* Synagogues, or *Mahometans Mosques* were to be erected; they had also Liberty to Baptize as many as were willing to embrace the Christian Religion; all which was punctually observ'd. The King of *Porka* who Reign'd 1599. was call'd *Nambrale* or *Nambrane*, which imploy's as much as the *High Priest* in the *Malabar* Tongue. In the Year 1640. one *Siam Baatshery Vanbaar* Reigned over *Porka*. They claim a superiority over the King of *Cochin*, against whom they waged heavy Wars in former Ages; But now a days the Kings of *Porka* are under the Jurisdiction of the *Dutch East India* Company, being forc'd thereunto by their Victorious Arms; The chief Strength of the King of *Porka* consists in his small Frigatts, of which he has 500, and are made use of, when the Fields are overflown with Water; Formerly the *Portugueses* were Masters of the Pepper Trade here, with the King's consent; but finding, that they intended to Fortifie themselves in several Places, he engaged in a War against them, which lasted three whole Years. The *Dutch* never came to *Porka* till 1642. under the Reign of *Siam Baatshery Vanbaar*, being then not above 24 Years Old; they were very kindly receiv'd by him, a Treaty being concluded betwixt them at that time, by which the *Dutch* had the Pepper Trade granted to them. This part of the Country is very Fruitful, but unwholesome, most of the Inhabitants being Afflicted with thick swell'd Leggs, occasion'd by the drinking of brackish Water, Blindness is also a common Distemper here, which by some is ascrib'd to their feeding so much upon hot Rice. Most of the Inhabitants live by Husbandry, tho' during the Rainy Season, most of the Rice Fields hereabouts as well as all along from the Cape *Comarin* as far as *Pokare Biarbar* lay under Water. This Country produces also a considerable Quantity of Pepper Yearly, which is for the most part bought up by the *English*, who have had a Factory here many Years ago. Deeper into the Country live abundance of Christians, who were formerly Converted by the *Portugueses*, these buy up the Pepper in the Country, which they are oblig'd to deliver to a certain Merchant, appointed for that purpose, by the King.

1662.

From

1662. *The Author arrives at Marten.*

From hence we went to the King of *Marta* or *Marten*, the Capital City of the ſame Name, three Leagues to the South of *Cochin* upon the ſame River. I and Mr. *George Henry Willing*, under Factor of *Koulang*, got on Horſe-back early in the Morning, and Arriv'd at 10 a Clock before Noon at *Carnopoly*, where we took up our Lodgings in a Houſe near the River ſide, which the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, ſome Years before had purchas'd from the King. It is pretty large, but not very convenient, being Built according to the *Malabar* Faſhion, with abundance of Corners and Inletts oddly contriv'd: The Gardens are well Planted with Palm-trees, for the uſe of the Houſe. I had no ſooner given notice of my Arrival, but I was ſent for to the King. After the uſual Compliments, to be paid to the *Malabar* Kings, I deliver'd the following *Ola* (Letter) from Mr. *Huſtart* to the King.

James Huſtart, *Councellour of the* Indies, *Governour and Director of the Iſle of* Ceylon, *and the* Malabar *Coaſts, ſends his* Ola *to the King of* Marten.

Illuſtrious Prince,

Admiral Huſtart's Letter to the King.

NOthing could be more Welcome to me, than to underſtand at my firſt Arrival in theſe Parts, that your Majeſty had always liv'd in a good Correſpondency with our Company. To ſhew your Majeſty, what an extraordinary value we ſet upon your Friendſhip, we have ſent Mr. John Nieuhoff *Captain of* Koulang, *in order to enter with you into a more ſtrict League and Friendſhip. We hope your Majeſty will give him entire Credit, in what he ſhall propoſe to you, which I ſhall be ready to acknowledge upon the like Occaſions.*

God preſerve and give your Majeſty a long and a happy Life.

Cochin
2 *Feb.* 1664. *James Huſtart.*

After which I gave the King a more particular Account of my Commiſſion, unto which he anſwer'd that he would conſider of it till the next day; accordingly I was ſent for at the appointed time, when I found the King ſurrounded with a great Number of his Courtiers; and among the reſt ſome Mahometan Merchants; He Ordered immediately two of them, and one of his Captains, who was in great eſteem with him, to Treat with me concerning the propoſitions made on behalf of the Company; but as I was ſufficiently inform'd that moſt of the Mahometan Merchants here drove conſiderable Traffick to *Cananor*, to the no ſmall prejudice of our Company, I did not think fit to Treat with them, if poſſibly I could avoid it, which made me to tell the King, that *I had no Commiſſion to Treat with the Mahometan Merchants, but with His Majeſty; That the Company at preſent offer'd Peace to the whole Coaſt of* Malabar, *in which, if his Majeſty was deſirous to be included, and to enjoy the benefit of a flouriſhing Trade, he might himſelf Treat with me, but if not, Grant me leave to Depart.* The King after a little pauſing, deſir'd that my Propoſitions might be drawn up in Writing, which I did accordingly; our demands were,

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To forbid the importation of Amſion, the Peeling of the wild Cinamome, and the exportation of Pepper.

These Propoſitions the King Order'd to to be Read aloud in our Preſence, which the Mahometan Merchants endeavour'd to oppoſe with all their might: and the greateſt part of the day being ſpent in Meſſages betwixt the King and us, by the Reſidoors, who gave an exact Account of all what paſs'd to the King, he gave leave for us to return to our Lodgings, and Order'd us to attend him again the next day. But early in the Morning a certain Perſon of Quality, who bears the ſecond Rank in that Kingdom, came along with the beforemention'd Captain, to tell us, that what we deſir'd, was abſolutely to the prejudice of the King and Kingdom, which I endeavour'd to put out of their Heads, by telling them, that we were come with no other intention, than to eſtabliſh a free Commerce with them, as we had done with moſt of the other *Malabar* Kings and Princes before, and which would turn to their great advantage; notwithſtanding this they were for making ſeveral Alterations in each Point, and five or ſix Meſſages paſs'd betwixt the Court and us; At laſt they ask'd what quantity of Pepper we deſir'd Yearly? we anſwer'd them that it was no matter about the Quantity, ſince we were for buying all. This Point was vigorously oppos'd by the Mahometan Merchants, who fain would have perſwaded the King to reſerve part of it for them; but by degrees we overcame all theſe difficulties, the King having granted us all we demanded, except the Peeling of the wild Cinamome, which we did not ſo much inſiſt upon, being a thing uncer-

1662. tain whether it would quit the coſt to the Undertakers or not, becauſe it was in the Kings power to ſet what Price he pleas'd upon it.

The Kingdom of Marten. The Kingdom of *Marta* or *Marten* is very near as big as that of *Kalkolang*, extending to the North as far as *Porka*; to the South it borders upon the *Indian* Sea, and to the Eaſt, it is ſurrounded by high Mountains, and waſh'd by the ſame River, upon which *Cochin* and *Koulang* lie: The capital City is likewiſe call'd *Marta* or *Marten*. But to the South near the Sea-ſhoar is another City call'd by the Inhabitants *Panderatontte*, and *Peſſe* by the *Portugueſes*; here we built a Houſe by the King's conſent, for the conveniency of the Pepper Trade, which is always weigh'd here. There is another City belonging to this Kingdom call'd *Podiegabo* or *Mudikava*. This King poſſeſſes ſome parts of the Country in common with the King of *Kalkolang*, a thing not uſual on this Coaſt, where are ſo many petty Kingdoms, that it requires no ſmall time, to diſtinguiſh and know them from one another. The Country is well Peopl'd here, abounding in Pepper, Peaſe and Beans, and the Fields near the River ſide, in Rice and Salt-pits. The King is a Sovereign Prince, he that then Reign'd being of about 60 Years of Age, very large of Body and a ſtern Countenance; Upon his Head he wears a Bonnet of Scarlet Cloth lin'd with Callicoe; he keeps conſtantly 1200 *Negros* in pay; His Reſidence is at *Carnopoly*, a place ſurrounded with an Earthen Wall of 20 Foot High, but appear'd much decay'd at that time: This Kingdom has long ago been Inhabited by Chriſtians, who however were forc'd to live there 12 whole Years without a Church, *viz.* till the Year 1581. when the King then Reigning, not only gave them Liberty to build a Church, but alſo to cut Wood in the Adjacent Foreſts, Dedicated to the Pagan Idols. He alſo gave Permiſſion to his Subjects to turn Chriſtians, and the Jeſuits had full Power Granted them, to exerciſe the Church Cenſure, and to inflict it upon thoſe that were Baptiz'd by them. The ſaid Church was Dedicated to St. *Andrew*, becauſe it was finiſhed upon that Saints day.

Upon the Banks of the ſame River, where the Kingdom of *Marten* lies, is alſo the Kingdom of *Batyma*, with its City call'd *Katyapery*. It is commonly reported in theſe Parts, that the King's of *Batyma* made a Law, by which a Man was impower'd to kill any Woman, that ſhould refuſe him a Kindneſs.

By this time our Negotiation being brought to an entire concluſion, I offered 1662. the uſual preſents to the King, which he ordred to be taken by him who bears the ſecond Rank in the Kingdom, who as well as ſeveral others of his Courtiers having been very inſtrumental in promoting the Treaty, we thought fit to engage to our Party by ſome ſmall preſents. At laſt we were appointed to attend before the Court in the open Air, where the King firſt, and I afterwards Sign'd the Treaty with our own Hands, in the preſence of a great multitude of People, that were flock'd thither on purpoſe to be Spectators of this Ceremony. This done I took my leave of the King and his chief Courtiers, and the ſame Even- *The Author leaves Marten.* ing went aboard our Veſſel, which about a League from thence did ride at Anchor in the River. A certain Lord Commanding over the Country here, a Vaſſal of the King of *Marten*, came on purpoſe to Meet and Compliment us and preſented us with ſome Fowls, *Pyſang* and other refreſhments; of whom I likewiſe took my leave and return'd to *Koulang*, where *Returns to Koulang.* I arriv'd the 9th of *February*.

Whilſt I was Negotiating with the King of *Porka*, the King of *Kalkolang* ſent for me to his Court, where he Preſented me with a very fine *Brocado* Silk-Gown, made according to the *Indian* Faſhion; *Is preſented by the King of Kalkolang.* teſtifying his joy for the good Succeſs we had had in our Negotiation with his Neighbour; I return'd my hearty thanks to the King for this and all other favours I had receiv'd at his Hands, and went back agen to the King of *Porka*.

But to return to *Koulang*; no ſooner was I arriv'd the 9th of *Feb.* at *Koulang* but the Queen of the ſame Name, ſent the next day her chief Captain to receive the Cuſtoms and Cannon ſhe pretended to be due to her by Vertue of the late Treaty; I was willing to ſurrender the Cannon, according to our Agreement, but could not conſent to the other; and in the mean while we were preparing our *Manſio* (Veſſel) for a Voyage to the King of *Travankoor*'s Court, the *Reſidoors* of the King of *Goenree* and *Barietta Pule* deſir'd an interview with me, whom I gave a meeting accordingly in Company of Mr. *Cherde Venne* Book-keeper of the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company. We ſaw above 300 *Negroes* all in a Body, who with one Voice cry'd out for the Cuſtoms, which made me after many Debates and Diſputes, tell them, that I would go home, with an intention to return the next Day to them, provided they would deſiſt

1662. sist from these Things, that were not granted them by the Treaty, nor were ever likely to be granted, and so return'd to *Koulang*.

The 12th of *February*, I embark'd at nine a Clock in the Evening for *Attingen*, where the King of *Travankoor* kept his Residence then, being come thither some days before. With break of day we found our selves near the Village of *Mappul*, about five Leagues to the East of *Koulang*, but not daring to approach the shoar with our Vessel, we were forc'd to hire an *Indian* Boat, which carried us safely a shoar, notwithstanding the violence of the Waves that rowled against the shoar. We Travell'd for about a League along the Sea-side till we came to a large River, which carried us in three hours Rowing to the Court; Here we understood that the King was just then ready to go to *Kalkolang*, I gave immediate notice of my Arrival to his Majesty, who sent for me by one of his *Residoors*; he met us on the Stairs-head, with many of his Courtiers; where I presented him with the usual respect, the Letter, with some Presents; which he receiv'd and caus'd the Letter to be read aloud, before all there present; telling me, that he would forthwith let me know his intention, and that in the mean while I might take a Walk into the Garden of the Castle, with some of his *Residoors*; and Discourse with them farther in a certain Grove, which he Pointed at with his Fingers. Accordingly I begun to talk more at large, concerning my Propositions, with the four *Residoors*, who were for Treating with me immediately upon the Subject in hand, which I told them I had no Orders to do, my Business being to Treat with the King in Person. They having given the King an Account of what I said, brought me Word, that his Majesty, in a Matter of such Consequence could not take a resolution till next day, desiring me to have Patience till then, and presented us with Pysang and some other Refreshments. On the Western-side of the Palace is a pleasant House at the Foot of a Hill, in the midst of a very pleasant Grove from whence there is a Prospect into a very fruitful Valley, full of Rice-fields, hedg'd in with Palm-trees; This place was assign'd us for our Lodgings, our Host appearing to be a very Honest Man, but so mistrustful withal, that when we were going to Supper, he refus'd to let us have Dishes, or any other Utensils; Their Soldiers being exasperated at this usage, the whole House began to be in an Alarum, and I enquiring the reason, could get no other answer from him, than, *That the Devil and his ill Fortune ow'd him a shame, when they brought such Lodgers into his House*, desiring us at the same-time to look out for another Lodging. With much ado I perswaded him, that we were no such Fellows as he imagin'd us to be, and so at last with the help of a little Mony he let us have what we had occasion for.

Goes to Attingen.

The next day being the 14th of *Feb.* about eight a Clock in the Morning the King sent for me to Court again by a *Negro*; where we met the beforementioned four *Residoors* at the Gate ready to receive us, we went together into the Garden, where I caus'd a Carpet to be spred under the shadow of some Trees, as they did their *Indian* Matts, and being seated, the chiefest of the *Residoors* told me; *That his Majesty was not a little dissatisfied at our Burning the Royal Palace of* Koulang, *and that he had given him Orders, to Treat of that as well as the other Subject with me. That the Letter sent to Admiral* Hustart *had been written with no other intention, than to Treat concerning the Pretensions of Prince* Gondormo, *and that therefore they would be glad to hear, what instructions I had about that Matter.* As I thought it not for our purpose to Tergiversate in the Matter, I told them bluntly, That *Gondormo* might thank himself for his Misfortunes: For that, when our Fleet and Forces about two Years ago appear'd near *Cochin*, to Attack the *Portugueses*, our Enemies, the *Dutch* Admiral had set up a White Flagg, to shew his willingness to Treat with the Queen of *Cochin*, which *Gondormo* had not only prevented, but also Attack'd our Forces, and oppos'd and still did oppose all our Designs, tending to the Re-establishment of the Government of *Cochin* upon its true Foundation. I further told them, that, when about two Years ago, I had the Honour to see his Majesty at *Kalikoli*, I assur'd his Majesty, that we had Conquer'd *Cochin*, and were engag'd in an everlasting Alliance with *Monta Davila*, their legal Sovereign; and that therefore *Gondormo* need not flatter himself with the least hopes of his Re-establishment. Of this they gave an Account to the King, who soon sent them back with another Proposition, to wit, whether he might not be admitted as a second or third Person in the Kingdom? To make an end at once of this Dispute, I ask'd them whether they did acknowledge *Monta Davila* lawful King? They answering they did; I Demonstrated to them, how unreasonable it was, to Demand that one who had set up against his

Invalid's Court.

Proposals made to him.

His Answer.

his legal Sovereign, should be receiv'd in such a Station in the same Kingdom, and considering the ill consequences which must needs ensue from thence, I told them, it was in vain to say a word more of it. This made them insist no more upon the Business of *Gondormo*, they only told us, *That we had best be upon our Guard*, Gondormo *and his three Brothers being resolv'd to live, and to be Buried in the Kingdom of* Cochin. I answer'd him carelessly, that I had Travell'd thro' the greatest part of that Kingdom; and that I was sure there was room enough for 1000 of them. I assur'd them farther; That his Majesty of *Travankoor*, had been always in great esteem with our Company, and that they never doubted of his Friendship, notwithstanding he seem'd to bear so great a share in *Gondormo*'s Business; That I was sent thither on purpose to enter into a more strict League with him, in the same manner as had been done with several other Kings his Neighbours. Whilst they were Debating this Matter, an Envoy arriv'd from the Queen of *Koulang*, with a Letter, in which she Complain'd, that she had not receiv'd any share of the Customs, nor were the Cannon restor'd to her; The *Resident* ask'd me what the meaning of it was, and whether we would do less than the *Portugueses* had done; I answer'd him, if we should follow the Footsteps of the *Portugueses*, we must be guilty likewise of the same enormities, in Murthering, Plundering, &c. things not Customary among us, the intention of our Company being to maintain every one in his Right, and to establish a free Commerce, without interruption; And these, said I, are the main contents of my Commission, according to which I am to Treat with all the Kings and Princes of the Coast of *Malabar*. After several other Debates, finding them full of Tergiversations, I roundly told them, that I found them very backward in what had been propos'd; that for my part, I had done all what I could to procure a Peace, but that they seem'd to be rather inclinable to War; and finding them somewhat puzzl'd by their Silence, said, That if as yet they could find out any expedient, to compose Matters upon reasonable Terms, I should be willing to harken to them, and that, if it was for a Yearly present, or a Summ of Money, once for all, they should have it. The King being inform'd of this Resolution, sent me Word back, that in a thing of this Nature, in which several others besides himself were concern'd, he must take some leisure to Advise, which done, he would send one of his *Residoors* to *Koulang*, to Treat further of the Matter. I insisted upon having all things dispatch'd here, but the *Residoors* telling me, that they durst not urge it any more to the King for that time, I was fain to acquiesce, and to deferr it till our next meeting at *Koulang*, tho' I very well foresaw that this Negotiation, would meet with no small difficulties unless something more were Granted than had been offer'd hitherto. About the same time the beforemention'd Queen sent me under hand, Word that she was very inclinable to a further Treaty, but that it could not be done till the K. of *Travankoor* was gone, which as it was no unwelcome News to me, so I desir'd the *Residoor* whom she sent to me, to use his utmost Interest with her Majesty to bring it to pass, being sensible that it was the intention of my Masters to live with her in a good Correspondence. 1662.

The Country about *Attingen* has hitherto not been describ'd by any that I know; it abounds in Pepper, of which a great Quantity is brought thither out of the circumjacent Parts. The Ancient Race of the Kings of *Travankoor* ow'd its Origin to *Attingen*, but for want of Male Heirs, one of the Princes of *Cochin* was plac'd in that Throne; the King, who then Reign'd being descended from the *Cochin* Race of *Rammerankoil*, and elected King of *Travankoor*. The Ground where the Pepper Grows, is hereabouts strong and red; which makes the Pepper not full so large here, as in the Valleys about *Koulang* and *Cochin*. On the Descents of the Hills you see very pleasant Rice-fields, cut out like Steps, and Water'd from the top by small Rivulets. The King and Queens Palace are directly opposite to one another, with some Rice Fields betwixt them. Attingen.

The next following day about 10 a Clock in the Morning, I was call'd to Court again, where the King told me in Person, that it would be better to resume the Treaty at *Koulang*, which I being fain to be satisfy'd with, I took my leave of his Majesty and the *Residoors*, who offer'd me a Present from the King according to the Custom of the Country, which I accepted off, and went directly to the River-side, where we found our Boat, and Sailing down the River came just before Sunset to *Maypule*, where I was met by the Resident of *Tengepatnam*, whom I had given notice of my coming that way. The next following day, *viz.* the 16th of *Febru-*

1662. *February* we reimbark'd our Vessels, and steer'd our Course by Sea to *Koulang*, from whence I immediately dispatch'd our Interpreter to *Pule de Margaty*, to inform himself where the Queen of *Goenree* at that time kept her Court; He return'd the next day with Advice, that a Month before she was gone deeper into the Country, to a place call'd *Peretaly*, about four days Journey from thence.

The Kingdom of *Travankoor* (thus call'd from its capital City) begins at the Cape of *Comory* or *Comorin*, and extends all a long the Sea-coast as far as *Koulang*, comprehending a Tract of Ground of 20 or 24 Leagues in Length; the famous Village of *Paru*, belonging to the Queen of *Singnaty*, being only in the midst. To the East it borders upon the Kingdom of *Madure*, and to the West upon the Countries of *Peretaly* and *Kotarkery*. It has several considerable Villages which are inhabited by the Moors, such as *Tengepatnam*, *Kaletture*, *Korittypatnam* and *Allage*. About the Year 1544. above 30 Villages inhabited by the *Makaos*, who live for the most part upon Fishing, and by the Mahometans, were upon this Coast. But the Chief Cities lie Deeper in the Country, which is of a great extent all along the Mountains to *Naynar* near the Cape of *Comorin* and toward *Travankoor*, in all 29 great Cities and Villages. About a League and a half to the North of the Cape *Comorin* is the City of *Kotate* or *Kokatti*, a place of great Traffick; the populous City of *Simintira*, and *Matadavalur*, famous for its bigness, being surrounded by six or seven other Towns; *Verrage* is not above a quarter of a League distance from *Kotate* and *Tatikury*, the two most considerable Places of the whole Country. *Kalkolang* is a very large City, being a League and a half long, upon the Confines of the *Neyk* of *Madure*. It is Situated upon a high Hill, three Leagues from *Tengepatnam* and 12 from *Koulang*; being on one side strengthned by inaccessible Mountains, on the other by a Wall, the undermost part of which is of Stone, the uppermost of brick Work, in all 24 Foot high; The Royal Palace stands at the West end, being surrounded by a Stone-wall. On the East-side you see the Ruins of an old Castle built on the top of a Hill, Fortifi'd with a triple Wall. The City of *Kalkolang* is the chief Residence of the King, who constantly keeps a Garrison of 10000 *Negros* here, to secure it against the *Neyk* of *Madure*, who's Power is much dreaded here. It is very a fertile Country, abounding in Pepper, Rice and other Grains It also produces wild Cinamom, the best, the whole Coast of *Malabar* affords; but it wants several things requisite for the conveniency of Life. One of the chiefest Rivers which Water this Country, is the River *Mannikorin*, it exonerates it self into the Sea, near Cape *Comorin*. The King of this Country is by some stil'd the *Great King*, because he possesses larger Territories, than any other of the *Malabar* Kings. He is serv'd in great State, and maintains abundance of Commanders, whom they call *Mandigals*, and many Councellors, call'd *Pullas*. Some ascribe to him a Superiority over Neighbouring Princes, but of this I am convinc'd to the contrary by my own experience; it is true they Reverence him, as a Potent King, but pay him no Obedience. Others will have him to be a Vassal of the King of *Narsinga*. The whole Country is well stock'd with People, who appear very well Cloath'd according to the *Malabar* Fashion.

The 18th of *February*, I set out from *Koulang* in Company of Mr. *Siewert Baker*, for the Kingdom of *Goenree*. But scarce were we come to *Kaligoli*, but one of the *Residoors* told us that the Queen of *Goenree* was a Month ago gone into the Country, and would not return very quickly, by reason of a certain Religious Ceremony, she was oblig'd to perform there, before her return; I desir'd a Guide, because I had something of Moment to Communicate to the Queen, but they excus'd it, telling me that the Ways were so Rocky and impassable, that it would be impossible for me to get thither, it being five tedious Days Journey to the Country of *Peretaly*, bordering upon the Territories of the *Neyk* of *Madure*. Being made sensible that this Journey could not be undertaken without great Difficulty and Charge, I thought it most expedient to leave a Letter with the *Residoor*, to be deliver'd to the Queen, the Contents of which were as follows.

The Author goes to Goenree.

His Letter to the Queen.

THat I was come hither, to offer a small Present to her Majesty, and to enter into a strict and everlasting Alliance with her; But tho' I was so Unfortunate, as not to meet with her Majesty, I liv'd however in hopes, that she would not be backward in entering into a General League, which the Company had lately concluded with all the Malabar *Princes; to accomplish which as we should*

1662. *should be ready to contribute every thing on our side, ſo we did not queſtion, but that her Majeſty would be pleas'd to let us know her Sentiments by the Bearer of this Letter.*

Whilſt I tarried here, I underſtood, that the *Reſidoor* of the King of *Travankoor* was arriv'd the 20th at *Koulang China*, and had notifi'd his Arrival by our *Perugatin Thome Bottancho*, deſiring to Confer with me, concerning certain Matters Commanded him by the King, his Maſter, ſince my departure from thence. The place appointed for our interview, was the Church of the Chriſtians of St. *Thomas* in *Koulang China*, where I was preſent at the appointed Hour, but finding them to trifle away the time in Altercations and Tergiverſations, I was ready to mount on Horſe-back again, in order to return to *Koulang*, which when they perceiv'd, they deſir'd me to ſtay, and give them another meeting, which I agreed to do. At laſt, after abundance of Conteſts, the following Agreement concerning the Shares of the Cuſtoms, the Importation of Amſion and the Exportation of Pepper, was made betwixt the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company, by their Deputy Mr. *John Nieuhoff* on one, and the Kings of *Marten*, *Singnaty*, *Goenree*, and *Travankoor* and *Barrigetta Pule* on the other ſide.

Articles of Agreement.

I. NO body ſhall Import, Sell or Exchange any Amſion into theſe Countries, except the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company.

II. No body, without any Exception, ſhall be permitted to Export any Pepper or Cinamome out of this Country, or to Sell them to any body, except to the ſaid Company.

III. A certain Price was ſettl'd, betwixt both Parties, and what Share each ſhould have in the Cuſtoms; whereby all former Pretenſions and Exceptions ſhould be annull'd.

February 21. 1664. *Sign'd in the Court* Matta del Reyne.

In my return from *Koulang*, in the Road Leading to *Matta del Reyne*, I found Guards poſted upon all the croſs Roads, which made me enquire of *Matta del Pule* chief Commander of the *Negros*, what the meaning of it was, who told me with a Sorrowful Countenance, that the Prince *Barrigetta Pule*, had caus'd one of the Queens *Reſidoors* to be ſlain by his Soulidiers, who had alſo laid about 80 Houſes in Aſhes, and cut down many Palm-Trees. That they had been ſent to Beſiege him in his Caſtle, but that at the Interceſſion of the King of *Travankoor*'s *Reſidoor*, who had promis'd that the ſaid Prince ſhould be call'd to an Account by the King his Maſter, they had delay'd the Execution of it, for three days; but he much fear'd, he ſhould ſcarce withold them much longer, from taking a direful Revenge of him. He was very inquiſitive concerning our late Tranſactions with the King of *Marten*, but I excus'd the Matter, telling him only, that I hop'd it would be brought to a Concluſion, to both ſides Satisfaction.

1662. Troubles raiſed by Barrigetta Pule.

The 22d I ſent a Letter by Mr. *Sebaſtian Ferdinandi*, our Interpreter, to the Queen of *Singnaty*, in which I gave her an Account of what had been Tranſacted, betwixt the *Reſidoor* of the King of *Travankoor* and my ſelf. In the mean while the Kings and Princes Soldiers were come to blows, ſeveral being Kill'd and Wounded on both ſides: Whereupon the Prince finding himſelf Beſieg'd in his Caſtle, ſent one of his moſt Truſty Servants, to deſire Aſſiſtance, and ſome Powder and Ball for his Maſter, which I thought fit to refuſe, for weighty Reaſons; For, whatever may be the Opinion of thoſe who think it a Maxim of State to Fiſh in troubled Waters, I was too well acquainted with the Perfidiouſneſs of the *Malabars*, who make not the leaſt Account of Faith or Leagues, unleſs they are forc'd to it, than to put the leaſt Confidence in them.

In the mean time the beforemention'd *Reſidoor* of the King of *Travankoor* not appearing at the time and place Appointed for the removing of ſome remaining Differences, I ſent him the following Letter by *Topaes Nicolaes da Coſtar*.

The Captain of *Koulang* ſends this Letter, with his Service, to *Narrano Poly Reſidoor* of *Travankoor*.

The Author's Letter to the Reſidoor *of* Travankoor.

PUrſuant to our mutual Agreement, I came to Koulang China, *in order to bring the Treaty begun before to a happy Concluſion. But your Highneſs did not Perform his Promiſe, neither had I the leaſt Account ſince,*

1662. *how the Queen of* Singnaty *was likely to relish our Transactions. And as the Nature of the thing would admitt of no delay, I saw my self oblig'd to send my Interpreter to the Queen of* Singnaty *and* Topaes Nicholaes de Costa, *to the* Goenree *and* Barrigetta, *to be inform'd concerning that Point. They bring me for Answer, that the said Queen pretends to the Customs without the least Diminution, which is not in my Power to agree to. As I am sensible, that I have left nothing unattempted which might reasonably and honestly be expected from me, for the Terminating of these Differences, but all in vain, I have nothing left to do, but to Protest once for all, according to the strictest Rules of Justice, in the Name of the whole Company against your* Narrano Poly, *and your Transactions, and all others who take part with you, that we will, and hereby Declare our selves Innocent, and guiltless of all the Troubles and Miseries of a future War.*

February 26. 1664. Koulang. John Nieuhoff.

In the mean while I had given an Account of the whole Matter to Mr. *Huftart*, desiring him to come in Person, and to endeavour by his Presence to put a happy Conclusion to the Negotiations. He sent me an Answer dated *Cochin* the 24th of *Febbruary*, intimating that he had intended to set out from thence within two days after, of which he Order'd me to give notice to the King of *Travankoor*, and Queen of *Singnaty*, which I did accordingly by an Express sent with Letters to both their Majesty's. The 27th the *Resident* of *Travankoor*, sent me word by *Topaes Nicolaes de Costa*, that he was willing to Treat with me once more about the Customs; but that no body except the Queen must be Privy to the Matter; for which reason he could cause a quite different Rumour to be rais'd among the People; but considering with my self that the *Negros*, who are in great esteem here, might get scent of the Matter, and that (as the King had told me himself before) several Persons in the first Rank were concern'd in the Customs, I did not look upon this underhand Treaty as advantageous for the Company: Which made me write to the *Resident*; that, I was willing to contribute all what in me lay, towards the composing of the Differences betwixt us, provided it could be done in the same Nature as with the other *Malabar* Princes, who had not refus'd to Read the Treaties in the Presence of their Subjects, to shew that their Words where altogether consonant to their Deeds. I receiv'd an Answer the same Evening, in which the *Resident* desir'd an Interview with me in St. *Thomas*'s Church the next day. Accordingly I went thither on Horse-back with Mr. *James Cherdevenne*. After many Contests on both sides, we agreed at last, and the *Resident* promis'd to return to Morrow to finish the Treaty. About this time I receiv'd a Letter from the Queen of *Singnaty*, in answer to that I had sent her before; as follows:

1662. *Another interview with the Resident of Travankoor*

The Queen of Singnaty's *Letter to the Author.*

I Receiv'd and saw the Contents of the Letter sent to me from Mr. John Nieuhoff *Captain of* Koulang, *concerning the propos'd Treaty, I will send Word in the Month of* March *to* Kottekkery; *where we will meet together, and I shall be ready to ratifie what my Plenipotentiaries shall agree to. For which reason I Order'd this Leter to be written to Captain* John Nieuhoff.

The Next day the *Resident* of the King of *Travankoor* came to *Koulang*, who was receiv'd by us with all imaginable respect; he began among other things to renew his former Discourse about the Prince *Gondormo*, upon which it was agree'd to delay the last Conclusion of the Treaty till the coming of Mr. *Huftart* who was expected every day at *Koulang*.

The 2d of *March* with break of day, the Vice Roy of the King of *Travankoor*, call'd by them *Gorepe*, the chief Commander of the *Negros*, call'd *Matta de Pulo*, and my self set out for the Court of the Queen of *Koulang*, which was then kept at *Calliere*. We Arriv'd there about two a Clock in the Afternoon, and as soon as notice was given of our Arrival, we were sent to Court, where, after I had deliver'd the Presents, and laid the Money down for Pepper, I was Introduced into her Majesty's Presence. She had a Guard of above 700 Souldiers about her, all clad after the *Malabar* Fashion; The Queens Attirement being no more than a piece of Callicoe wrapt round her middle, the upper part of her body appearing for the most part Naked, with a piece of Callicoe Hanging carelessly round her Shoulders. Her Ears which were very long, her Neck and Arms were Adorn'd with precious Stones, Gold-Rings and Bracelets, and her Head cover'd with a piece of white Callicoe. She was past her middle Age, of a brown Complexion,

The Author goes to the Queen of Koulang.

1662. 1662.

Nieuhoff's Audience wth ye Queen of Koylang

plexion, with black Hair, ty'd in a Knot behind, but of a Majestick Mein, she being a Princess, who show'd a great deal of good Conduct in the Management of her Affairs. After I had paid the usual Compliments, I shew'd her the Proposition, I was to make to her in Writing; which she Order'd to be read twice, the better to understand the meaning of it, which being done, she ask'd me, whether this Treaty comprehended all the rest, and whether they were annull'd by it; unto which I having given her a sufficient Answer, she agreed to all our Propositions, which were accordingly Sign'd immediately. This done I Recommended Mr. *James Cher de Venne*, who was to succeed me at *Koulang*, to her Majesty, desiring her to acknowledge him as such, and to continue in a good Correspondency with our Company, by whom I was order'd to go to *Toutekorin*, which she promis'd to do. I then desir'd leave to depart, because I expected Mr. *Hustart* every hour at *Koulang*, which she readily Granted, and at the same time took a Golden Bracelet from her Arms, which she presented me as a token of her good Inclinations to the Company. She Order'd one of the *Residoors* to fasten it to my Arm, but it being too Streight, she caus'd it to be fitted for me; she having once before, *viz.* when I first gave her notice of Mr. *Hustart*'s coming, presented me with another Golden Bracelet, for which and all other honours, I had receiv'd from her Majesty, since my Residence at *Koulang*, I return'd my hearty thanks, desiring once more not to withdraw her favour from the Company. Thus I return'd to *Koulang*, about two a Clock in the Night, where I was let in through one of the Gates, the Admiral *Hustart* being the day before Arriv'd there with two Ships, the *Erasmus* and the *Niewenhoven* from *Batavia*. The next Morning I paid a Visit to the Admiral at his Lodgings, where I gave him an ample Account of my Negotiations, and other Matters relating to our Factory here, wherewith he was highly satisfi'd, and gave me some further Orders about certain Matters to be Transacted before my Departure.

About

1662.

The Vice-Roy of Travankoor comes to Koulang.

About the ſame time the Vice Roy of the King of *Travankoor* came back to the City of *Koulang*, to Compliment the Admiral, and to conſummate the Treaty. The Admiral ſent him afterwards ſeveral Preſents, and let him know, that if the King his Maſter did give any Aſſiſtance of Men or Arms to Prince *Gondormo* againſt *Cochin* and the Company, he muſt expect to be Treated as an Enemy; he return'd for Anſwer, That he was ſure his Maſter would not do it, but always maintain a good Correſpondency with the Company, upon which he was diſmiſs'd and left *Koulang* the ſame Night; As did the Admiral ſoon after, who ſet Sail for *Cranganor*, leaving the Commodore *Bitter* behind him, who with his Wife and Family was come aboard the Ship the *Niewenhoven* to load Pepper here; His Wife being very deſirous to ſee the Queen of *Koulang*, I caus'd her to be carried thither in my *Palankin*; the Queen receiv'd her very courteouſly, being extreamly well pleas'd with the ſight of a *Dutch* Woman; and many of the *Malabars* were ſo curious as to peep into the *Palankin* to ſee her; they being no leſs ſurpriz'd at the ſight of the *Europeans*, than we were at them. Commodore *Bitter* having by this time got his full Cargo, ſet Sail again for *Batavia*; as I did the 11th to the Court of *Gonree*, and ſo to the Prince *Baryett. Pule*, where I introduced Mr. *Cherde Venne*, who, as I told you before, was to manage the Affairs of the Company after my Departure; they receiv'd him very Civilly, and promis'd to maintain an everlaſting Correſpondence with our Company. At parting Prince *Baryette Pule* Preſented me with a Golden Bracelet curioully Wrought, and the Vice Roy with a Silken ſuit of Cloths, and ſo I return'd very well ſatisfied to *Koulang*, where I prepar'd for *Toutekorin*; for within four Days after, *viz.* The 12th of *March*, having firſt ſurrendred all my Accounts, and what alſo belong'd to the Company, and given the beſt inſtructions I could, to Mr. *James Cherde Venne*, taken my leave of the chiefeſt Officers belonging to the Company, I ſet out for *Toutekorin*, after a ſtay of two Years at *Koulang*; conſidering that my appointed time was near expiring, and I had ſettled our Traffick at *Koulang* upon a good Foot. I could have been very glad to have ſtay'd the remainder of my time here; for which purpoſe I ſent a Letter to *Colombo*, but the chief Director of *Toutekorin* being Order'd to *Perſia* upon ſome urgent Buſineſs, I was forc'd to ſupply his Place. And upon this occaſion I think it not amiſs to give the Reader an Account of what I have obſerv'd moſt remarkable during my ſtay on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, together with the Products, Beaſts and Inhabitants of this Country.

The Author takes his leave of the Court of Gonree & Prince Baryette Pule.

To Koulang.

1662.

The Coaſt of *Malabar* is properly called that Tract of Ground where the *Malabar* Tongue is us'd; beginning 50 Leagues to the South, below *Goa*, and extending to to the South to the Cape *Comorin* under 7½ degr. of Northern Latitude, about 80 Leagues along that Coaſt. On the Weſt ſide it borders upon the *Indian* Sea, and to the Eaſt it is ſurrounded by a ridge of high Mountains, which divide it from the Coaſt of *Coromandel*. It is commonly divided into five Kingdoms, *viz. Cananor*, *Calicut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Koulang*; unto which ſome add the Kingdom of *Porka*, *Tanakor* or *Tanor*, *Koulang* and *Travankoor*; not to mention here the petty Kingdoms of *Kota*, *Montingua*, *Badara*, *Chambaya*, *Marta*, *Materte*, and ſeveral others among the Mountains. It is ſituate almoſt in the midſt betwixt the Line and Tropick of Cancer; which makes the days here exceſſive Hot, notwithſtanding which, it is a pleaſant, extraordinary fertile and healthful Country. It is full of very fine Springs, Pools, Rivers and Channels, even as far as the Mountains, but moſt towards the Sea-ſide; in which it reſembles the Province of *Holland*, being ſcarce paſſable without Boats; tho' moſt of their Rivers are ſhallow, and conſequently unfit for Ships of burthen. Here grows great ſtore of the beſt Pepper, exceeding all the reſt in goodneſs; Formerly the Inhabitants us'd to exchange the Pepper with the foreign Merchants for Silver, Gold, Amſion and other Commodities; but, ſince the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company have made themſelves Maſters of the Kingdoms of *Cranganor*, *Cochin* and *Koulang*, and forc'd the *Portugueſes* from thence, they have by entering into ſeveral Leagues with the Neighbouring Princes, got the Monopoly of Pepper on that Coaſt into their Hands, and have ſo well provided the three before mention'd Places with ſtrong Fortifications and Garriſons, that they are look'd upon as impregnable. Beſides this, the Country of *Malabar* is full of *Cocoe-trees*, eſpecially in the Marſhes, where theſe Trees thrive better, than in any other place in the *Indies*, there being ſome Trees here of 95 and more Foot high. They drive a conſiderable Trade with the Oyl, and Bark of this Fruit, neither do they want Wood fit

Limits of the Coaſt of Malabar.

Its Diviſion.

Its Products.

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Its Air.

for the building of Houses and Ships. The Air is very pure here, and very cold in the Night time, during the three Months of *January*, *February* and *March*; and when the Nights are very foggy, which questionless occasions the Cold, the Days being excessive hot. The Winter begins here in *April*, or at the most in *May*, and ends in *September* or *October*; with Thunder, Lightnings and Storms: This Season produces the most Fruits, by reason of the warm Rains. Then begins the Summer Season, which continues till *April* or *May*, with intolerable Heat, and commonly without any Rains; which renders the sandy Grounds so hot, that they cannot pass over them with their bare Feet, but are forced to make use of a certain sort of Shooes, call'd by them *Siripous*. Every Morning about Nine or Ten a Clock, the Land wind blows from the *East*, and immediately after Sun-set the *West* Wind from the Sea; both which contribute much towards the cooling of the Air, as well here, as in all other adjacent Islands. What is most observable is that the Land Wind never reaches above ten Leagues in the Sea; an Observation which has never been known to miss. The Seasons here are quite of a different nature from ours, for whilst during the Summer Months every thing is dry'd up in the hot Climates of *Europe*, here the Fruits appear most florid and green, because this is the Winter Season in *Malabar*, where it rains continually for six Months, during which time you not as much as see the least glimpse of the Sun, but in the other Six Months it never rains. During the Months of *October*, *November* and *December*, they are much afflicted with dreadful Storms. There is another thing which is most surprizing here, that when it is Summer on the Coast of *Malabar*, it is Winter on the Coast of *Coromandel*. This is occasioned by the Mountains call'd *Gate*, which stop the passage of the Winds; For whilst on the *East* side of these Mountains, which extend all along the Coast of *Malabar*, they have great Heats and Droughts during their Summer Season, those on the *West* side have their Winter with violent Rains. Thus on the *South* side of the Cape *Comorin*, they have their Summer during *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *August* and *September*, whilst at the same time, those on the *North* side have their Winter; it being very stormy and rainy on one, and fair and calm on the other side at the same time.

Seasons of the year.

Houses.

Their ordinary Houses are of Bamboe Canes, cover'd with Leaves of Coco-Trees; some are plaistred with Carving, without any Cellars, Garrets or Windows. They never lock up their Houses, because their Houshold-stuff is not worth stealing, unless they be Persons of an eminent Rank; Their Doors are so low, that you cannot enter without stooping, tho' they have also some Houses cover'd with Lead, Copper and Tiles, and built otherwise and well fitted up, according to their Fashion; Their private Buildings don't approach in height to ours, they commonly have two or three Appartments, within one another; within the compass of the middlemost of these Apartments is a small Square, with some small Galleries round about it, which receive the water from the tops of the Houses. At the Entrance of all their Houses, whether rich or poor, are Court-yards surrounded with high Walls and Ditches, and one of strong Pallisado's. These Court-yards are for the Reception of Travellers, who eat, drink and sleep here, with more Conveniency than if they were lodged within, being ready at all times to proceed on their Journey when the rest of the Company goes. Their Royal Palaces and Pagods are commonly built of Stone, surrounded with a Mud Wall, on which are Mounted some great Cannon. Most of their Princely Palaces are erected in large Ponds or Lakes, some having a League and a half in Circumference. They have most excellent Carvings in Wood, with all sorts of Images in their Houses; their Ceiling is of a plain polish'd Wood; Among the Marshes are to be seen many Ruins of old Houses, which appear to have been built many Ages ago. Some tell us, that *Alexander* the Great coming into those parts, after he had order'd his Admiral to enter by the way of the River *Ganges* the Sea, and from thence by the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, had laid these Countries desolate; others ascribe this Devastation to *Tamerlan*.

The *Malabars* eat and drink sitting upon the Ground, after the *Mahometan* Fashion, almost like our Taylors. Their Cups, Dishes and Spoons are made of Coco-Nuts; People of Quality have them made of Metal; instead of Bread they use nothing but Rice; besides which, they feed upon Flesh, Fish, Spices, Fruits, Milk and Eggs; They drink abundance of water, as likewise the Juice of the *Coco-Trees*; some of which give 30 Quarts of this Liquor in 24 hours, but if they are drain'd too much, the Trees perish. They also distil a Spirit, call'd *Arak* out of this Liquor, but it is not near so good nor wholsome as our Brandy. When they drink, they don't touch their Lips with the Cup, but pour the Liquor from above into the Mouth; Some eat neither Flesh nor Fish, but live purely upon the products of the Ground.

How they eat and drink.

They use Amfion very greedily. They take the quantity or the bigness of a Pea, th

1662. this they either mix with *Arak*, or chaw it alone, sometimes till they fall asleep; they pretend that this makes them have very pleasant Dreams, of the *Elysian* Fields, and such like. When they are to Attack an Enemy, they take a good Quantity of it; which makes them fall on like enraged wild Beasts, and the Virtue of the Amfion being gone, they don't remember what has past, which shews that it is very obnoxious to the Memory. Some have accustomed themselves to use Amfion every day, some every two or three days; and before I knew the effects of it, I have been often surpriz'd, that they should be so forgetful in such Matters as I had treated with them of before. The Queen of *Koulang* asking me once among other things, what was the Reason the *Dutch* were more active and perseverant than the *Malabars*, who were generally fickle and unsetled; I laid the fault upon the use of the Amfion, telling her withal, that the *Malabars* should imitate the *Dutch*, and drink Wines, which used with Moderation, did actuate the Understanding, made the Spirits active, and often discovered the Truth.

The use of Amfion.

Among these several Sects of the *Malabars*, that of the *Brahmans* is most Reverenced, and maintains a peculiar Manner of living. They are generally very wise, ready, active, modest and charitable, and strict observers of their Promises. They betake themselves to divers Imployments, at pleasure; Some are Soldiers like the *Natives*, and wear the same Cloaths, except that they are distinguish'd from them by the Cord they wear round their middle, and abstain from Flesh. Others are Priests, whose Business it is to offer Sacrifices to their Idols, no other Sect being admitted to that Service. Some also encrease Trafick, and tho' they grow very rich, yet observe the same Rules of living. Some there are among them, who addict themselves to Natural Philosophy, and other Sciences, but especially to Astronomy, others to Physick and Pharmacy. They eat neither Flesh nor Fish, nor any other living Creature, and drink nothing but water; nor do they ever eat, before they have wash'd and bathed themselves; which done, they only cover their Privy Parts, and for the rest eat naked. They are forbidden to eat any thing, but what is prepared by one of their own Sect; which makes them commonly be their own Cooks; for they rather chuse to die, than eat any thing towcht by one of another Sect: whereas all the others are at liberty to eat, what is dresst by a *Brahman*. They never (no more than all the other *Malabars*) touch the Brim of the Cup when they drink, but pour it from above into the Mouth. They wear a white Turbant upon their Heads, red Shooes, and a Callicoe Coat, which reaches down to their Ankles. Over this they have another large white piece of Stuff, which they wrap three times round their Bodies, which they draw thro' betwixt their Thighs, and tie it together behind upon their Buttocks in a Knot. They wear about the middle a Girdle or Scarf of fine white Callicoe, as their Turbants are, and over the Shoulders a piece of colour'd Callicoe or Silk, as the *Europeans* do their Cloaks. They also have long Hair, with Pendants in their Ears. But that which distinguishes them from all the other *Malabars*, is a Cord of fine Cotton Thread, which they wear next to their Skin, and put about them first of all in their Temples with a great deal of Ceremony, and not without a considerable Charge; which is the Reason you cannot do a greater Injury to a *Brahman*, than to tear this Cord, which he is obliged to purchase again, if he will pass for a true *Brahman*; and if any of them is to undergo any Corporeal Punishment, his Cord must first be taken from him, which is likewise done, if any of them happen to transgress the Rules prescribed to their Sect. As they pass along the Streets in their white Callicoe Cloaths, they tell such as they meet, that they are *Brahmans*, because the Cord, by which they are chiefly distinguish'd is worn next to their Skin, and consequently not to be seen; when they are to take an Oath, they lay the Hand upon it. The *Brahman* Women have holes in their Noses, in which they hang Gold and Silver Rings, Pearls and Precious Stones, as well as about their Legs, and in their Ears, where they have Silver and Gold Plates set round with Precious Stones. The Wives of the *Negroes*, of the *Moncorn* and the other *Malabars* are not permitted to use these Ornaments. They also wear Bracelets from their Wrists up to their Elbows, some of Gold and Silver, others of Glass and Tortoise-shell curiously engraven and enamel'd. These Women are generally handsome and well featured, some of them being not inferiour in Complexion to the *Portugueses* or the brown *Dutch* Women. They marry very early, sometimes before they are quite 7 or 8 Years old; for the Boys and Girls are permitted to sport together till they come to be in good earnest; but they take great care, not to mix themselves with another Sect. The Men are allow'd to marry twice, tho' no more than one Woman at a time. Be they never so poor, they will be sure to keep their Rank, and to oblige such as meet them, to pass by with making a Bow in token of their Reverence. Those among the *Brahmans* who have listed themselves

The Brahmans.

1662.

themselves among the *Negroes*, are in the same degree with them, except that they observe more Austerity. The *Brahmans* are in great Esteem with their Kings, who keep some of the chiefest always near their Person, to advise with them in all matters of Moment. Those of the first Rank among the *Brahmans*, as well as other *Indian* Persons of Quality, have commonly a numerous Attendance; Some of whom carry their Umbrello's, others a Silver Bason full of *Bethel*; others one full of Water; some are carried in Palankins or Chairs.

Feast of the Brahmans.

The *Brahmans* have under pretence of a Religious Worship, introduced a Feast, which furnishes them with a certain Opportunity of being revenged of their Enemies. It is a Custom among the *Malabar* Kings, once every Year, *viz.* at the time of the New Moon in *October*, to remember the Blessings they suppose they have received from their Idols, by a solemn Sacrifice, which is perform'd by setting certain Houses on fire, such as are appointed by the *Brahmans*; This is commonly performed in the night time, without the least fore-warning given, so that sometimes not only the house, but also the Inhabitants, with all their Goods are burnt, no body daring to quench the Flame. This they call *The Sacrifice of Fire and Blood.*

[illegible] of Brahmans.

There live many of the *Banjans* of *Cambaya* in *Malabar*; These have also *Brahmans*, who are in great Esteem among them; the *Brahmans* of *Malabar* are allow'd to frequent their Temples. The *Banjans* themselves lead as austere a Life as their *Brahmans*, but they are of an inferiour Degree, nor can they intermarry with them. In the Kingdom of *Calicut*, is a certain sort of *Brahmans*, who despise all Images, and live in Chastity after the 20 or 25*th* Year of Age. They are so averse to the Female Sex, that as often as they stir abroad, some body cries out aloud before them, *Poo, Poo, i. e.* keep back, keep back, to let the Women know they must keep out of sight. These don't wear the Cord twisted of Cotton thread, neither do they abstain (like the other *Brahmans*) from Flesh, Fish or Wine; but to preserve their Chastity, eat daily a certain quantity of the Pulp of the Fruit *Karuza*; being taught by Experience, that the same has a quality of checking the Venereal Appetite. Neither do they bury their dead Bodies like the other *Brahmans*; Some strew themselves all over with Ashes, and are enclosed day and night in Iron Cages, which are so small, that they can scarce sit upright in them. Others burn or scald certain parts of their Bodies, whereby they suppose to gain the Affections of the common People. Thus far of the *Brahmans*.

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Dec. [illegible] of [illegible] habitants.

For the rest it is to be observed, that the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Malabar* may be divided into Foreigners and Natives; The Foreigners are properly those call'd commonly *Malabars*, being a Colony of *Arabians*, who have fixt their Habitations there many Ages ago near the Sea side chiefly. The Natives are Pagans, divided into *Brahmans* or *Bramenis*, *Bramos* or *Bramen*; into the *Nairos* or *Nayros*, and into the common People call'd *Moncorn* or *Pouleas*, and otherwise *Parvas*. They are also divided into five several degrees; The first are the Royal Families, among which, the House of *Gondormo* is one of the most Illustrious. The second is the Sect of the *Brahmans*, or of the Priests. The third is the Military Order or Nobles, call'd the *Nayros*. The fourth comprehends the Merchants, and the fifth the *Parvas* or Fishermen.

The Nayros.

The *Nayros*, as I told you, are descended of Noble Families, and brought up to the War. They appear with a Shield on their left Arm, which they carry aloft, and with a naked Sword in the Right Hand. They are very haughty, and at first pretended to dispute the Rank with the *Portugueses*, which occasion'd no small Disturbance, till the Difference was agreed to be decided by a single Combat betwixt a *Portuguese* and a *Nayros*, in which the last being worsted, the *Nayros* ever since were forced to give way to the *Portugueses*; but all the other *Malabars* must give place to the *Nayros*. They are generally well proportion'd, though of a brown or Olive Colour; They take a singular Pride in having long Ears, which they perform by Art; They bore holes thro' the Ears of both Boys and Girls, which they fill up with Palm-tree Leaves roll'd together; these Rolls they make bigger and bigger by degrees, till the holes are extended to the utmost reach the holes can bear, and hang down to their very Breasts; This is accounted one of their chiefest pieces of Gallantry, and they adorn them with Gold, Silver and Jewels. Tho' the *Nayros* are from their Infancy train'd up to Arms, and are very bold and brave, they are nevertheless very civil and meek in their Conversation, according to the Custom of that Country; notwithstanding which they are mightily addicted to Robbing upon the High Way, and will kill the Travellers unawares, unless they be well upon their Guard. This is the Reason, why the *Mahometan Malabars* dwelling in this Country, whenever they are travelling from one place to another, take one of these *Nayros* along with them, who is their Conductor for a certain piece

A Malabar Man and Wooman

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Their Marrings. One *Nayros* is not allow'd more than one Wife at a time, but the Women in this Point have got the Start of the Men, they being permitted to have three Husbands at once; except that a Woman of the Sect of the *Brahmans*, that is Married to a *Nayros* is not allow'd more than one. Each of these three Husbands contribute their Share towards the Maintainance of this Woman and her Children, without the least Contest or Jealousie. As often as any of them comes to visit her, he leaves his Arms at the Door, a sign that neither of the other two must come in, for fear of disturbing the first. From hence the poorer sort reap this Benefit, that they have the use of a Wife, yet contribute only the third part towards the Maintaining of the Family: tho' on the other hand, this carries along with it a great Inconveniency concerning the Inheritance of their Children, which they recompense in some measure, by making the Sisters Children the Heirs of their Unkles. The *Nayros* employ the common People in the Country and other Drudgeries, but in their Houses they make use of none but *Nayros* (or Gentlemen) tho' very poor, who are willing to serve them for their Bread. The vulgar sort are all clad after the same manner, being quite naked, except that they have a small Girdle round their Waste, on which they hang a piece of Callicoe, or perhaps of the Bark of a Tree, or a few Leaves, to cover their Privities. The Women wear a kind of Vestment of Callicoe, which reaches down to their Knees; and have very long Hair, whereas the Men are obliged to cut their Hair close, except one Truss which they keep on the Crown of their Head. All the *Malabars* have black Teeth, occasion'd by the continual chawing of the Leaves of *Bethel*. Black Teeth are in great Esteem among them, because those that don't chaw *Bethel*, are consider'd here as of a mean Extraction. The *Malabars* are said to be much addicted to Sorcery, who are able to kill People as they pass by, or at least throw them into a lingring Distemper. They are extreamly covetous, and will venture at any thing for a small gain. The Women are generally unchaste, the young Women about 17 or 18, being obliged by custom, to dispose of their Maidenheads, for no body cares to Marry a Maiden here, but such as have been best beloved, soonest meet with a Husband. The *Malabars* have great store of great Artillery, Muskets and Pikes; nay, their Arms were in more Esteem than those of the *Portuguese*, only they did not know the Art of hardning their Armour: They now make very good and strong Gun Barrels and Gun-powder. The Children of the *Nayro's* are from the seventh Year of their Age exercised in Arms, and train'd up to the Wars; but every one betakes himself to one peculiar kind of Arms; it being their Opinion, that they cannot excel in the use of all. They anoint the Limbs of their young Children every day with a certain Oil, to make their Joints more pliable; for when they are forced to fly, they put their greatest Confidence in the Agility of their Bodies, and will in an in-

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ſtant turn back upon their Enemies, and attack them in the Rear; beſides, that in their flight they throw their Javelins backward with great Dexterity, and as ſoon as they have thrown their Darts, they know how to ſhelter themſelves behind their Shields.

The Amokos.

Tho' the *Nayro's* in general are very good Soldiers, yet is there a certain kind among them call'd *Amokos*, who are Eſteem'd above all the reſt, being a Company of ſtout, bold and deſperate Bravadoes. They oblige themſelves by moſt direful Imprecations againſt themſelves and their Families, calling Heaven to witneſs, that they will revenge certain Injuries done to their Friends or Patrons, which they certainly purſue with ſo much Intrepidity, that they ſtop neither at Fire nor Sword, to take Vengeance of the Death of their Maſter, but like mad Men run upon the point of their Enemies Swords, which makes them be generally dreaded by all, and makes them to be in great Eſteem with their Kings, who are accounted the more potent the greater number they entertain of thoſe *Amokos*; tho' this their Fool-hardineſs is chiefly attributed to the exceſſive uſe of the Amſion. You ſee the Streets of all the Towns on the *Malabar* Coaſt full of *Nayro's* with their Arms always about them, tho' many of them dwell in the Country, and a good number are kept near the King's Perſon. Moſt Perſons of Quality here maintain ſome of thoſe they call *Janguy's*. If a Quarrel happens to ariſe betwixt a *Nayros* and another *Malabar*, the King allows the latter a guard of another *Nayros*, and as long as it ſtays with him, they dare not fight; the firſt Aggreſſor being guilty of High Treaſon; for Perſons of the chiefeſt Rank, if they will be admitted in the number of the *Nayros*, muſt have the King's peculiar Leave for it, and are afterward diſtinguiſh'd by a gold Ring they wear on the right Arm, or by a Buffler's Horn. The *Nayro's* frequently hunt the Tigers, ſome apply themſelves to Philoſophy, but eſpecially Aſtronomy, but never to Traffick or any Handicraft Trade. They eat all ſorts of Meat, except Cows Fleſh, and are very fond of Pork. They go above half naked, with bare Heads and Feet, having only a large piece of white *Calicoe* wrapt round their middle, which reaches down to their Knees, and is drawn thro' betwixt their Thighs, and tied together behind above their Buttocks. They wear alſo a red ſilken Scarf, with a Fringe of about half a foot long, being half Gold and half Silk. They let their Hair grow very long, without ever cutting it, by which they are diſtinguiſh'd from the common People; they have a way of tying it very neatly together in a Puff on the Crown of their Heads. Their Shield they carry on the left Arm, and the Sword in the right Hand; ſome have alſo a Javelin, Musket or Pike. The *Nayros* Women are clothed after the ſame manner as the Men, ſo that there is not the leaſt Diſtinction to be ſeen betwixt the Boys and the Girls, till the Breaſts begin to appear in the laſt. They are forbid to Marry any other Perſon but of the ſame Rank, and but one at a time; and in caſe a *Nayros* Woman ſhould Marry another, except a *Nayros*, ſhe inſtantly forfeits her Head; In the ſame manner, if a *Nayros* ſhould Marry a Woman of another Tribe but a *Nayros*, he is puniſh'd with Death. This they have provided againſt, becauſe they would not have their Blood mixt with Strangers or thoſe of an inferiour Rank, of which they are ſo cautious, that they will not as much as ſuffer any to approach them; for which Reaſon, when they walk abroad, they cry out aloud to the common People *Popoire*, keep back; for if any of theſe ſhould touch a *Nayros*, he would certainly ruin him.

The common People of Malabar.

The common People of *Malabar* call'd *Moncoi* or *Poulias*, or otherwiſe *Parvas* or *Parivas*, are a wretched ſort of Slaves; they are blacker and much uglier than the *Nayros*, neither muſt their Ears hang down above three Inches at moſt. They are again of different kinds, for thoſe inhabiting near the Sea ſhoar, are properly call'd *Moncoi*; theſe are all Fiſhermen, and all along the Coaſt of *Malabar* are employed at Sea in Rowing and otherwiſe for certain wages. Their Wives and Daughters perform all manner of Drudgery by Land; and expoſe themſelves for Money to the firſt Man, without the leaſt diſtinction of Quality or Religion, without the leaſt fear from their Husbands, who are well enough pleaſed at it. For it is to be known, that there are no common Strumpets here, but the Wives and Daughters of theſe *Moncoi*, and of the *Tivas*, who are Handicrafts men; for the reſt are obliged to contain themſelves within their own Tribes. The common People are often put to a great Nonplus when they happen to meet a *Nayros* at the corner of a Street, when they are fain to ſtand aſide till they are paſs'd by. There is another kind among the vulgar ſort, call'd by ſome *Tivas*, whoſe Employment is to draw the Liquor from the Coco-trees. The reſt are Handicraft and Husband-men. But theſe intermarry with one another, notwithſtanding there is ſome difference in their Rank, for the Husbandmen claim the firſt and the *Tivas* or Handicrafts men the ſecond degree, the *Moncoi* or Fiſhermen are the laſt.

Thoſe

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Thoſe call'd *Parivas* or *Parvas* live in Villages near the Sea ſide; ſome of theſe live near the Coaſt, and in the Iſle of *Makar*, where, as well as near *Tontekorin*, betwixt the Cape *Comorin* and the Iſle of *Ceylon*, they live upon Pearl fiſhing; They are a ſtubborn Generation, more addicted to Lazineſs than Labour; they live chiefly upon Pearl and Oiſter fiſhing, being the beſt Divers in the World, unto which they are accuſtom'd from their firſt Infancy. Whilſt the Men are abroad at Sea, the Women and Children are employed in gathering of Pearl Duſt near the Shour. They are a cowardly and deceitful ſort of People, Lying and Deceit being ſo cuſtomary among them, as not to be look'd upon as a Sin. They are great Admirers of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, it being a ſtrict Cuſtom among them, not to puniſh a Crime, if the Tranſgreſſor confeſſes it, and promiſes Amendment. The *Parva's* were formerly all *Pagans*, but being ſorely oppreſs'd by the *Mahometans*, they rebell'd againſt them, and with the Aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſes* ſhook off the Yoke; which proved the Opportunity of their Converſion to the *Romiſh* Religion.

How they came to embrace the Chriſtian Faith.

For, finding themſelves daily more and more oppreſs'd, by the Advice of one *John de Cruz* (a Native of *Malabar*) they ſent their Deputies to *Cochin*, to crave Aſſiſtance againſt the *Mahometans*, offering at the ſame time to be Baptized. The *Portugueſes* received theſe *Pantagitini* (being then their Magiſtrates) very courteouſly, promiſing them immediate Succours againſt their Enemies, which had ſo powerful an Influence upon theſe Deputies; that, to ſhew their Gratitude, they received Baptiſm immediately, and took upon them the Sirname of *De Cruz*; which name is retain'd by many of the *Parva's* to this day. After the *Parva's* had rid their hands of the *Moors*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſes*, and got the Pearl Fiſhery again into their hands, many thouſands of them, at divers times and places, embraced the Chriſtian Faith; and under the Vice-Royſhip of *Stephen Gamma* the *Portugueſe*, *viz.* about 1500, above 20000 *Parva's* received Baptiſm. But for want of good Miniſters, who underſtood the *Malabar* Tongue (few of the *Portugueſe* Clergy being willing to ſettle here) they ſoon return'd to their Pagan Superſtitions, having ſcarce any thing left among them but the name of Chriſtians, till *Francis Xaverius* (who arrived in the *Indies* 1542, and went by the name of the Great and Holy Father) being inform'd by *Michael Vas* of the miſerable Condition of the *Parva's*, reſolved to go thither from *Goa*, to re-eſtabliſh the decay'd State of Chriſtianity among the *Parva's*. Accordingly he ſet out from *Goa* (after a Stay of five Months there) in the beginning of *October*, 1543. in company of *Francis Manſilla*, who was come along with him out of *Portugal*, and two Novices of the College of *Goa*, who underſtood the *Malabar* Tongue. After his Arrival at the *Eaſt* End of that Coaſt, near the Cape *Comorin*, finding that his young Interpreters ſtood him but in little ſtead, he found out this Expedient; He call'd together ſuch of the Natives, as he knew to be well vers'd in the *Portugueſe* Tongue; among thoſe he choſe certain Perſons, who joining with thoſe two he had brought along with him from *Goa*, tranſlated the Chief Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, the Ten Commandments, with a ſhort Explication, a general Confeſſion of Faith, and ſome other ſuch like neceſſary Matters into the *Malabar* Tongue. Then he began to Preach to them according to the Capacity of his Auditors, explaining to them the Chief Duties of a Chriſtian, the Glory of Heaven, and the Puniſhment of Hell, with the Reaſon, why ſome deſerved Heaven, and the other Hell. He explain'd afterwards to them the Sign of the Croſs, and began to unfold to them the Myſtery of the Holy Trinity, of which they had been quite ignorant before, and made ſuch a Progreſs among them, that, whereas at his coming thither he found not above 2500 Demi-Chriſtians, at his going away he left near 40000 good Chriſtians behind him. *Xaverius* himſelf in his Letter dated the 12th of *Jan.* 1554, ſpeaks of the vaſt Increaſe of the Chriſtians in thoſe Parts, ſaying thus.

Are reconciled to the Church by Xaverius.

King, you may gueſs what a great number of theſe poor people were reduced back to the Flock of Chriſt from thence, that my Arms and Hands uſed to be tired with Baptizing, ſometimes whole Villages at a time. My Strength and Voice have often fail'd me, by Reaſon of the frequent Repetitions of the Articles of Faith.

Return to Paganiſm.

The *Romaniſts* tell us, that beſides theſe, *Xaverius* converted ten Towns betwixt *Bringen* and *Permanel* (and ſix or ſeven more near *Bengala* and *Remanankoris.*) This they ſay he perform'd by his Miracles, by healing the Sick, caſting out Demons, and raiſing the dead from their Graves. He raiſed a certain young Man, the Son of a poor Widow, who was choak'd in the Mud, from the dead. The ſame he did to another young Man, the Son of a Perſon of Quality, in the City of *Pariale*, and to a young Maid. Another Woman in Labour, being reduced to the laſt Gaſp, he deliver'd without the Leaſt Pain, as ſoon as ſhe had

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But whatever ſucceſs *Xaverius* had in Converting the *Paravas* and others to the Chriſtian Religion, certain it is, that he brought no more than one *Bralman* over to the *Romiſh* Faith, tho' he beſtow'd much time and pains in ſpeaking to them. And among the *Paravas* themſelves are many to this day, who adhere ſo deeply to their Pagan Superſtitions, that they make but little account of Chriſtianity. However, thoſe that have ever ſince perſever'd in the *Romiſh* Faith, are from time to time furniſh'd with, and inſtructed by the *Portugueſe* Prieſts; who ever ſince 1685, when we made our ſelves Maſters of *Toutekorin*, live about a League or two from the Town in the Country whither they carry their Children to be Baptized. They are very obſtinate in their Religion, which extends no further than the knowledge of the Chriſtian Faith; Our Father, the Ten Commandments and an *Ave Mary*; but they follow blind-fold the Directions of the *Portugueſe* Prieſts; carry *Pater Noſters* and a Roſary conſtantly about them, and uſe the Sign of the Croſs on their Foreheads and Breaſts, like as the *Roman* Catholicks do. The *Dutch* Miniſters of the Proteſtant Religion, have ſeveral times attempted to introduce the Reformation into the Churches of the *Paravas*, both before and ſince we were Maſters of *Toutekorin*, but all in vain; for tho' we caus'd the Word of God to be Preach'd in the *Portugueſe* Tongue, the *Paravas* durſt not venture to come to Church for fear of the *Roman* Prieſts living among them. Theſe *Paravas* declared to *Xaverius* and *Michael Joſſius*, in thoſe days, that whilſt they were yet involv'd in the darkneſs of Paganiſm, the Devil us'd to appear to them in moſt dreadful Shapes, ſo that they durſt not ſtir abroad at Night, or go a Fiſhing, unleſs in great Companies. He us'd to enter into the Bodies of the Living, and declared he would not leave them, till they had erected Temples for him. But ſince they had embraced the Chriſtian Religion, the Devil never had appear'd either in their Houſes or Veſſels, tho' they freely went abroad a Fiſhing without any Company. *Xaverius* having exhorted them to perſevere in their Religion, ſet out from thence to *Makaraca*, and the adjacent places, and ſo further to the Iſle of *Ceylon*.

All the *Mahometan Malabars* are either Merchants or Pirates, if any Foreigners come into the Harbours where theſe Pirates lie, they endeavour to engage them into their Service; which if they accept of, they maintain them and their Families throughout the whole Winter; When they are juſt a going to Engage an Enemy, they take ſome *Bethel*, by which they ſwear to ſtand by one another; If they take a Prize, they ranſack the Ship and all the Mariners and Paſſengers, before they come a ſhoar, The Captain and other Officers take the beſt part for themſelves, the reſt is divided among the Crew. Theſe poor Wretches endure incredible Fatigues and Miſeries at Sea, and tho' they have no Head that has any legal Authority over them, they ſeldom fall out or quarrel, a thing ſcarce to be believ'd among us. Several of the richer ſort of the *Malabars* Equip certain Veſſels, with a good number of Soldiers and Gally-Slaves, which always keep at Sea, except that now and then the Captain comes aſhoar to diſpoſe of the Booty; which the Merchants buy without any regard, whether they belong to Friends or Foes, provided they can have a good Bargain; the Mahometan *Malabars* knowing no other preference but Riches: The Merchants are diſtinguiſh'd only by their Habits; both theſe and the Corſairs being never to be ſeen without Arms; but the Merchants wear their Hair ſhort, and have a Bonnet of red Scarlet Cloth upon their Heads, ſometimes with a Handkerchief rowl'd about it like a Turbant, which they call *Mondu*, and are commonly embroider'd with Gold and colour'd Silk. They half ſhave their Beard, but without Whiskers, wear a Silk or Callicoe Veſt, reaching three Inches below the Middle, and under that a kind of Drawers hanging down to the Knees. They commonly carry a Silk or Callicoe Handkerchief flouriſh'd, in which they tye and hide their Purſes. The Corſairs never ſhave their heads, but wear their hair very long, like the women, which they like the reſt of the *Indians*, tye together in a Knot, and wear one of theſe flouriſh'd and embroider'd Handkerchiefs over it; For the reſt, they go quite naked, except that they wear a Silk Veſtment down to their Knees; both the Merchants and Corſairs have Knives with Silver Hafts, on which hang all ſorts of Toys, ſuch as Tooth-picks, and the like, all curiouſly wrought.

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The *Corſairs* ſhave their Beards, but leave Whiskers, which in time grow exceſſively, that ſo one may tye them together behind. Theſe, as well as all the other *Malabars* uſe no Shoos. Their Women are clad like the Men, neither do they wear any other Ornament upon their Heads, but their Hair; but have Pendants in their Ears,

1662. Ears, and Rings on their Fingers and Toes. They wear a slight Callicoe Coat, reaching only to the middle, and under it a Silk or Callicoe Vestment, from the middle down to their Knees; they walk bare-footed like the Men. All the *Malabars* are of a middle size, and very hairy upon the Breast, and other Parts of their Bodies. The Women are very well featured, but small of Stature. Their Men undergo incredible fatigues at Sea, and tho' they are *Mahometans*, they use the *Malabar* Tongue, and pay Allegiance, and Taxes to the several Kings of the *Nayros*, under whom they live, which is commonly near the Sea Shoar. Their Priests never meddle with any thing except Marriages, and what relates to their Temples. They are clad in White, after the *Arabian* manner; besides which, they have a certain kind of Religious Men call'd *Medallen*, or *Ministers of God*, who vow Poverty, and begg in the Country: You may see sometimes 30 or 40 of them together, tho' they Travel not above two or three at a time, and sometimes one alone.

Conversion of Malabar. The Country of *Malabar* was formerly under the subjection of one potent Prince, *Savama Perimal*, who, at the perswasion of some *Arabian* Merchants, that Traded thither, having embraced Mahometism, became so great a Zealot of that Religion, that he resolved to leave his Kingdom, and to undertake a Pilgrimage to *Mecha* and *Medina*, to visit *Mahomet*'s Tomb: And having no Children, divided, before his departure, the whole Country, betwixt his chief Favourites and Courtiers, to wit, The Country of *Cananor* to his Esquire; to his Sword-bearer, who was his darling Favourite, *Calicut*; to his Scepter-bearer *Cochin*, and to another *Koulang*, unto which he annexed the Title of Kingdoms, and gave several other Countries to others of his Friends. Upon his Sword-bearer, who had *Calicut* for his share, he bestowed the Title of *Zamory* or *Zamorin*, or Emperour, and to have a Prehemineney above the rest: For *Zamorin* signifies in the *Indian* Tongue as much as an Emperour, being otherwise expres'd by the Word *Tambarana*, i. e. *God*, which is the reason that all the other *Malabar* Countries follow the Religious Ceremonies of those of *Calicut*, as being the chiefest Kingdom of *Malabar*. From hence it is, That the *Zamorin* claims the prehemineence before all the other *Malabar* Kings; he having alone the Prerogative of Coining. The two next in rank, were the Kings of *Koulang* and *Cananor*; besides which, many other Petty Princes on the Coast of *Malabar* claim the Title of Kings, tho' they are not really so, nor enjoy the Prerogative of Coining. The *Zamorin*, or King of *Calicut* lost a considerable share of his Lustre, after the coming of the *Portuguese* into those Parts, with whose assistance the King of *Cochin* freed himself from all Subjection formerly due to the Kings of *Calicut*, and soon after arrived to that pitch of Greatness, that they thought themselves not in any wise inferiour to the *Zamorins*, and waged continual War against them. Nevertheless most of the petty *Malabar* Kings, and the *Nayros* are Vassals of the *Zamorin*, and never speak of him but with a great deal of Reverence, except the King of *Cochin*; and the King of *Koulang*, being the most remote of all, pays the *Zamorin* less respect than any of the rest: However, all the Kings of *Malabar* are Soveraigns in their own Dominions. The *Malabar* Kings never Marry, but maintain a Concubine of a Noble Family, who lives commonly in the same Palace; if they happen to disagree, another is taken in her place; tho' they are so modest, as seldom to change their Bed-fellows.

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The Sons born from these Concubines, are not reg...ted as Kings Children, neither do they succeed in their Territories or Estates, but are Heirs only to their Mothers, except what Money the Kings are pleased to bestow freely upon them, to make them live with the more Lustre among other Gentlemen: But the King's Sisters Sons inherit their Dominions. These Sisters don't Marry no more than the Kings, but are at liberty to choose a Galant, such a one as they like best. If they have three or four Sons, and two or three Daughters, the eldest Son succeeds the King his Uncle, and the other Brother after him. After their Decease, the Succession goes to the eldest Son of the King's second Sister, and to his Brothers afterwards. After their Decease, the Sons of the other Sisters are the next Heirs to the Crow; so that the Succession descends from the Brothers to their Sisters Sons. If it happens, That the King's Sisters bear no Sons, the chief Men of the Kingdom Elect a King, who is next of Kin, but for want of such a one, choose whom they please. When the King's Sisters are arrived to Age of Maturity, *viz.* to their 13 or 14 Years, they pitch upon one of the Nobility whom they like best; unto whom, after they have made him considerable Presents, they send Word, that he is chosen to get her Maiden-head, and to get her With-child. The Young Noble Man accosts her the first time with a great deal of respect and Ceremony, and after having tied a very fine Jewel about her Neck,

1662. he diverts himself in private for some days with her, and so returns home: If she prove with-child, it is well, if not, she commonly chooses some *Brahman* or other, to try his strength whether he can get her with-child. When a *Malabar* King dies, the Corps is burnt three days after. All his Subjects from the next Successor to the meanest Child, shave themselves from Head to Foot, leaving no Hair, except what is on the Eye-brows and Eye-lids. They are also obliged to abstain from the use of *Betel* for the space of 13 days, and if any one should be found to chaw *Bethel* during that time, they cut off his Lips. During these 13 Days, they dare not eat either Fish or Flesh, and the Fishermen are forbidden to Fish upon pain of Death. Considerable Alms are given to the Poor, out of the King's Coffers, and the *Brahmans* are provided with Victuals at the publick charge. After the expiration of these 13 days, every one is at liberty to eat what he pleases, except the new King, who is ty'd to the same Rules for a whole Year after; during which time, he must neither have the Hair of his Head or of the Body cut, nor pare his Nails: He is obliged to say certain Prayers every Morning, and must Eat but once a day. Some time before Dinner he bathes himself, which done, he must forbear to cast his Eyes upon any body, till after he has taken Food. Towards the latter end of this Mourning Year, his next Successor in the Kingdom, the other Princes of the Royal Blood, and other Persons of the chiefest Quality attend the new King, and pay their Homage to him, in the presence of many Thousands; at which time, the new King declares his next Successor, and the others each in his Degree; which done, he confirms the Lords there present in their respective Places and Offices. He that is declared the next Successor to any new King, is oblig'd from that time not to appear at Court, as long as the King lives; but those Princes, who are to Succeed him, may continue there. Before the above-mentioned 13 Days are expired, the new King has not the least Authority in the Kingdom, which they take for a general maxim here, to see whether any body else will lay claim to the Succession: But, after the expiration of this time, the Great Men of the Kingdom, and chief Officers of State, engage the new King by a Solemn Oath, to maintain the Laws made by his Predecessor, to pay his Debts, and to endeavour the recovery of the Territories, lost under the Reigns of his Predecessors. Whilst he takes the Oath, he lays his right Hand upon an Oyl Cask, in which are set up many Lighted Wicks, and with a drawn Sword, which he holds in his left, touches a Jewel set in Gold within the Cask. This done, they strew Rice upon his Head, with a great deal of Ceremony, and certain Forms of Prayers, turning their Faces to the Sun. In the same manner, all the Princes of the Blood, and other great Men Swear fealty to the new King. During the first 13 days after the King's Decease, the sole Administration of the Government is lodged in the Lord Chancellor, who has also the management of the Treasury, without whom, the King cannot take or dispose of the publick Money, unless it be in case of the greatest necessity. It is also the Chancellor who puts the King's Mandats in Execution. The first in rank next to the King, are those call'd by them *Kaimales*, then the *Brahmans*, who are in great esteem in those Courts, the King of *Calicut* himself being of that Sect, and wearing the twisted Cord. After the *Brahmans* come the *Navros*, or Military Order, the true Off-spring of their Ancient Nobility; then come the vulgar or common People, call'd *Moukos*, or *Poulias*, or *Parvas*: The King is the only Judge here, before whom, are brought all such as have committed any Crime, or refuse to pay their Debts: In his absence certain Great Men of the Court determine all Affairs of any moment; but if a difference arises betwixt two or more *Moukos* or any Strangers, he that thinks himself aggrieved, makes his complaint to the next *Navros* he meets, who is oblig'd to do him justice immediately, without receiving any Reward, unless the Plaintiff will voluntarily give him a Present: This holds in Matters of small consequence, for all Matters of moment are decided before the King in Person. Their ordinary Punishments are Imprisonments, or the loss of a Joynt of a Limb; if the Crime be Capital, the Malefactor is thrown to the Elephants. They have no other Prisons, but what are in the Royal Palaces. In case of any Difference betwixt two *Pagans*, when the truth is to be verified by a Solemn Oath, they put one hand into boiling Oil, or else lay hold of a piece of red hot Iron; sometimes they Swim cross a River, swarming with venomous Creatures; it being their Opinion, that if they have spoke the whole truth, they shall not receive any hurt; but the Trial with the hot Iron is most generally received. When the *Malabar* Kings, or their Governours intend to inflict a punishment upon the Inhabitants of a certain place, they surround it with Wooden Stakes like an Enclosure, out of which they must not stir, neither may they buy or sell, or have the least Communication with others, till the

Burials of the Malabar Kings.

A Malefactor may put to the Tryal.

1662. the ſame be removed again, under pain of Death. This is ſometimes done alſo before the Doors of private Perſons.

Of the Pagans. All the Pagans here, as well *Brahmans* as the *Nayros* and *Monkois* burn the Carcaſſes of their deceaſed Friends; tho' this was more univerſally practis'd before the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* introduced and ſettled the Chriſtian Religion here. They take peculiar Care to provide in their Life-time as much fine ſcented Wood and other precious Drugs, as they think requiſite for the burning of their Bodies to Aſhes, which is afterwards divided among their Relations and Friends, who preſerve them, and at their Feſtivals mix them with Water, and paint their Faces with them. When a *Brahman* happens to die, his Widow is obliged, as a Demonſtration of her Affection towards her deceas'd Husband, to burn her ſelf; this is commonly done under the noiſe of ſeveral muſical Inſtruments, to ſuppreſs the doleful Out-Cries of the dying Perſon, and in the preſence of their next Kindred. However they may excuſe themſelves as to this point, if they pleaſe, but then they are branded with Infamy, their Hair is cut off cloſe, which they muſt not let grow to any length again; they are excluded from the Society of other Women, nor are allow'd to Marry again. Notwithſtanding which, many chuſe rather to diſpenſe with theſe Diſadvantages, than to burn themſelves. The Wives of the *Nayros* are not obliged to this Cuſtom; tho' there are not wanting Inſtances, that they have thrown themſelves into the Flames, which conſum'd their Husbands Carcaſs; The Men are not engaged to mourn for their Wives, except that they are forbidden to Marry again.

The Marriages. The Marriages of the richer and better ſort, are celebrated here with a great deal of Solemnity; The firſt thing they do after Matters are agreed betwixt them, is, to repair to the *Pagode* or Temple, where the Prieſts perform certain Ceremonies; After this, the Friends and Relations of the new married Couple, both Men and Women, lead the Bride for 15 days conſecutively to the Bridegroom's Houſe, where they are Entertain'd at his Charge; Moſt of the Women ſinging and playing upon Flutes, ſmall Drums, and other muſical Inſtruments; The Bride and Bridegroom are placed together very richly attir'd, eſpecially with Jewels, to ſuch an Exceſs, that they have been computed to amount ſometimes to 200000 Crowns. The Room is hung with fine Silk Hangings interwoven with Gold, and among other things, a Plate with *Bethel* offer'd to every one there preſent; nay, even to thoſe that are Strangers; Towards the Evening, the Women reconduct the Bride to her Houſe. At the Expiration of the 15 days, the Bride and Bridegroom are Mounted on an Elephant richly accouter'd, ſo as to face one another; The Elephant is led by a *Nayros*, and ſurrounded by the Friends and Relations on foot; Thus they are Conducted thro' the whole City, and are ſure always to ſtop at the Doors of any of their neareſt Kinſfolks, Relations or Particular Friends, who preſent them with *Bethel*, Fruits and Sweet Meats, and anoint the Head of the Elephant with ſweet ſcented Waters; they are very careful not to miſs any of their Friends Houſes, for if any ſuch thing ſhould happen, they would look upon it as a ſignal Affront. When they come to the *Pagode*, they diſmount, and after they have tarried there for ſome time, return to the Bride's Houſe, where the Marriage is Conſummated, each of the Gueſts being obliged to preſent the *Nayros* that led the Elephant with a Coco Nut.

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They begin their New Year in *September*, but have no fixt Day, which they regulate according to the Deciſion of the Aſtrologers and Conjurers, who pretend to find out by their Art, the very hour which is likely to be the moſt fortunate for the beginning of the Year. All thoſe that are above 15 Years of Age, cover their Faces that Day, for fear of caſting their Eyes upon any thing; Thus they are led by Children to the Temple, where uncovering themſelves, they fix their Eyes upon what Object they find directly before them; If this happen to be an Idol (which their Temples are full of) they have a peculiar Veneration for it, they look upon it as a good Omen, that the next Year will prove proſperous to them.

Their writing. All over *Malabar* they uſe a peculiar Language call'd by them *Malkama*. Paper they have none, but inſtead of it write upon the Leaves of the wild Coco-trees, with an Iron Pencil or Pen; which contain not only their Religious Ceremonies, but likewiſe the whole Series of their moſt antient Hiſtories. Theſe Leaves they cut all in the ſame ſhape of the breadth of two Inches, and two hands length; of theſe they lay together as many as they think fit, and put a ſmall Stick thro' them on the top; which done, they faſten the Stick on both Ends to the Leaves with a Pack-thread, which they looſen as often as they have occaſion to peruſe them. Each of theſe Leaves is call'd *Ola* by the *Malabars*. They exceed all the *European* Writers in ſwiftneſs, which they perform with that Dexterity, as to turn their Faces frequently from the Leaves, and to entertain others with talking

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ing, whilſt they are writing. The *Malabar* Tongue is very difficult to be learn'd, by reaſon of its multitude of Words, one and the ſame thing being expreſs'd by different terms, nay, each day throughout the Year is diſtinguiſh'd by a peculiar Name. Several *Portugeſe* Jeſuits have attempted to give us an Inſight into the *Malabar* Tongue, and among the reſt, Father *Gaſpar Aguilar*. They have their peculiar Letters, which are very ancient, and reſembling the *Syriack* Characters.

Their Religious Worſhip.

The Inhabitants of *Malabar*, as we told you before, are either Natives or deſcended from Foreigners; the laſt of which being firſt come thither out of *Arabia* are Mahometans, as the Natives are Pagans. Some are of Opinion, that all the Kings of *Malabar* follow one and the ſame Religion, but that their Subjects are divided into 18 ſeveral Sects; But, as far as ever I could learn by the moſt exact Enquiry I was able to make, all the Natives of *Malabar*, as well *Bralmans* as *Nayros* and *Mucuas* perform their Religious Worſhip in the ſame manner; for they adore their Idols, viz. the Sun, as they riſe in the morning. In their Temples you ſee a golden Cow, or ſome other Image, unto which they pay their Devotions; which is the reaſon that neither the *Bralmans*, *Nayros* nor *Mucuas* will kill this Beaſt, but pay ſuch Reverence to it, that they paint the Walls of their Houſes with its Dung mixt with Water; Thus, when the King of *Calicut* is to Bathe himſelf, fifteen Maids with Cow-dung in their Silver Baſons plaiſter the Rooms with it, thro' which he is to paſs twice aday. Their Chief God they call *Parabramma*, with three Sons near him, in Remembrance of which the *Bralmans* wear a Cord twiſted of three threads on their bare Skin. They not only worſhip Man, but, as I told you, the Beaſts alſo, and erected Temples for them, exceeding in Magnificence thoſe of the ancient *Romans*. There is one Temple dedicated to the Ape, the Gallery of which is ſupported by 700 Marble Columns. Beſides the Cow they pay likewiſe a godly Veneration to the Elephant, it being their Opinion, that the Souls of Men tranſmigrate into thoſe Beaſts. They have many Books, which contain an Account of their Religious Ceremonies, much reſembling the ancient *Greek* and *Roman* Fables. The Prieſts and *Brahmans* keep theſe Books from the ſight of the vulgar, theſe being their Oracles, unto which they have Recourſe for their Prophecies, to blind theſe poor Wretches, as has been confeſs'd by ſome converted *Bralmans*. They make however much more Account of Religion, than the *Nayros*; for they daily provide (at the King's Charge) a conſiderable quantity of boil'd Rice in their Temples, which is diſtributed among the poor, or given to any body elſe, that will ask for it, this being not look'd upon as ignominious among them. They keep continually burning Lamps in their Temples, and their Prophets are almoſt cover'd with Bells, which when they Dance and make other awkard Poſtures, make a great noiſe; The *Mucuas* have their own Temples, which are naſtily kept; they don't frequent them above once a Month, viz. at the New Moon, becauſe they can ſpare no more time from their daily Labour; At the Entrance each of them is preſented with ſome Aſhes mixt with Water. The *Nayros* go commonly once a day to their Temples, where each mutters out a ſhort Prayer; Theſe Temples are diſpoſed throughout the whole Country, and are moſt frequented at certain days, when they repair thither with a great deal of Devotion; ſome for 20 or 30 Leagues, for they have their appointed Feaſts, but two or three before all the reſt. The chiefeſt is that of the New Years Day, when the *Nayros* come to pay their Reverence to the King, who receives them ſtanding at a Window, and throws a certain quantity of *Bethel* to each, and ſome Gold and Silver among them, as well as the reſt of his Subjects that appear there.

The *Malabar* Kings, *Bralmans* and *Nayros* pay likewiſe their Devotions to Serpents, which they conſider as Evil Spirits, made by God, to torment Mankind for their Sins. You meet here with certain Vagabonds, who carry Serpents in a Basket with ſome Bran for their Food, hanging on a Stick, carried on the Shoulders of two Fellows; ſome of theſe Serpents are ſix, ſeven or nine foot long, of a Graſs green Colour, and not above an Inch thick, ſome are very large and bulky, with grey Spots; ſo ſoon as theſe *Malabar Vagabonds* begin to play upon a certain Inſtrument like a Bagpipe, the Serpents ſet themſelves upright upon their Tails, twiſt themſelves in a moſt ſurprizing manner, and ſoon after raiſe their Fins or Briſtles, which are near the Head, and fall on with ſuch Fury, as if they would tear one another to pieces; to the no ſmall terrour of the Spectators.

The Malleans.

On the tops of the high rocky Mountains of *Malabar* (on the foot of which live the Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*) dwells a certain Nation call'd the *Malleans*, they have a pretty good Village about 13 or 14 Leagues from *Madura* call'd *Priata*. According to the Deſcription given us by *Plutarch* and *Curtius*, and the reſemblance of their names, theſe

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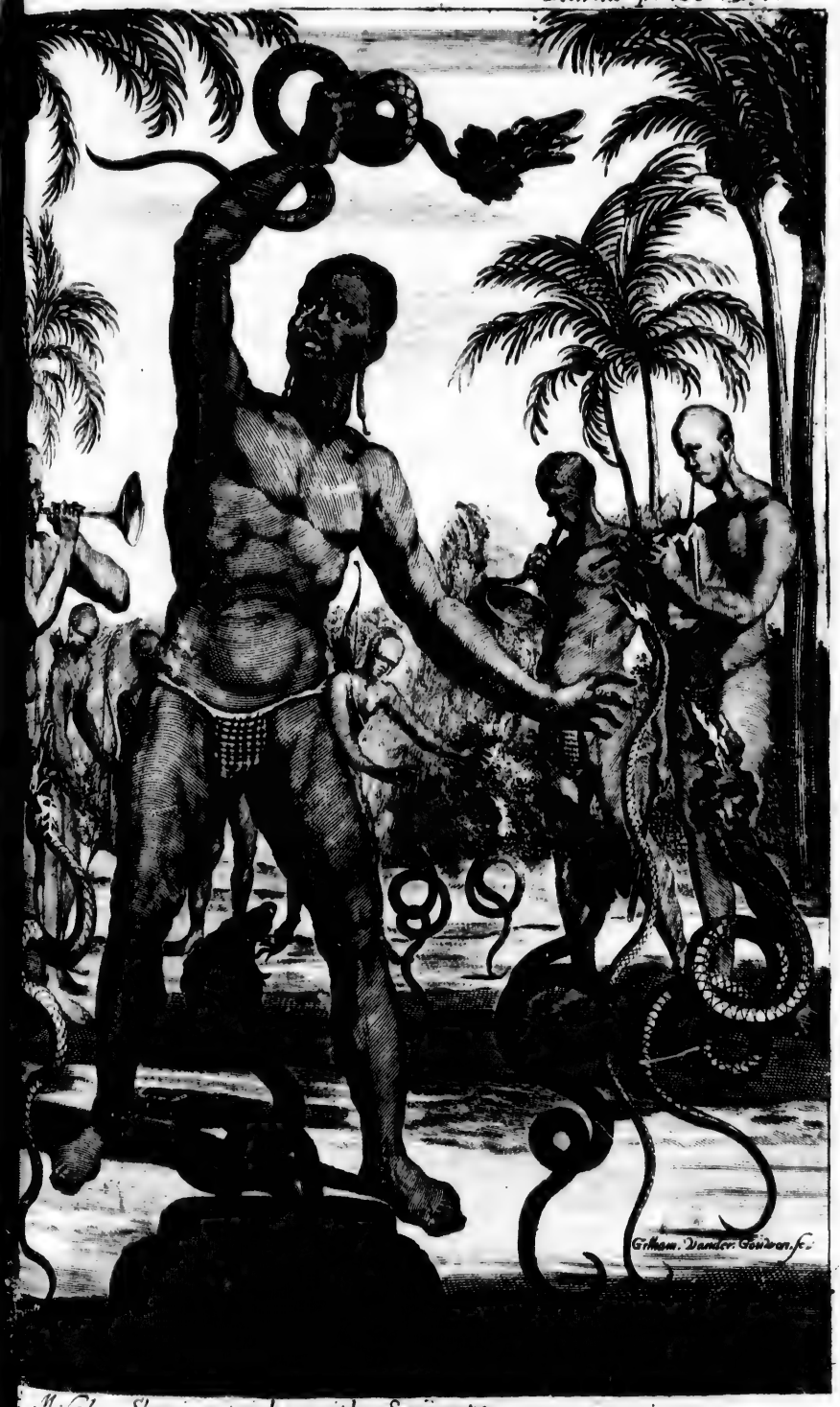

A Malabar Shewing Tricks with Serpents.

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theſe may not unlikely be the ſame mention'd by them as the moſt War-like Nation of all the *Indians*, *Alexander the Great* having receiv'd a morral Wound, as he was attacking one of their Cities. Now a-days they don't inhabit any Cities, Towns or Villages, but only certain Incloſures in the Valleys betwixt the Rocks; their Houſes are built of Canes, very low, and plaiſter'd up with Loom or Clay. Some of them live in the Woods, theſe make their Houſes of Wood, which they remove from Tree to Tree, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Elephants and Tygers. The firſt they catch in Holes, cover'd with the Branches of Trees, with ſome Earth on the Top; They alſo Cultivate the Ground, but in a very ſlender manner, tho' their Valleys would be very fruitful if they were duly manag'd They have but one Wife at a time, who goes abroad a hunting with them, or where-ever they go; whereas the Pagan *Malabars* Marry generally, ſeveral Women. They chiefly differ from the other *Malabars* in their Complexion, are juſt and honeſt, good natur'd, charitable, without Deceit; for the reſt, courageous, ingenious and cunning; they pretend to converſe with the Devils, only out of Curioſity to know the Event of things; the Cuſtom of the other *Malabars* and *Indians*, who hurt others by their ſorceries, being unknown to them. They pay a great deal of deference to the Sepulchres of their Anceſtors, and if they happen to be defiled, they look upon it to be an ill Omen. Upon their Feſtivals they wear a long Gown, with a Turbant, as the Mahometans do; but at other times they go half naked, like as the other *Malabars* do. They have holes in their Ears and Noſes, in which they hang Gold Rings and Jewels; a Cuſtom common alſo to the Pagan *Malabar* Women, who look upon this as their chief Ornament, eſpecially to wear ſuch things in one of their Noſtrils. At their Feaſts and Feſtivals the Maidens play upo[n] Reed-pipes and ſmall Flutes and Drums. Theft is a thing unknown among the *Malabars*, every one living in his houſe in a profound Security with open Doors; ſome times the Inhabitants of a whole Incloſure, transfer their Habitations to another. Part of the *Malabars* acknowledge the King of *Turkula*, part the King of *Pugnati Perimal* for their Superiours, unto whom they pay ſome Yearly Tribute, yet with the entire Preſervation of their Liberty, they being govern'd by their own Laws, under Captains or Judges of their Nation, call'd by them *Arley*, each of them has commonly 5000 or 6000 under his Diſtrict; beſides which, each Incloſure is govern'd by its own Judge call'd *Pandera*, unto them they pay ſtrict Obedience.

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Before 1599, when they began firſt to be inſtructed in the *Romiſh* Religion, by the Aſſiduity of the then Archbiſhop of *Goa*, they were all Pagans, but ſince that time, a good number of them have embraced Chriſtianity; Eight of their beſt Men, among whom were three *Pandara's*, with their whole Families, firſt received Baptiſm, who being follow'd by many others, a Church Dedicated to St. *Michael* was built in the Village of *Priata*. Before their Converſion, they had no Temples erected in honour of their Idols, neither did they Sacrifice with feaſting, dancing and ſuch like Ceremonies, but each Family had its domeſtick God, unto whom they paid their Devotions. They are much more eſteem'd among the *Malabars*, than their common People, neither are they look'd upon as unclean by them, no more than the Chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, if they happen to touch a *Nayres*; They keep ſcarce any Commerce with the neighbouring Nations, even not with the *Thomiſts* themſelves, who live at the foot of the ſame Mountains. Their Weapons are the ſame as the reſt of the *Malabars* uſe, *viz.* a Bow and Arrows pointed with a broad Iron. They uſe alſo Scimeters or Hangers, and a peculiar ſort of fire Arms, ſuch as are no where elſe to be ſeen among the *Malabars*. On the foot of the Mountain inhabited by the *Malabars* call'd *Karaikara*, bordering upon the Kingdom of *Karanarata*, ſtands a Church belonging to theſe *Thomiſts* or Chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, dedicated to St. *Auſtin*, becauſe the Inhabitants owe their Converſion to certain Fryers of that Order.

Malabar as I told you before, is a Country abounding in divers ſorts of Fruits, ſuch as the *Indies* commonly afford, of the choiceſt of which we will give you a ſhort Deſcription here. *Products of Malabar.*

All along the Sea-ſhoar of *Malabar*, and the Rivers near the Sea ſide, the *Indian Palm* or *Cocoe-tree*, grows in ſandy and brackiſh grounds; The *Malabars* call it *Tenga*, the *Brahmans Mado*, and in the *Malabar* Tongue it is call'd *Kalappa*. Its Trunk which is of an Aſh Colour, riſes ſometimes to the height of 95 feet; ſuch I have ſeveral times meaſured my ſelf near the City of *Koulang*; It has commonly 16 Inches Diameter, tho' ſometimes it is ſo thick, as ſcarce to be graſped by a Man; and is of the ſame thickneſs from the Bottom to the Top; the Wood is ſpongy, and the Pith as white as Paper. However the Trunk does not grow up ſtreight, but is jointed, without any Branches, but only on the Top, where *Cocoe-tree.*

1662. commonly ſprout forth 16 or 18, and in a very large Tree ſometimes 28, which bear green large Leaves like Reeds, being about a fingers length broad, and about two foot long. The Root of this Tree is very ſmall in proportion of its Bigneſs, and does not reach deep under ground, but creeps juſt under its Surface, ſo that it ſeems next to a Miracle, how theſe high Trees are able to withſtand the fury of the Winds. The Fruit, call'd commonly *Cocoe-Nuts*, after the *I* [illegible], who call them *Coquo* and *Cocoe*, grow at the Ends of the Branches, about 6, 8, or 10 in a Bunch; a Bunch weighing ſometimes from 60 to 100 pounds weight; Each ripe Nut exceeds the bigneſs of a luſty Man's Head, being of a triangular figure, and cover'd with a double Peel; The firſt is an Inch thick, conſiſting of many threads, extending length-wiſe round the Fruit; The outſide is of an aſh Colour, but inwardly inclining to Red; The next Peel is hard and brown, which contains the Peel. Before they are ripe, they are of a pale Yellow Colour, and afterwards turn dark Green, having at one end a buſh of ſmall Leaves, reſembling our Turnep Leaves. The Pith is white, inclining to yell[illegible] about an Inch thick, and to the ſec[illegible]el, the remaining hollowneſs being [illegible]ith Liquor, and containing according to the bigneſs of the unripe Nut, a pint of Liquor, which in the ripe ones diminiſhes by degrees, and encreaſes the Bulk of the Peel. This Liquor is good to drink, the Pith is ſweet, and of no ungrateful Taſte, only a little flat. The Bloſſom, which is not unlike that of the Cheſnuts, appears at the ends of the Branches, which produce the Fruit, which ripens in three Months time. The Pith dried may be kept, and tranſported like Cheſnuts; if it be pouder'd and mixt with Sugar and Cinnamon it taſtes very well, augments the Seed, and is a ſtrong Provocative. When the *Nayres* are to gather the Nuts, they climb with moſt wonderful Nimbleneſs to the Tops of theſe high Trees, where they cut off as many Bunches as are ripe, and let them fall down upon the ground. Beſides the Fruit, this Tree affords alſo a certain Liquor call'd by them *Sura*, and by the *Europeans* Palm-Wine; When they are to gather this Liquor, they only cut off one of its Branches, from whence iſſues the Liquor, which falls into a Veſſel of Bamboe, hung under it for that purpoſe; if they draw too much Liquor at a time, the Branches turn brown, and the Tree produces no more Nuts. Theſe Trees being planted in a ſtreight Line, the *Nayres* lay Sticks reaching from one to the other, by which means they get to the Branches, where they have faſtned the Veſſel that receives the Liquor. This Liquor, whilſt freſh, is very good to drink, and will inebriate like Wine, but if kept in the Sun, turns to Vinegar in an hours time. But tho' they take never ſo much care of it, what is gather'd about noon, will turn by night, taſte ſouriſh the next day, and turn quite to Vinegar the day after that. The Liquor which diſtils from the young Trees, is not ſo ſtrong and ſpirituous as that gather'd from the old ones, but the firſt afford a greater Quantity. After this Liquor has been kept 24 hours, they diſtil a Spirit of it, with the Addition of a ſmall quantity of the Oil of Clove; this is by the *Indians* call'd *Arack*, and by ſome *Tula* or *Mype*. Out of this Liquor they prepare Vinegar thus: They put the Veſſels in which the Liquor has been gather'd, in Lime 15 days, during which time, it ferments, caſting groſs Sediments to the Bottom; the clear is very good Vinegar. Out of the ſame Sugar they make a kind of Liquor call'd *Jagra*. They put a ſmall quantity of Lime in the Veſſel which contains the Liquor, as much as is ſufficient to make it turn red; For, if you put in too much Lime, the Liquor turns whiter and whiter, but if you put too little, it does not change its Colour. The Liquor thus mix'd with a ſufficient quantity of Lime, muſt be boil'd and ſtirr'd continually with a Spoon, till it comes to the Conſiſtency of red Sugar; where it is to be obſerved, that if there be not Lime enough added, it will produce no Sugar, but if too much, part of it will ſettle to the bottom, which muſt be taken out before you can boil it into a Sugar: If you intend to make white Sugar or *Jagra*, you muſt take care to pour the Liquor mix'd with the Lime out of one Pot into another (to ſeparate the ſuperfluous Lime) which you muſt repeat three times; as for inſtance, if your Liquor be gather'd in the Morning, you muſt pour it into another Veſſel by noon; and repeat the ſame a ſecond time about two a Clock, and a third time before night, and then boil it. What Liquor is gathered in the night time keeps longer than that gather'd in the day-time. Whilſt it is freſh, its Taſte is not much unlike our Whey, unto which the Inhabitants add ſome Raiſins, and make it taſte like *Spaniſh Wine*. The Trunk of the Cocoe Tree is uſed for Timber in the Buildings of Houſes and Ships, the Branches and Leaves to write upon and to cover Houſes with, as alſo by the Basket-maker. Out of the hard Shell of the Nuts (ſome of which are of a pale, others of a dark brown Colour) thin

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A Branch with Cocoa Nuts

A Cocoa Tree
wild Cinomon Tree
Tree
Cocoa Nuts

1662.

they make drinking Cups and other Veſſels, which they poliſh, and ſometimes are edg'd with Silver. The hairy Subſtance, call'd *Kayer*, is uſed by the Rope-makers. theſe Ropes don't rot eaſily: They alſo make Matches of them, which burn very fiercely. In the *Maldive* Iſlands (where theſe Trees are found in vaſt quantities) they ſometimes equip whole Veſſels out of the Cocoe Trees; The Body of the Veſſels being made of the Trunk of a Tree, without any Nails or other Iron-work; the Sail and Ropes of the hairy Subſtance, the Proviſions conſiſting of the Liquor and Kernels of the Cocoe Nuts, their drinking and other Veſſels being made of the Shell, and their Hammocks, Quilts and other Implements of the Leaves. In ſhort, this Tree furniſhes the *Indians* upon occaſion, with all that is neceſſary for their Subſiſtance; being very fruitful in marſhy and low grounds, but bears not ſo great a quantity of Fruit neither ſo big in the mountainous Countries. The Cocoe Tree is in its prime from the 25 to the 30 Year, and affords the moſt Fruit and Liquor; From the time it begins to bear, the ripe Fruits fall off, and others grow continually in their ſtead, but when it begins to grow old, the Fruit grows leſſer and leſſer. This Tree will continue till it is 100 Years old; when the ſmall Branches and Leaves begin to turn yellow, it is an infallible ſign of its decay. It is produced out of the Kernel of the Coco-Nut; Theſe the *Indians* put into the ground till they begin to ſprout, then they make as many holes as they intend to plant Trees, and of ſuch a depth, that the tops of the Leaves don't reach beyond the Surface of the ground; then they throw a handful or two of Sand (unleſs it be in ſandy ground) and half a handful of Salt in each hole, upon which they put the Kernel, which they cover with the ſame ground, they had taken out of the hole before, and every other day water them, till they are ſure the Nuts have taken Root. They plant them with the point downwards, out of the oppoſite part of which at firſt ſhoot forth two or three broad Leaves, after which comes the right Leaves, and ſoon after the ſmall Sprouts, which fall off as new ones ſucceed, till the Tree comes to its full growth. The young Tree commonly begins to bear in the fifth Year after its planting; great care is taken that the Horſe-Flies don't ſpoil the young Trees; This is a kind of Worm not unlike our Hornets, with two ſharp Horns, but not ſo big; This Worm gets to the Pith of the Tree, which he conſumes till the Tree dies, unleſs he be taken out in time, at which the *Malabars* are very dextrous, and then the Tree will recover. It has been obſerved, that this Tree in the third Year after its planting, has its Branches in their Perfection, and from that time the Branches begin to fall off. Thoſe Branches are at that time about five or ſix Yards long tho' the Stem, on which the growth is not above two foot high, and about a foot in Circumference. Every Month you ſee commonly a new Branch come forth, and then the old ones fall off, but in the Summer and dry Seaſons, they fall off more frequently than in rainy weather; theſe Branches come to their full growth in three Months. I cauſed above 4000 Cocoe-trees to be planted near *Koyland*, but moſt of them came to nothing, being not carefully look'd after by my Succeſſors. There are divers kinds of this Tree, which are diſtinguiſh'd by the Fruit, but eſpecially by the watery Subſtance found within the Shells of the Nuts.

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Malabar produces prodigious quantities of wild Cinamon Trees, but the Cinamon is neither in Smell nor in Goodneſs comparable to that which grows in the Iſle of *Ceylon*; This Iſland, and that of *Florin* being the only ones, where the true Cinamon grows. The *Portugueſes* call this *wild Cinamon Canella del Mato*, i. e. *Wood Cinamon*, the *Malabars Larva* or *Bahena*, as alſo *Kaunema*, i. e. *Sweet Wood*, from the word *Kau*, which in their Language ſignifies *Wood*, and *Nema*, i. e. *Sweet*, the *Malayans Kau Manis*, the *Zingaleſe* or Inhabitants of *Ceylon Kurudo* or *Kurundo*, and the *Arabians Qeurfaa* and *Querfe*, as alſo *Kerfak*. Before the *Dutch* got into the Poſſeſſion of *Ceylon*, they us'd to tranſport this Cinamon, but ſince that time they make no account of it. The Tree is of the bigneſs of our *Orange Tree*, leſs or more, but not large as the *Cinamon Trees* in *Ceylon*. It has abundance of Branches, Leaves not unlike the Laurel Leaves, but broader, of a paler Colour, with three diſtinct Veins. The Bloſſom is white, almoſt without any Scent; the Fruit not unlike the wild Olives, firſt Green, afterwards inclining to Red, and when ripe, black ſhining. It has alſo a Kernel not unlike the wild Olive, which is cover'd with a Pulp like the ſame, out of which iſſues a kind of green Oily Liquor, of the ſame Scent as the Laurels, biting and bitteriſh upon the Tongue. The Rind of this Tree, (or the Cinamon it ſelf) is thick, without any remarkable Taſte, the young ſmall Sprouts or Tacks are ſomewhat bitter, yet don't come near to the Cinamon in the Iſle of *Ceylon*.

Wild Cinamon-Trees.

Out of the Rind of the Root, they prepare a kind of Volatile Salt, which they call *Camphir*; ſwimming upon the Surface of the Water,

Oil of Cinamon and volatile Salt.

1662. Water, of a yellow Colour, clear, ſtrong, and well ſcented; ſharp upon the Tongue, and very penetrating, being ſo Volatile, that if expoſed to the Air, it evacuates immediately. This Camphir is exceeding white, excelling the common Camphir in its Scent; The Particles of this Camphir are inſenſibly mix'd with the Oil, whilſt yet warm, immediately after its Diſtillation; but as ſoon as the Oil begins to cool, they adhere to one another in divers ſhapes, and ſettle to the Bottom. This Camphir is very Volatile, and ſo fiery, that it takes fire in an inſtant, and leaves not the leaſt Impurity behind, after it is conſumed. The Oil approaches very near both in Smell and Taſte to the Camphir, and is ſo Volatile, that if ſome of it be dropp'd upon woollen Stuffs, even of the niceſt Colours, it evaporates immediately, without leaving the leaſt Spot behind. It is alſo very combuſtible, burning with a white and blue Flame; If put upon the fire, it evacuates in an inſtant, and turns into a white Smoak, which is very apt to take fire. This Oil mixt with Gunpowder, will ſet it on fire by degrees, yet not till a great part of the Oily Subſtance be evacuated. If mix'd with *Sulphur* or *Salt-Peter*, or with both, it will take fire immediately and conſume the *Sulphur* and *Salt Peter*, remaining without the leaſt Alteration. If you put the Oil upon the fire, and receive the Flame which evaporates from thence in a thick Cloth, a white kind of Salt will ſettle in it, which is the Camphir itſelf. This Oil will alſo in time ſeparate ſome of thoſe camphirous Particles, which falling to the Bottom, render the Oil more clear and pure. The Oil drawn out of the *Malabar* Cinamon, is clear, tranſparent, yellowiſh and well ſcented, ſwimming upon the Water; whereas out of the common *Cinamon* of *Ceylon*, beſides that Oil which riſes on the top of the water, another is alſo drawn, which ſinks to the Bottom. The Oil diſtill'd from the Leaves, is thin at firſt, turns yellowiſh by degrees, and tranſparent, and of a greeniſh Colour at laſt, being very ſweet, but ſharp at laſt, having ſomething of Cinamon, it ſinks to the bottom of the water.

Its Virtues. The Oil made out of the Rind of the Root, with its Volatile Salt (the Camphir) is endow'd with greater Virtues. It is a Soveraign Remedy againſt all Lameneſs, if applied outwardly, and gives immediate Eaſe in the Gout; it may alſo be taken inwardly with very good Succeſs; being a great Remedy againſt Malignant Fevers, a great Suderifick, expelling the Wind, procuring an Appetite in the Stomach, and conſuming the Stone both in the Kidneys and Bladder, and is good in the Cough, and many other Chronick Diſtempers; To be ſhort, it is the moſt Univerſal Remedy made uſe of there by the *Dutch* in their Hoſpitals. The Camphir is very proficuous in all Diſtempers in the Womb, promotes the monthly Terms, and is a great Sudorifick, being us'd in all reſpects like the common Camphir. The Oil diſtill'd out of the Bark of the Tree, is an excellent Remedy in all Diſtempers of the Stomach, and in the Cholick, proceeding from a cold Cauſe; The Water of Cinamon is Cordial; The Oil of the Leaves is good againſt the Cholick, if applied outwardly to the Belly, and helps Lameneſs. 1662.

Zua or Zerumbet. In the Woods of *Malabar* about *Kananor*, grows a certain Shrub in great plenty, call'd *Zua* by the *Malabars*, at *Surate Dekan*, and *Cachora* by the *Canarins*; by the *Arabians* and *Perſians Zerumbet*, and *Zeruba* by the *Turks*. If planted or ſow'd, it will grow alſo in many other places. By ſome it is reckoned a kind of Ginger, and not without Reaſon, its Leaves reſembling thoſe of the Ginger, only that they are ſomewhat larger; as is alſo the Root, which being cut in pieces and dry'd, is thus tranſported into Foreign Parts.

The Tree call'd Macre or Macer. On the Coaſt of *Malabar* in the Iſle of St. *Cruce*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Cochin*, near the River *Manatte*, grows a certain Tree call'd *Macre* by the *Brahman* Phyſicians, by the Chriſtians there *Makuyre*, and by the *Portugueſe Arbore de la Canarua* and *Arbore Sancto*, *i. e.* the *Tree of the Bloody Flux*, and *the holy Tree*. The Saints of this Country have this Saying of it; *Kuta Santea Macre Niſtuſa garul*: i. e. *Macre was diſcover'd to Mankind for their Benefit by the Angels*. *Galen*, *Diſcorides* and *Pliny* call it *Macer*, and *Avicenna Taliſfar*; This Tree ſpreads its Branches in a large compaſs, being bigger than our Elm-tree. Its Leaves are ſeven foot long, and two broad, the uppermoſt ſide of a pale, and the undermoſt of a dark green Colour. It is generally believ'd, that this Tree produces no Fruit, but only a kind of Seed, of the bigneſs of a Farthing, thin, yellowiſh, reſembling in taſte the Kernel of an Almond or Peach-Stone, cover'd with a white Skin. It is enclofed in a kind of a bladder compoſed of two different Peels. This Bladder comes forth in the middle of the Leaf, reſembling that which in *May* ſprouts forth on the Elm Trees, except that it is ſomewhat broader and flatter. The Leaf of this Bladder, is of the bigneſs of other Leaves, but not ſo much pointed at the end, and narrow towards the Stalk; of a deep yellow Colour, cover'd with a kind of curl'd down, from the Stalk to the end,

end. The Root of this Tree is not unlike that of the *Stone Palm Tree*, with large and thick Roots, ſpread at a great diſtance; The Rind of thoſe Roots is thick, rough, of an Aſh colour without, but white within; containing a Juice like Milk, whilſt freſh, but turns yellow; when dry it is very aſtringent. This Tree delights in few but ſandy grounds, and kills all other Trees or Shrubs near it. The Rind of the Root of this Tree is in vaſt Eſteem among the *Malabars* as well as among the *Chineſes*, *Javaneſes*, *Malabars* and all *Bengale*; being look'd upon and made uſe of in their Hoſpitals, as the moſt Soveraign Remedy in the World; againſt Looſeneſs, and all manner of Bloody Fluxes. The *Indian* Phyſicians, as well *Brahmans*, *Canarins*, as *Malabars*, cure with this Rind whilſt freſh, pounder'd and mix'd with Butter-milk, the Bloody Flux; ſome infuſe half an Ounce of the Rind dry'd and pounder'd in a quartern of Whey for 12 hours, which they give the Patient twice a day, *viz.* in the Morning and Evening, immediately after they give the Patient Rice to eat, boil'd without Salt or Butter, and after that a Chicken boil'd in the Decoction of Rice Flour. If the Diſtemper be very urgent, they add ſome *Opium* for the ſtrengthning of the Stomach, and to ſtop Vomiting, they mix a little Maſtich with this Rind, give it in Mint Water. They tell you that a ſmall quantity of this Rind, excels much in Virtue a conſiderable number of the *Myrobolan* Rinds, or of *Areka*; nay, they prefer it before the *Koru* of *Malabar* it ſelf. The Fruit, or rather Seed, expels all ſorts of Worms, and diſſolves the Stone in the Kidneys, being look'd upon likewiſe as a great Preſervative both againſt the Stone and Cholick; Beſides the Tree *Macer*, other Trees grow here very different in kind, but agree in Virtue with the *Macer Tree*.

The Tree Kurodapala.

The firſt of theſe two is by the *Malabars* call'd *Kurodapala* or *Kuro*, and *Koru* by the *Canarins*, by the *Brahmans Kura*, and by the *Portugueſes* the *Malabar* Shrub, its Uſe having been firſt ſhewn them by the *Malabars*. This Tree or Shrub is not unlike a ſmall Orange Tree, eſpecially as to its Leaves; except that the Vein in the middle of the Leaf, out of which come 8 or 9 on both ſides is ſomewhat thicker. The Bloſſom is yellow, and without the leaſt Scent. *Garcias* ſays this Tree is ſomewhat leſs than a common Crab-tree, its Leaves like a Peach-tree, with a white Bloſſom. It has a pale, green and ſmooth Bark; out of which, if cut with a Knife, iſſues a Milk-like Juice, more viſcous than that which comes forth out of the *Macer Tree*, bitteriſh of taſte; the *Malabar* Phyſicians aſſign it a cooling quality. This Tree affords an infallible Remedy againſt all kinds of Bloody Fluxes; provided the groſs ill Humours have been purged away before, without which the Patient will ſoon have a relapſe. The *Malabars* (according to *Garcias*) prepare a compounded Water out of the Root unto which they attribute great Virtues againſt the Bloody Flux; they take 8 Ounces of this Root well beaten to Pouder, and infuſed in Whey and the Liquor of boil'd Rice, unto this they add the Seeds of Purſley, black Cummin and Coriander each an Ounce and a half; of the Myrobalan Rind 7 Drachms, and freſh Butter 2 Ounces; This they diſtil, and mix a quartern of this diſtill'd Water with half a quartern of *Arak*, and give it the Patient. They apply this Water alſo in form of a Clyſter in the night time, by reaſon of the exceſſive Heat of the days in thoſe Parts. Inwardly they commonly give it twice a day, *viz.* in the Morning about ſix a Clock, and in the Afternoon about two. Their Diet is Rice mix'd with Fat; and Chickens boil'd in the Decoction of Rice, which they call *Kaaje* in their Language, but the uſe of Wine is abſolutely forbidden, unleſs it be in an inveterate bloody Flux, to keep up the Spirits. Some give only the Juice of the Shrub, whilſt green, of which they give a quartern and a half in the Morning, and as much in the Evening; and to take away the bitteriſh taſte, allow the Patient to drink a little Whey after it. In caſe of neceſſity they mix ſome *Opium* with it. It is alſo a good Remedy to ſtrengthen the Stomach, and to ſtop Vomiting, if taken in Mint Water, or mix'd with ſome Maſtich pouder'd. The Root taken inwardly with the Decoction of Rice, or applied outwardly is very good againſt the Piles. The Decoction of the Leaves, and thoſe of Tamarinds, make an excellent Fomentation for ſwell'd Legs, held over the hot Steam, and a Cloth dipp'd in the ſame Decoction is with good Succeſs applied in the Looſeneſs and Dropſie.

Pavate or Vaſa Veli.

The third ſort of thoſe Vegetables which are us'd here againſt the bloody Flux, is call'd by the *Malabars Pavate*, and *Vaſa Veli* by the *Brahmans*, and *Canarins*, and *Arbor contra lus eriſipolas*, i. e. *The Tree againſt the St. Anthony's Fire.* It is a Shrub not above 8 or 9 foot high, with a few Branches and Leaves, reſembling the ſmall Leaves of Orange-trees before they come to their full growth, green on both ſides; The Bloſſom is white and ſmall, the Seed round, in bigneſs like to that of the Maſtich-tree; dark green at firſt, which turns black as it ripens. The Stem and Tacks are of an

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Ash-Colour, the Root without either Scent or Taste, except that it is somewhat bitterish.

Jambos o Jambeiro.

Among the Fruit Trees of *Malabar*, that which the Inhabitants call *Jambos*, and the *Portuguesses Jambeiro*, must not be pass'd by in Silence. The *Malabars* and *Canarins* call the Fruit *Jambali*, the *Arabians Tufa Indi*, the *Turks Alma*, and the *Persians Tufat*. It is the common Opinion, that this was first of all for the Pleasantness of its Blossom, and Excellency of its Fruit, transplanted from *Malacca* (where it is found in great plenty) into all the other parts of the *Indies*. There are two kinds, resembling one another in most respects, except in their Fruit, which is somewhat different. Both are not unlike, as well in shape as bigness to our *European* Apple Trees, and will grow without much Cultivating in any ground, and bear Fruit within 5 Years; they take Root very deep, a thing seldom observ'd among the *Indian Trees*. These Trees are of a pleasant Aspect, spreading their Branches to the height of a good Plumb-tree, The Bark, as well of the Tree as of the Branches, is of an Ash Colour and smooth; the Wood brittle; the Leaves also resemble those of the Plumb-tree, but are somewhat more pointed at the end, being a Palm in length, and not unlike the Iron point of a long Pike or Launce; the upper side is dark, and the undermost pale green, with a straight Vein in the middle, which sends out divers others on both sides. The Blossoms are both for Scent and Colour like our Roses, but inclining more to a Purple Colour; The first is of the bigness of a large Pear, or of a Goose Egg, or rather bigger; They are of two sorts, one of which is a dark red inclining to black, generally without Stones, excelling the other in taste; the other is pale red, has a longish white Stone, of the bigness of a Peach Stone, cover'd with a white rough Skin; This tho' inferiour to the former, yet is of a most pleasing taste. Sometimes the first is absolutely red, and these are of a purple Colour, and smells like a Rose; The Fruit is cover'd with so thin a Peel, that no Knife can separate it from the Pulp, which is accounted cold and moist; and so are the Blossoms, notwithstanding which, they are very well scented; and for that reason in high Esteem among the Inhabitants. The Fruit is commonly eaten before Dinner, or at the beginning of a Meal; neither are they useless in Physick, both the Fruit and Flowers preserved, being prescribed in violent burning Fevers, having besides their cooling quality, a certain Virtue of comforting the Spirits. This Tree may well be accounted among the number of these, which by the Excellency of their Fruit, and the agreeableness of their Flowers, surprises the Beholders; for, whilst you see one side of the Tree bare of Leaves and Blossom, the other is stor'd with Fruit, which last till the other side begins to renew its Leaves; so that in one and the same Tree, you see a continual Spring and Autumn at once. Thus you never can cast your Eye upon this Tree, but you meet there either with Blossom or Fruit; and as the Blossom drops underneath on the ground (which is frequently cover'd with those purple colour'd Flowers) others come forth in their stead; and whilst some of the Fruit are ripening, others are to be gathered. The best way to gather their Fruit, is, to shake the Tree, then they fall with ease, but if you endeavour to pull them off, the Tacks are apt to break.

Karkapuli.

The Fruit *Karkapuli* call'd *Kerkapoli* by the *Canarins*, is in shape and bigness like an Orange; they are green at first, afterwards turn yellow, and when ripe, white, of sweet taste, but a little tartish. In the Center of the Pulp lies the Seeds, flat and long, of the bigness of a Joint of a Finger, and are of a dark brown Colour.

Koddam Pulli.

The Tree which bears this Fruit is very tall, call'd *Koddam Pulli* by the *Malabars*, sometimes *Otta Pulli*, and by the *Brahmans Danubos*, by the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Ceylon Chorokas*; The Fruit is eaten, and used in Physick among the *Indians*, being accounted an excellent Remedy against Looseness, especially if occasioned by too much *Venery*. Besides which, the Fruit before it is quite ripe, or the Juice of it mix'd with Butter-milk, or the Fruit dry'd and pouder'd mix'd with Butter-milk and boil'd Rice, is excellent good to acuate the Appetite of the Stomach. This Juice also, as well as the dry Fruit pouder'd, is accounted a good Remedy against the Dimness, Cataracts, and other Infirmities of the Eyes; they apply the Juice mix'd with some other Herbs to the Nail of the great Toe, on that side, where the defect of the Eye is. The Midwives give it to Women lately brought to Bed, to expel the After-birth, and produce plenty of Milk for Suck. This Fruit, when dry'd, is transported to Foreign Countries. There is another kind of this Tree, bearing a round Fruit and sweet, of the bigness of a Cherry, call'd *Karkapuli* by Mr. *Dinshoten*; This Tree is call'd *Karue Choraka* by those of *Ceylon*, i. e. *sweet Choraka*; Out of the Bark of both of these Trees, if slit with a Knife, issues a Gumm, call'd *Gutta*, but that which comes from the *Kanka Choraka* is the best.

The use Aloes Leaves among the Malabars.

The use of Aloes Leaves is very frequent among the *Malabars*, a Purge they boldly give

give not only to Children, but also to Women with Child. They take of the Aloes Leaves 3 Ounces cut very small, these they boil with two Drachms of black Salt, over a gentle fire, and after they have strain'd it, add to it an Ounce of Sugar, and so let it stand the whole night in the Air. The next Morning about six a Clock they give the Patient this Decoction cold, ordering him to abstain from sleep, and to walk about to promote its Operation; Three hours after he hath taken it, they give him a little Chicken Broth, with a few Grains of Mastich in it, and an hour after that allow him to eat, and to take a little Wine of the smallest sort. They either increase or diminish the Dose of the Decoction, according to the Constitution of the Patient.

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There grows in *Malabar* a certain Fruit of the bigness of a Hazle Nut, but is not quite so round and white; It grows on the Tacks of a certain Shrub, which they sow; It has no peculiar use in Physick, tho' *Serapio* ascribes to it a Virtue of augmenting the Seed, and promoting the Birth in Women; the same the *Malabars* do to this day, who call the Fruit *Cheviguc lenga*, and in some places *Kunkus*, and those of *Cambaiak Karpata*. If *Garcias* may be credited, this is the same Fruit described by *Serapio* by the broken name of *Habel-culcul*, whereas it should have been *Hab-alcul*, which signifies as much as the *Seed of Culcul*.

Cheviguc Lenga.

The Tree call'd *Kumbulu* by the *Malabars*, and *Bon-Varo* by the *Brahmans*, grows very tall, with a Trunk of that Thickness, that a Man can scarce grasp it. The Leaves are a Span, and two or three Inches long, and two Palms broad, woolly at the end of the Stalks which are round, long and thick; at the Extremities of the Tacks, which sprout forth out of the Branches grow certain yellow Flowers in Clutters on short Stalks, consisting of five round and thick Leaves. After these comes a Fruit that's like a Pear, full of Juice, the Pulp being of a yellowish Colour, and a sweetish taste, but the Juice when press'd out is deep yellow. They are green at first, next of a pale yellow, and turn reddish at last; In the Center of the Fruit is a white, smooth Stone, shap'd like a Pear, with a small Kernel in it. The Decoction of the Root mix'd with a little Rice, is a good Remedy against the Ague, which often follows the Gout or Rheumatism. Taken in Butter-milk, or mix'd with the Oil of *Sirchelem*, it expels the Wind, and eases the Pain; and the Juice of the Leaves taken with Butter-milk, is good against the Colick.

The Tree Gonsthi.

The Tree call'd *Ganschi* by the *Malabars*, and *Schivanni* by the *Brahmans*, grows in sandy Grounds a great height and thickness, so that a Man can scarce grasp the Trunk, which as well as the Branches has a Bark of an Ash colour without, but green within. The Leaves hang on long, round and green Stalks, being above a Span in length, and two Palms broad, of an oblong Figure. The Blossoms fastned to Stalks which are pale green, sweet, round and thin, each Flower consisting of no more than three, and seldom of four Leaves. After these comes the Fruit, which is of a triangular Figure, flattish, and of a green Colour, hanging on long and green Stalks, the Seed being triangular, and the Pulp very substantial; The Decoction of the Root is used against the Gout, and apply'd to the affected part.

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The Tree Palega-Pajaneli.

Of the Tree *Palega* there are two kinds; one is call'd *Palega-Pajaneli* by the *Malabars*, and the other barely *Pajanel*. The *Palega-Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the *Brahmans*, is very tall, with a Trunk enough for a Man to grasp, having an ash-coloured Bark, as well as the Branches, which grow streight upright of a considerable thickness. The Leaves hang on Stalks which shoot forth both out of the Stem and Branches of the Tree. On the extremities of the Branches grow certain clusters of Flowers, shap'd like Bells, consisting of six thick Leaves; whitish or pale yellow within, and streak'd with red on the out side, the Scent of which is offensive to the Nostrils. The Fruit, which follows the Flowers, is about three Spans long, of the breadth of a hand, and an Inch thick, with a dark green Peel. The Pulp, juicy and tender at first, but grows hard at last; the Seed is very flat. The Bark of the Tree pouder'd and mix'd with Wine, applied to a Wound, or broken Bones, heals them. The Decoction of the Root, is good against the Dropsie; and the Leaves, whilst yet very young, mix'd with *Malabar*-Saffron, cures all sorts of Ulcers, if apply'd to them outwardly.

The second kind of the *Pajaneli*, called *Davandiku* by the *Brahmans*, is likewise a very tall Tree, whose Branches shoot forth upright to a great heighth; it delights in sandy Grounds: The Root spreads at a great distance, having a thick ash-coloured Rind. The Trunk is of that thickness, that a Man can scarce grasp it, of a brittle Wood, with a dark ash-coloured Bark. The Flowers are, like the former, shap'd like Bells, but have no more than 5 Leaves. The Fruit is the same: Of the Juice of the Leaves, and that of the Fruit *Karcka*, or *Mirobalans*, mixt together, the *Malabars* make a black Dye, to Dye their Mourning Cloaths.

Cloaths with. The Decoction of the Rind of the Root, diſpels hard Tumours if they be Fomented with it.

Of the Tree *Pala*, called *Santaru* by the *Brahmans*, there are four kinds; 1. *Pala*; 2. *Kurutu Pala*; 3. *Kadaga Pala*; 4. *Kaikotten Pala*: The firſt kind, called only *Pala* is a high Tree growing in ſandy places, and ſpreading its Branches into a great circumference: The Root, which has a dark yellow Rind, reaches very deep into the Ground, and contains a milky Juice: The Trunk is two or three fathoms thick, the Bark of an aſh-colour, as is likewiſe the Bark of the Branches. The Leaves grow four or five together on Stalks of an oblong Figure, and towards the Stalks full of a milky ſubſtance; The Flowers grow in cluſters, having five whitiſh Leaves of a ſtrong Scent, but offenſive to the Brains. The Fruit which comes immediately after the Bloſſom, do likewiſe hang in cluſters on ſmall Tacks, being green Husks of about two Spans length, but ſmall and flat, full of a milky Juice or Subſtance, as is the Tree it ſelf, which produces Fruit but once a year, *viz.* in *January*.

The ſecond kind of *Pala*, is by the *Malabars* called *Kurutu Pala*, by the *Brahmans*, *Kudo*; being a Tree from ſix to twelve foot high, the Trunk about the thickneſs of a foot, with an aſh-coloured Bark, as well as the Branches. The Leaves come forth out of the Branches, with their Stalks, being of an Oblong figure, and pointed at the end. The Flowers grow on the extremities of the ſmall Tacks, are white, and bigger than thoſe of the firſt kind, and have five long Leaves. The Fruit grows likewiſe in cluſters, being of an Oblong figure, dark green at firſt, and as they ripen turn yellow. The Husk contains five, ſix, or ſeven Seeds. The Tree bears Fruit all the year round, but moſt in the rainy Seaſon. The Bark of the Tree beaten to Powder and taken in warm Water, is good againſt the Looſe-Piles, but if taken in Milk, ſtops the Bloody-Flux.

The third kind of *Pala*, called *Kadaga-Pala* by the *Malabars*, and *Alego-Kugo* by the *Brahmans*, is no higher than the *Kurutu-Pala*, and delights in ſandy Grounds: The Root does not go ſo deep underground as that of the *Pala*, the Bark is of a dark brown colour. The Trunk is of a foot circumference, like the ſecond kind, but the Leaves and Bloſſom being alſo like the ſame. It bears long Husks, like the *Pala*, but are ſomewhat thicker, of a green colour, a Span long and full of a milky Liquor. The Bark of the Trunk beaten to Powder, and taken in Butter-Milk, ſtops the Looſeneſs; and the Rind of the Root, taken in the ſame manner, cures the Bloody-Flux. The Decoction of the Seeds is given in Burning-Fevers, and kills the Worms. The fourth kind, called *Kaikotten-Kala*, is very near the ſame with the third. Kaikotten-Kala, is Ka...

There are two kinds of the Tree called *Para* by the *Malabars*; the firſt they call *Tindaparva*, and the ſecond *Anaparva*, and the *Brahmans Bendarli*. The *Tindaparva* grows to a great height in ſandy grounds, having a thick whitiſh Root, with a ſoft Rind: The Trunk is ſo thick that a Man can ſcarce graſp it with his Arms, having an aſh-coloured Bark as well as the Branches, which underneath the Bark are of a dark brown colour. The Leaves which are long, and pointed at the end, hang on very ſhort Stalks; as do likewiſe the Flowers, conſiſting of four pale-green and pointed Leaves. The Fruit are a kind of round Berries, with a very thin peel, green at firſt, afterwards inclining to white, and turns red as they ripen. In the Peel is enclоſed a round Kernel. The Root beaten to powder and taken inwardly, is a ſovereign Remedy againſt Epileptick Fits; and the Decoction of the Leaves diſperſes all pain, if the affected parts be well fomented with it.

The Tree *Kavalkan*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Bankar* by the *Brahmans*, grows in ſtony and ſandy grounds; Its Root, which is very thick, and covered with an aſh-coloured but ſoftiſh Rind, ſtretching very deep underground. The Trunk is ſo thick, that a Man can ſcarce graſp it with both his Arms, covered with a thick Bark, of an aſh-colour without, and pale-green within. The Wood is alſo white, and may be drawn into Tread. The Leaves are of an Oblong figure, a Span and 2 or 3 inches long, pointed at the ends, hanging on long round and green Stalks: The Flowers conſiſting of five ſmall Leaves ſprout out in cluſters, with green and hairy Stalks. The Fruit comes forth in bunches, three, four, or five together, being of the ſhape of an Egg, with a thick and hard Rind, containing nine or ten Beans of the length of a Finger each, but round and ſmooth, with a double Peel: Theſe Beans when roaſted, are good Food: This Tree bears Bloſſom but once a year, *viz.* in *May*, and is not uſed in Phyſick among the *Malabars*.

Of the Tree *Ambalam* there are two kinds in *Malabar*; One is ſimply called, *Ambalam*, or *Koduko Ambado*, (i. e. *Sweet Ambado*) by the *Brahmans*; the other, *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambalam*. The Tree *Ambalam* grows to a great height in ſandy Grounds, with its Branches not ſpreading but upright. The Root which is very large ſtretching with many Twigs under-ground. The Trunk is of a great circumference, covered with The Tree Ambalam.

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The Tree Kattam-Ambalam. The second kind of the *Ambalam*, *Kat Ambulam*, or *Pee Ambulam*, as the *Malabars* call it, and *Kaduko Ambado* by the *Brahmans*, resembles the first in a great many respects, except that its Leaves are less; and so are the Fruit, being somewhat rounder, and the Taste a mixture of soure and bitter, which is the reason they are never eaten. *Kat Ambalam*, or *Pee Ambulam*, signifies in the *Malabar* Tongue, as much as *Wild Ambalam*, and *Kaduko Ambado* among the *Brahmans* as much as the *Bitter Ambado* from its taste.

The Tree Agaty. The Tree called *Agaty* by the *Malabars*, and *Agasto* by the *Brahmans*, runs up to the height of ten or twelve yards, the Branches growing streight upright: The Trunk is so big in circumference, that a Man can scarce grasp it, having a very soft Wood, and the Pith much tender. If an Incision be made into the Bark, a certain watery Substance distills thence, which turns to Gum afterward. The Leaves come forth out of small and green Sprouts or Buds, being near a Span and a half long, and growing two and two on long green Stalks. The Flowers consist of five small Leaves, and grows in clusters on Stalks of a pale-green colour. After the Blossom come thin, straight and green Husks of about a Span in length, and an Inch in breadth, having a thick Peel; in which are enclosed certain Beans, not unlike in taste to, but somewhat smaller than, our *French Beans*, being white at first, but turn pale-green by degrees, and are very good Food. This Tree bears Fruit twice or thrice in the Rainy Season, and indeed, the whole year round, but not so frequently in the Summer. The Juice of the Bark of this Tree, either by it self, or mix'd with Honey, is an excellent Remedy against all the Inflammations of the Throat and Mouth. The Juice of the Leaves taken into the Nostrils like a liquid Snuff, cures the Quartan Ague.

The Tree Appel. The Tree call'd *Appel* or *Nalla-Appeka*, by the *Malabars*, and *Karo-Nervoice* by the *Brahmans*, have a very thick and hairy Root, the Rind of which is of a Saffron colour. The Circumference of the Stem is of five or six Palms; the Branches growing directly upright: Its Wood is white, but the Peel dark red. The Leaves sprout forth out of the Branches, in small green and square Buds, the Stalks being round, very short, and of a pale-green colour, commonly two and two together: The Leaves are of an Oval Figure, round near the Stalk, and pointed toward the end. The Flowers grow in clusters, consisting of four round white and small Leaves each. The Fruit are round Berries, having a round, Stone in the middle; are pale-green at first, but when ripe, turn black. The Tree bears but once a year. The Root of this Tree poudred and taken in Water, stops the Looseness; and Boil'd in Sea-Water, and applied outwardly, appeases the Pain of the Gout. The Decoction of the Leaves is a good Remedy against the Pain of the Belly and Stomach, occasioned by Wind; the same effect has the Oil drawn out of the Root, if anointed on the painful part: This Oil is yellow and transparent, of an agreeable Scent, and a picquant bitterish taste.

Schageri-Kottam. The Tree call'd, *Schageri Kottam* by the *Malabars*, and *Sahali* by the *Brahmans*, seldom exceeds the heighth of six foot, and delights in sandy Grounds: Its Stem is of the

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the thickness of a Man's Arm, the Root red within, and black on the out-side. The Leaves sprout forth out of the Twiggs, and hang on round, and green Stalks; they are very large, and pretty long, broad towards the Stalk, and pointed at the ends; the upper-side dark green, and the undermost side of a pale green colour. At the very extremities of the small Twiggs, grow the Flowers in clusters, on small Stalks, consisting of four or five great Leaves, of a white, and pale yellow colour. The Fruit is in shape like an *European* Pear, dark green at first, and when ripe, turns black; it is of a sweetish taste, and eaten by the *Malabars*. The Juice of the Leaves boil'd with Sugar, and taken inwardly, strengthens the Liver, and stops the looseness.

Kolinil.

The Tree call'd *Kolinil* by the *Malabars*, and *Scheara Punka* by the *Brahmans*, does not grow above two or three foot high, its Stem being not above three or four inches thick, the Branches spreading round about it. The Wood of the Stem is very hard, and the green Bark which covers it, of a picquant bitterish taste. The Leaves come forth out of small and green sprouts, hanging on very small Stalks; they are of an Oval Figure, round at the ends, and somewhat pointed towards the Stalks, of a sharp and bitter taste: The Blossom is like our Bean Blossom, having each four Leaves: The Fruit is a kind of a small, smooth, and long husk, yet not above two or three inches in length, are green in the beginning, and dark red at last, having within them certain Beans, which are green at first, and black at last. This Tree produces Fruit twice a year, once in the Winter, and once in the Summer. The Root powdered and boiled in Milk, or the Juice of the *Cocoa* Tree, is a good Remedy against the *Falling Sickness*.

Atu, or Fig-trees.

There are four kinds of Figg-trees in *Malabar*, call'd by one general name *Atu*, the first they call *Atty-Alu*, the second *Itty-Alu*, the third *Aréalu*, and the fourth *Peralu*.

Atty-Alu.

The Fig-tree *Atty-Alu*, call'd *Roembadoe* by the *Brahmans*, grows to a great heighth, spreading its Branches at a good distance: The Trunk is of that thickness, that a Man cannot well grasp it; the Fruit is round, but flat, and lesser towards the Stalk, and somewhat hairy and rough, not unlike our Figs: Before they are ripe, they are green and full of a Milky Juice, but turn red when ripe, and are not so juicy. Within the pulp, you see small Kernels like in our Figs, and as soon as they are ripe, the Pismires get into them. These Figs are the only ones that are eaten by the *Malabars*, and eaten raw when ripe, are accounted good against the Looseness: If the Inhabitants may be believed, these Trees are produced out of the Seed of the Fruit, after it is eaten by the Ravens, and discharged again with their Dung.

Itty-Alu.

The second sort *Itty-Alu*, and *Areka Goli* by the *Brahmans*, is the smallest of all the four kinds, its Trunk being to be graspt by any ordinary Man. It bears a small and round Fruit, which is green, whilst not come to maturity, and full of a Milky Juice, but when ripe, turns yellow. It has also abundance of Kernels, like the first kind.

Aréalu.

The Tree of the third kind, call'd *Aréalu*, and *Eupaloe* by the *Brahmans*, is as tall as the former, spreading its Branches very loftily, at a good distance: The Trunk is of such a thickness, that two Men can scarce grasp it: The Fruit is like that of the *Itty-Alu*, small and round, and not fore'd, as that of the *Atty-Alu*. These *Pagans* have Dedicated this Tree to their Idol *Vistnu*, who, they say, was born under this Tree, and took of its Blossoms: For this reason it is, that they surround it with a Stone Wall, and Worship it: The Christians call it the *Devil's Tree*.

Peralu.

The fourth sort, call'd *Peralu*, and *Vadhoe* by the *Brahmans*, exceeds all the others in heighth; for which reason, the *Brahmans* have given it the name of *Vadhoe*, i. e. large. The Fruit is much the same with that of the *Atty-Alu*, but very round, and of a very high red colour, being covered with a kind of a *Lanugo*, or Woolly substance when they are ripe.

The Tree Buparit.

Of the Tree call'd *Paniti* by the *Malabars*, are likewise four different kinds, *viz. Pariti*, *Bupariti*, *Kudupariti*, and *Schem-Pariti*. The Tree *Bupariti*, call'd *Valli-Kari-Kapoesi* by the *Brahmans*, is a very high Tree, with very lofty Branches, growing in the shape of a Crown round the Tree, which is never infested with any Insects. The Leaves resemble in shape, a Man's Heart, of the bigness of the Palm of a Man's Hand, somewhat pointed at the end, of a lovely green on the upper-side, and a pale green on the other: The Flowers are of the shape of Bells, consisting of several white Leaves. After these, comes a certain round spongeous Fruit, which emits a gummous Liquor, if an incision be made with a Knife: For the rest, the Tree produces Flowers all the Year round

The

Pariti, or the Tree of the second kind, call'd *Karikapreſs* by the *Brachmans*, grows to the height of 18 foot, the Trunk being however within the compaſs of a Man's graſping. The Flowers are like thoſe of the *Buparitti*, only ſomewhat leſſer; and after theſe come certain Oval Sponges, covered with a *Lanugo*, or hairy ſubſtance. The Bloſſom bruiſed and mix'd with Womens Milk, and infuſed into the Ears, cures the Head-Ach.

The Tree *Kudupariti* of the third ſort, called *Kapuſſi* by the *Brachmans*, runs to the height of 12 foot, tho' its Stem is not above two Palms thick. The Flowers are likewiſe like Bells, of the ſame ſhape and colour as the precedent, only that they are a little leſſer, and inclining to green. The Spongeous Fruit are three corner'd, pointed at the top, and within diſtinguiſh'd by three Skins in as many different Concavities, each of which contains three or four Seeds encloſed in a thick white *Lanugo* or woolly Subſtance: This Tree is never without Bloſſom throughout the whole year. The Leaves bruiſed and mixed with Cows Milk, and apply'd outwardly to the Head, procures Sleep, and conſequently cures the Head-Ach. The Fruit bruiſed and taken inwardly in Water ſtops the Bloody Flux. The fourth ſort is very near the ſame with the third.

Of the Tree *Mandaru* are likewiſe four different ſorts, *viz. Chavanna Mandaru*, of which two bear the ſame name; *Velutta Mandaru*, and *Kanſchenapou*. The firſt call'd *Chavanna Mandaru* by the *Malabars*, and *Tambido Mandaru* by the *Brachmans*, grows up to the heighth of 24 foot, ſpreading its Branches far round about. The Trunk is not above a foot thick. The Leaves hang on very ſhort Stalks, being even in two at the upper-end, like Goats Feet, whence the *Portugueſes* have given them the Name of *Pee de Capra*. The Flowers have five Leaves of an oval Figure; among which, the largeſt and broadeſt is rounder than the reſt, white on the outſide, and of a Purple colour within; the other four are more Oval, of a pale red colour without, but high red within; two of thoſe four, *viz.* thoſe next to the biggeſt Leaf, are on the inſide whitiſh towards the bottom, but the other two all over of a Roſe-colour within; from which Roſe-colour the *Malabars* have given the name of *Chavanna Mandaru* to this Tree. In ſome of thoſe Leaves you ſee ſtreaks as red as blood, which they ſay are the Remnants of the Blood of St. *Thomas*, who preach'd the Goſpel on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, and in the Iſle of *Ceylon*. After theſe come certain flat, long, and ſmooth Husks, of the length of ſeven or eight Inches; in which are encloſed flat and long Beans, which at firſt are ripe, but afterward turn dark red. This Tree produces Flowers all the year round, but in the rainy Seaſon in greater Plenty. The Flowers preſerved with Sugar, are uſed with good Succeſs, for a Laxative, as we do with our Roſe-Sugar. The ſecond ſort of the *Chavanna Mandaru* is a very tall Tree like the firſt, with ſuch like Branches, a Trunk of the ſame thickneſs, and the ſame Leaves, only ſomewhat larger. The Flowers have five oval Leaves of a Purple colour both in and outſide, with white ſtreaks. The Husks of this Tree are the largeſt of all the four kinds; being two Spans long, an Inch thick, flat and ſmooth; The Beans are the ſame both in ſhape and colour as the firſt; and this Tree Bloſſoms at the ſame time, and in the ſame manner. The Flowers of this Tree eaten raw, are Laxative; The Bark, Flowers, and Fruit, bruiſed together and mix'd with the Liquor of the Decoction of Rice, is a ſovereign Remedy to bring to Maturity, and to open all ſorts of Tumours. The Bark chaw'd, cures the Tooth and Head-Ach.

The third ſort, call'd *Velutta Mandaru* by the *Malabars*, and *Dove Mandaru* by the *Brachmans*, is not above ſix foot high, and an Arm thick; the Leaves are Cloven like thoſe of the firſt, but the Flowers white without the leaſt Scent, having five round Leaves. The Husks are not ſo big as thoſe of the others, *viz.* not above four or five Inches long, and an Inch thick, for the reſt, flattiſh and ſmooth. The Beans are long and round, of a yellowiſh colour, neither ſo big nor ſo red as thoſe of the *Chavanna Mandaru*. This Tree Bloſſoms two or three times every year, but chiefly in the Rainy Seaſon. The Flowers bruiſed and mixed with ſome Pepper, and applied outwardly to the Head, cures the Head-Ach; and if you waſh your ſelves with the Decoction of the Root, it lays all ſorts of Itching of the Skin.

The fourth ſort called *Kanſchenapou* by the *Malabars*, and *Kantſanu* by the *Brachmans*, is a Tree which runs up to the heighth of 12 foot or more, with lofty Branches, but the Stem is not above half a foot thick. The Leaves are Cloven like the reſt, but not ſo big, very ſtrong ſcented if rubb'd betwixt your Fingers,

1662. especially in the night-time: The Flowers [illegible] also of five Leaves, of a pale-yellow colour without the least Scent. The Husks are the same with those of the *Cravanna Mandaru*, very smooth on the outside, but somewhat hairy whilst very [illegible]. The Beans are small, in shape and colour resembling those of the *Veletta Mandaru*. The Tree bears Flowers twice or thrice a year, but most plentifully in the Rainy Season. The Decoction of the Root, taken inwardly, is a [illegible] Remedy against the Worms and [illegible] Liver, and the Piles. The Bark poudred disperses Tumours, [illegible] Wounds, and is an excellent Narcotick.

The Tree called *Nilkamaram* by the [illegible] by the *Brachmans*, [illegible] to the heighth of 24 foot, tho' [illegible] Trunk be no bigger than a Man's Arm, which as well as the Branches, are [illegible] red with a black Bark. The Leaves sprout forth out of thin and round Twigs, with very short Stalks; they grow two and two together, of an oval Figure, and very small, being dark green on the upper side, and light green on the other side. Every night the Leaves close up, like Tulips; The Flowers grow on small Twigs in clusters, consisting of six very small Leaves. It bears a round, but flattish Fruit, of a pale-green colour when ripe, and somewhat transparent; the Pulp being likewise green and very Juicy, of an agreeable astringent taste: in the midst is a Stone, distinguish'd into six different Concavities, each of which contains a small triangular Seed or small Kernel. The Fruit is much used by the [illegible]. The Water distill'd from this [illegible] cools the Liver, and dry'd and pou[illegible] and mix'd with sowre coagulated [illegible] the Bloody Flux.

[illegible] Tree called *Onollam* by the *Malabars*, and [illegible] *Brachmans*, grows to [illegible] its Trunk being [illegible] encompass'd by [illegible], with crooked [illegible] the Stem is [illegible] red, the Bark of [illegible] bitter, and very hot upon [illegible] The Leaves grow scat[illegible] Twigs and long Stalks, [illegible] of a [illegible], [illegible] brown on the upperside, [illegible] upon the Tongue. The Flowers grow in clusters like Cor[illegible], thick, and green Stalks, having five very white and pointed Leaves. It bears a kind of ground-Apple with a green and smooth Rind, under which is a white Pulp of a waterish taste. The Stone which is in the midst is shap'd like the Heart of a Man of a pretty large size, with two Kernels within it. Some will have this Tree to be the same which the *Indians* call *Mongas*.

The Tree called *Nurotti* by the *Malabars*, and *Kaitu* by the *Brachmans*, rises up to a great heighth, its Branches spreading very lofty round about it: The Trunk is so big, as scarce to be grasp'd by a Man, the Wood white, with a thick Bark, which is green without and red within. The Leaves are scattered here and there on the Twigs with short, round, and green Stalks, of the length of a Span, and the breadth of four or five Inches, of an oval Figure, pointed at the ends, not unlike the Laurel-Leaves. The Flowers sprout forth six or seven together out of the extremities of the small Twigs, consisting of three rows of small Leaves. The first row makes up a Star of five small, pointed, and dark-brown hairy Leaves. The second row contains five round and small Leaves of a rose-colour, and the third or outermost row, five pointed green Leaves. The Fruit grows on short and thick Stalks, being of an oval Figure, having a rose-coloured rough Peel, and within a large yellowish Stone, containing 10 or 12 Kernels of an oleaginous substance. This Tree produces both Flowers and Fruit in great plenty all the year round. From the Kernels or Seeds an Oil is drawn, which has an Anodine Quality, and applied outwardly, cures all sorts of Scurfs and Itchings: The same Oil, mixt with a certain Fruit, the *M*[illegible] call *Talego*, kills the Corns in the Feet, if applied to the affected part.

Of the Tree call'd *Kaniram* there are four several Kinds: One is called *Kaniram* only; the second *Karakaniram*, and the third and fourth [illegible]. The Tree called *Kaniram*, and by the *Brachmans*, *Karo*, grows up to a great heighth, with lofty and far spreading Branches. The Root is very thick, exceeding bitter, and covered with a yellow Rind. The Trunk is of that thickness as scarce to be grasp'd by two [illegible], having a dark [illegible] coloured Bark. The Leaves, which are of an oval Figure, are very broad in the middle, and pointed towards the ends, of a bitterish taste and an odd scent, grow two and two over against the other; The Flowers sprout forth in clusters, having each five or six pale-green and pointed Leaves. No

soon

[illegible] begins the Blossom to Bud [illegible] Tree loses all its Leaves, [illegible] which new ones come [illegible] It bears a kind of round and smooth [illegible] is green at first and turns [illegible] three, four, or [illegible] together on short Stalks [illegible] before they are ripe, is white [illegible] when ripe, bitter with [illegible] and brings forth Fruit in the [illegible]. In the Pulp [illegible] Seeds, which are also very bitter. [illegible] Juice of the Leaves taken in the [illegible] of the same Leaves, cures the [illegible]; but if used in too great a [illegible], is mortal, the only Antidote [illegible] which is Man's Dung taken in [illegible] three of these Seeds [illegible] every day for two years successive[illegible] Preservative against the Biting of [illegible] pent, called *Cobra de Capelo* by the [illegible].

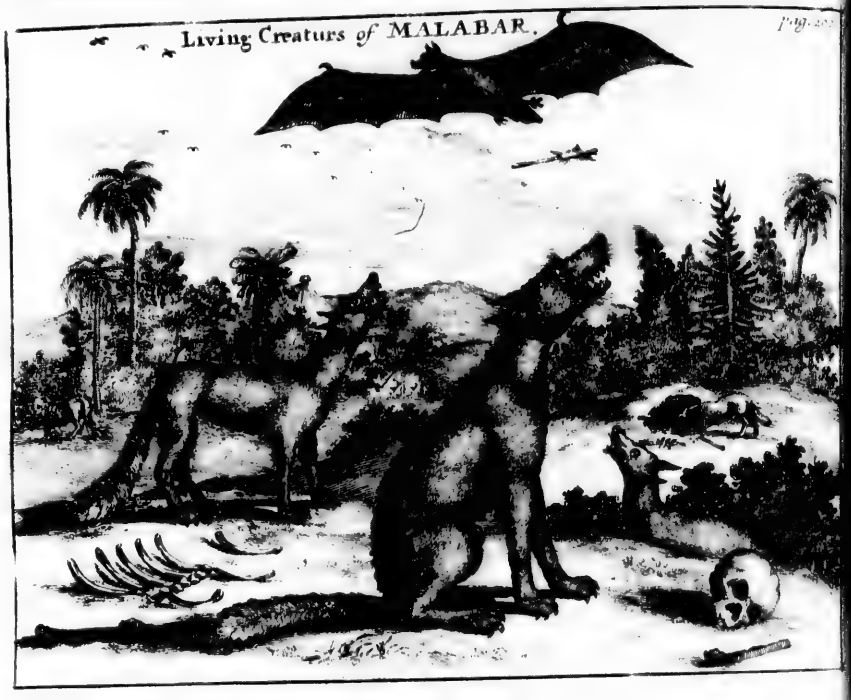
The Tree called *Manjapuncram* by the [illegible], and *Pariataku* by the *Brachmans*, [illegible] up to the heighth of 18 or 24 foot, with very thick and lofty Branches [illegible] round about it; but the Stem [illegible] above the thickness of an Arm, having an ash-coloured Bark: The Leaves hang crosswise over one another, [illegible] pointed at the ends, the uppermost [illegible] dark-green, and the other of a [illegible] colour, of an astringent and [illegible] taste: The Flowers grow on [illegible] which stand upright five in a clu[illegible] very agreeable and sweet scented, [illegible] seven, and sometimes eight [illegible] colour both in [illegible] The Fruit is of an oval [illegible], of a green colour, con[illegible] flattish Seeds. [illegible] is of no use among the *Ma*[illegible].

[illegible] *Champakam*, as the *Mala*[illegible] the *Brachmans Champo*, is [illegible] Tree, with many lofty Bran[illegible] at a good distance: The [illegible] as scarce to be [illegible] Man, with a thick Bark of [illegible] without, and soft within, [illegible] astringent taste. The Wood [illegible] The Leaves are of an oval [illegible] a good way towards the [illegible] length of a Span, and the [illegible] or five Inches; the up[illegible] dark-green and shining, the [illegible] light-green, bitter and biting [illegible] Tongue. At the Extremities [illegible] the small Twigs, sprout forth pale-green Flowers, of a quick odoriferous Scent, having oval Leaves placed in three rows within one another [illegible] bout eight Leaves, being a [illegible] again as those of the second row, [illegible] but pointed at the [illegible] the second row are more pointed [illegible] those in the third more than [illegible] and pale-yellow. The [illegible] Branches of an oval Figure, with a thi[illegible] Rind. Whilst not come to Maturity it [illegible], but turns pale yellow when [illegible] being sharp of Taste, and of no [illegible] Scent: Within are three of [illegible] Seeds, round on one, and flat on the other side; Within those Seeds, when they are come to their full Perfection, is a thin milky Substance enclosed in a Skin of a Purple colour, and within it a black Stone. The Tree if not too old, Blossoms twice a year; Out of these Flowers they Distil a good Cordial Water.

The Tree called *Elengi* [illegible] *bars*, and *Vavalli* by [illegible] up very high, with many far [illegible] Branches: The Trunk is of [illegible] thickness, that two Men can [illegible] grasp it; with a dark brown [illegible] Bark, containing a milky Liquor within. The Wood is full of the same Juice, and will keep a great while under Water but not very long in the Air. The Leaves grow on small round and green Stalks, being of an oval Figure, but pointed at the ends. The Flowers have pale green Stalks, growing 5 or 6 in a cluster, of a white colour, consisting of 16 Leaves of an odoriferous Scent. [illegible] *bars* make Nosegays of them. The Fruit is shap'd like an Olive, green at first, but turns yellow and red by degrees: The Pulp is yellow and [illegible]. The *Malabars* Eat this Fruit, which has two oval but flat and dark brown Stones within. This Tree bears Flowers twice a year, out of which the *Malabars* Distil a well-scented Water, which is look'd upon as a great Cordial, and revives the Spirits. The Fruit bruised and taken inwardly in warm Water promotes the Birth.

Besides these there also grows here *Cassia Fistula*, called *Konna* by the *Malabars*, and *Bajo* by the *Brachmans*; and *Tamarinds* call'd *Balam-Pulli*, or *Maderam-Pulli* by the *Malabars*, and *Sinza* by the *Brachmans*. The Coast of *Malabar* produces likewise, *Cardamom*, *Berbery Ginger*, and some Aloes; as also, Bezoar-Stones, Salt-Petre, Honey, Lacca, and Cotton; to be short, this Country abounds in all sorts of *Indian*-Trees and Fruits.

The



1662. *Living Creatures of Malabar.*

The Woods afford vaſt plenty of Birds of all kinds, and among the reſt moſt excellent Peacoks, the Fleſh of which is very white and well taſted. No place in the World abounds more in all ſorts of Water-Fowl, and there are a great many Birds here ſo tame, and ſo plentiful, that you may kill them with a Stick, the reaſon of which is, that, as the *Pagans* adhere to the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, concerning the Tranſmigration of the Soul; ſo, they won't kill any living Creature, which makes all ſorts of Wild Creatures multiply here, almoſt *in infinitum*. The Fleſh of their Hogs (of which they likewiſe have great plenty) is alſo excellent good; but above all, Tame-Fouwl is ſo prodigious cheap here, that you may buy a very good Pullet for Two-pence, and Thirty Eggs for the ſame price. I remember I had once bought up 300 Pullets againſt the Arrival of our Ships, which being put in the Old Church of St *Thomas*, we found all dead one Morning; we could not gueſs at the cauſe of this diſaſter, till a certain *Malabar* told us, that it could not be otherwiſe, but that a *Cobre Kapel* (a very Venomous Serpent) muſt be hidden in the place; whereupon ſtrict ſearch being made we found the Serpent, under a heap of old Wood, which was no ſooner removed, but the Serpent ſet her ſelf upright upon the Tail, ſpitting Fire and Flame, ſo that no body durſt approach her, till one of our Soldiers kill'd her with his Sword. Of Veniſon there is alſo great plenty.

Plenty of Fowl.

1662.

They have likewiſe Batts of divers kinds; and among the reſt a certain ſort, of that bigneſs, that their Wings when extended are as long as Man can ſtretch with both his Arms together. They have red Heads, and Necks, black bodies, and are ſhaped like a Fox. They are extreamly nimble, and having very ſharp Teeth, do a great deal of dammage to the Fruit. Their Wings are bare, like thoſe of our Batts, unto which are faſtned their Legs and Tails, ſo that they can neither walk nor ſtand; to recompence which defect, they have a kind of a hook, of the thickneſs of a Finger on each Wing, wherewith they faſten to the Branches of the Trees. You ſee here vaſt multitudes of them in the Woods; ſo that it is no difficult thing to kill them; but whatever you kill,

Batts.

kill, remains hanging among the Trees: 1662. They are naturally ſo fierce that they are not to be tamed; for if taken alive, they will bite their own Wings and Fleſh as far as they can reach; I once had the curioſity to ſet two of theſe Creatures a fighting, which they did with ſuch fierceneſs, that they both remained dead upon the ſpot. They will drink of the Liquor of the Coco-Tree till they are Drunk; They commonly bring forth two Young ones at a time, and that generally in the hollow of Trees; the *Malabars* Eat the Fleſh, which has no agreeable taſte.

Jackalls. Here you meet alſo with *Jackalls*, as our People call them, being not unlike a large Fox, of the bigneſs of an ordinary Peaſants Dog, of a red grey colour; but thinly covered with Hair. They aſſemble in the Night in whole Troops, and approaching (eſpecially about the New-Moons) to the Villages or Plantations, make a hideous noiſe, like the out-cries of Women, or Men; they are very greedy after Mens Fleſh, and will ſcratch the Dead Carcaſſes out of the Graves, unleſs they be well covered with Stones: They are ſcarce ever to be tamed. The *Malabars* Eat the Fleſh of theſe *Jackalls*. And thus much of the Coaſt of *Malabar*.

After, as I told you, we had ſet Sail the 12th of *March*, from *Koylang*, the Wind turn'd againſt us the ſame Evening, but about a Eleven a Clock at Night we ſet Sail again with the Land-wind. The 13th we kept along the Shoar, with a gentle breeze and very fair weather; but the Wind turning ſoon after to the E. S. E. we were forced to chuſe the main Sea, but made to the Shoar again towards Evening and took the benefit of the Land-wind. The 14th there being but little Wind we advanced no farther than 12 Leagues from *Koylang*; and the 15th finding our ſelves off of the City of *Tengepatnam*, we gave the Signal by a Cannon-Shot, for the Reſident Mr. *Koek* to come aboard us, which he did accordingly; and after I had diſcourſed with him, of what I had in Commiſſion to tell him, we continued our Voyage, but being towards Evening overtaken by a Tempeſt, were forced to come to an Anchor. The 16th early in the Morning the Winds being ſomewhat laid we ſet Sail again, but by reaſon of the contrary Winds, were forced to return towards *Pulon*, near the Cape of *Comorin*, where the *Portugueſe* have a ſmall Church dedicated to St. *Martin*. The 17th we made this Cape, but the Winds continuing ſtill againſt us, it was not till the 18th that we could reach *Toutekoriin*, the chief among the Sea-Ports of the Coaſt of *Madure*. Here I tarried for ſome time to obſerve the Intereſt of the Company, both in reſpect of their Traffick hither, and in the Government of the Inhabitants, who live under their Juriſdiction along the Sea-Coaſt, in ſeven large Villages, the chief of which is *Toutekoriin*, the other ſix are, *Mannapara*, *Alendale*, *Wiranypatnam*, *Pommekiel*, *Baypaer* or *Vaypaer*, and *Bempaer*. After a ſtay of ſix Months here, I received Orders from Mr. *Van Goens* to return to *Koylang*, and to take once more upon me the Government of this City, being very well known to the Queen there; Accordingly having ſurrendred my Accounts to Mr. *Lawrentz Pril*, in the preſence of Captain *Van Reede*, I left this place the 19th of *May* 1665. and went by Land to *Koylang*. The number of the Inhabitants of the before-mentioned ſeven Villages amounted 1664 to above 20000 Souls, *viz.* in *Toutekoriin* about 3000, in *Mannapara* 4000, in *Alendale* 800, in *Wiranypatnam* 900, in *Pommekiel* or *Pumikael* 2800, in *Baypaer* 700, and in *Bempaer* 800; Beſides thoſe Inhabiting on the Coaſt of *Comorin*, which amounted to a conſiderable number: All theſe Villages are adorn'd with ſtately Churches, built by the *Portugueſes*, eſpecially thoſe of *Mannapara* and *Bempaer*; but are now in a decaying condition, ſince the *Portugueſes* have been chaſed thence. Some of the *Romiſh* Prieſts now and then come to ſay Maſs in the Neighbouring Villages, wither the People flock in great numbers; tho' to ſpeak truth, they are more Heathens than Chriſtians. *Toutekoriin* conſumes Yearly abundance of Foreign Commodities, by reaſon of the great numbers of Inhabitants living along this Coaſt, who muſt be provided from abroad with moſt things they ſtand in need of; *Toutekoriin* otherwiſe *Tutukuriin*, or rather *Tutukury*, or *Tutukuriin*, or *Totokury*, is now, as we told you, the Chief of all thoſe Sea-Ports, being an open place, but beautified with ſtately Stone buildings. It has three large Churches, built by the *Portugueſes*, which are to be ſeen at a great diſtance at Sea, the Country round about being flat and low. In one of theſe the Reformed exerciſe their Religious Worſhip: Beſides which the Convent of the *Franciſcans* is lately fitted up for the ſame uſe.

1662. *Come to* Toutekoriin.

The ſeven Sea-ports of Madure.

Their Inhabitants.

The Village of Toutekoriin.

1662.

The *Dutch-East-India* Company have a Factory here, managed by a Merchant as Chief Governour; by a Factor, as his Deputy; two or three Assistants, and a Military Officer, under whose Command are some Soldiers, but the *Nayk* of *Madure* will not allow them to erect any Fortifications: During my stay here, I begun to erect a Brick-Wall round the Garden, but finding the *Jentyves* to look with a jealous Eye upon it, I desisted; yet I took care to repair the House of the Company, and set their Flag on the top of it which might be seen a good way at Sea.

This place was taken by the *Dutch* from the *Portugueses*, 1658. without much resistance. In the Road of *Toutekoriin*, is good Anchorage at five Fathom Water in a Sandy bottom.

The Village Punikael.

Three small Leagues from *Toutekoriin* near the Rocks of *Remanekor*, not far from the Kingdom of *Narsinga* lies the Village of *Punikael*, where the *Portugueses* formerly had a Fort, and a Garrison of 40 Men. Two Leagues from thence there was a *Pagan* Temple of the *Bramens* call'd *Trichanduri*, against which and the Priests thereof the *Portugueses* would frequently utter very injurious Words, which so exasperated the Inhabitants, that they entred into a League with their Neighbours, *viz.* the *Badagas* of *Narsinga*, in order to drive the Christians thence: Accordingly having with a great deal of secresie got together a Body of 6000 Men, and received certain Intelligence that the *Portugueses* in the Fort were but ill provided with Gunpowder (the Chief terror of these *Barbarians*) they march'd directly to *Punikael*; The *Portugueses* being not a little surprised at so unexpected a sight, were put to the greatest nonplus, that could be, being in want of Ammunition, and no great account being to be made upon the *Parvas* (the Christian Inhabitants) as being not trained up to Military Affairs, but living upon Fishing and Swimming: These being sensible of their inability to resist the Enemy, no sooner heard of his approach, but they began to betake themselves with their moveables to their Boats, which lay near the Shoar, which the *Badagas* indeavouring to prevent, some retired to unpassable places, others to the Sea side, whilst others were exposed to the mercy of the Enemy, and with most dreadful outcries implored the Assistance of the *Portugueses* in the Fort.

War betwixt the Inhabitants and Portugueses.

About that time a certain Priest, named *Anthony Kriminalis*, who was come some Days before thither to take care of the Christians there, seeing this miserable spectacle, applied himself to *John Ferdinando Korrea*, Governor of the Fort, remonstrating to him, that since they were not in a condition to oppose the Enemy, to endeavour to bring things to an Accomodation; but the Governour answer'd, that it was against the Glory of his King, to submit in the least respect to those *Barbarians*, *Kriminalis* made what haste he could, to return to his Flock, which he met in the Church where he had preached the same Morning, and led them to the Sea-shoar, endeavouring as much as he could, to see them Embark in their Boats, whilst he refused to enter himself, being resolved to stay ashoar, and to expect the utmost fury of the *Barbarians*, who were advancing apace, and with their Arrows had already kill'd several of the *Portugueses* and others; among whom was the Interpreter of *Kriminalis*, who was Shot by his side, notwithstanding which he remained immoveable in his Resolution, and wringing his Hands up to Heaven, fell upon his Knees; The first Troop of the *Bagadas* pass'd by without doing him the least harm, except that they took his Hat, and so did the second, but one of the third Troops (consisting of *Mahometans*) run a Launce into his Left side, whilst others let fly their Arrows at him, and thinking he had been kill'd came to take his Cloaths, which he, being yet alive, gave to them, and so retreated into the Church, with an intention to spend the small remainders of his Life, at the Foot of the Altar; and being follow'd by the *Bagadas*, he there received a second thrust, and soon after a third, which put a period to his Life: They afterwards cut off his Head, which together with his Bloody Cloaths they carried in Triumph to their Temple of *Trichanduri*; the Trunk of the Body was afterwards buried by the Christians.

Bravery of Anthony Kriminalis.

Is killed.

Not far from *Punikael* or *Pommekiel* lieth a great Village call'd *Putanam*, and so further up the Coast *Bembar* or *Bempaer*, *Kalekure*, *Beadal*, *Nianankor* or rather *Remanakoris* and *Kanhameira*; Next you see *Negapatam* the first Frontier of the Coast of *Coromandel*, but one of the Chiefest Towns of this Coast is *Periapatan* situate near the Rocks of *Romanankoris*, being the Capital City of the *Maravas*,

1662.

Maravas, who inhabit the Mountains, a barbarous Generation, living only upon Robbing; The *Jesuits* that formerly belonged to the Church of *Periapatan*, did endeavour to reclaim them in some measure from their Barbarity, but most of them soon return'd to their old way of living. There is another Village seated on the other side of the Rocks of *Romanankoris*, directly opposite to *Negapatam*, the Inhabitants of which are all Christians. All along the Sea-Coast are about 30 Villages, among which, besides the beforemention'd, are the Chiefest; *Trichandar* or *Trekandar*, *Kallegrande* and *Cherakalle*.

The Inhabitants of those places are very black and strong; they are deceitful and cunning, make but little account of their Wives, but generally keep two or three Harlots, by whom they have sometimes 16 or 18 Children. The Men wear nothing but a single piece of Callico wrapt about their Middle, and another piece about their Head which they call *Romare*. The ordinary Women commonly wear painted Callico, those of Fashion are adorn'd with Gold Rings and Bracelets when they are abroad, but are very nasty at home. They tie their Hair up in a Truss behind, like those of *Malabar*, for the rest they have very good Features. They live upon Meat and Rice, but drink nothing but Water, which they are fain to fetch half a League from the Sea-shoar; They live by Pearl-fishing and catching of Fish, by Weaving and Shipping, there being some who drive a considerable Trade with the painted Callico's to *Kalpentien*, *Kolomba* and the *Malabar* Coast. They have abundance of Callico and Linen Weavers here, and great numbers of People are employed in painting of Callico's, which they do very Artificially. This Trade was in great Request whilst I was here, because I used to give all imaginable Encouragement to them; The Inhabitants are Govern'd by Judges of their own, who are chosen every Year by the Chief Director of the *Dutch* Company there, whom they stile the *Captain of the seven Seaports*. Each Village has the Privilege to propose four, out of which the *Captain* choses two, who swear Fealty to the Company; all civil Causes are transacted in their respective Villages, but Criminal Matters are decided at *Toutekorin* in the Council of Nine, whereof the *Captain* is President. The remaining *Portugueses* pay no Taxes to the *Dutch* Company, but to the *Nayk* of *Madure*; however, this Tax is paid with the Approbation of the Chief Director, who allots every one his Share according to his Substance; Those who are backward in their Payment, must expect speedy Execution, which is done by the Soldiers of the *Nayk*, and causes frequent Quarrels, betwixt the Inhabitants and the Soldiers, as it happened in my time, then the *Nayk* peremptorily demanding the Tax from the *Parvas*, which they were not able to pay, I sent to him a Sergeant with some Soldiers, to desire that he would send a Commissioner, with whom they might Treat, and obtain some time for the Payment thereof, upon which the *Nayk* having sent one of his great Officers with a Body of Horse, I remonstrated to him, the Impossibility of the Matter, telling him that the seven Sea-Ports were willing to make a Present of two Silver Dishes fill'd with Ducats to his Master, which was well accounted of, and the *Nayk* as a Token of his Satisfaction, sent me a Scarfe richly Embroidered with Gold. These seven Seaports were formerly (before the *Portuguese* Fleets appear'd in these Parts) under the Government of the King of *Marten*, a Vassal of the Queen of *Tengausy*, unto whom they were forc'd to pay many Taxes; at which time the *Parvas* lived deeper in the Country, and used to serve in the Wars to such Princes as would pay them best.

Wars betwixt the Parvas and Moors.

One time a certain *Parvas* happening to fall out with some *Moors*, these cut off his Nose and Ears, which so exasperated the *Parvas*, that they resolved to take up Arms, and to revenge the Quarrel of their Countryman. To begin the Fray, they took one of the Mooriſh Merchants Prisoners, whose Nose and Ears they likewise cut off, and so sent him home. Hereupon the Moors having assembled a Body of 30000 Men, they marched to, and pitch'd their Tents near *Toutekorin*; On the other hand, the *Parvas* were not above 5000 Men, and well arm'd, and trusting more to their Bravery than Number, fell upon the Moors so couragiously, that they made them quit the Field, with the Slaughter of 7000 of their Men; A great Number of them being forc'd to the Sea-shoar, saved themselves in Boats, but were scarce got to Sea, when by a strong Tempest from the S W. they were so dispers'd, that no news was ever heard of them since. After this Victory

1662. Victory the *Parvas* having made themſelves Maſters of theſe Sea-Ports, came to a Compoſition with the Queen, promiſing to pay her the ſame Taxes as the Moors had done, which being impoſſible for them to perform, this proved the occaſion of unſpeakable Miſeries; ſome of them being Impriſoned, for want of Payment, others ſold for Slaves, to that degree, that at laſt they reſolved to ſhake off the Yoak, coſt it what it would: The *Portugueſes* who 1490 appear'd firſt thereabouts with their Ships from *Cochin*, having at that time Traded there for 40 Years before, and conſequently their Strength at Sea, being not unknown to the *Parvas*, they ſent their Deputies to *Cochin* to implore their Protection, and to promiſe their Obedience, and that they were ready to imbrace the Chriſtian Faith. The *Portugueſes* willing to improve this Opportunity came with their Fleet 1533. on that Coaſt, and having made themſelves Maſters of the Sea-port Towns, the *Parvas* received Baptiſm all on one Day. However they met with great Oppoſition afterwards from thoſe on the Coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, encouraged under hand by the *Parvas*, till at laſt Matters were adjuſted thus, that the *Portugueſes* ſhould remain Maſters of the Coaſt, that the *Parvas* ſhould pay them a certain Annual Tribute, according to their Ability, and that all the Chief Men of that Coaſt ſhould have their Share in the Pearl-Fiſhing, which was to be perform'd on a certain Day. After all, the *Nayk* of *Madure* having found means to get into the Poſſeſſion of this Country, left the *Portugueſes* in the full Poſſeſſion of their Juriſdiction over the *Parvas*, and of the Free Exerciſe of their Religion, in which State it continued till the Year 1630. when the King of *Portugal* having ſent thither a Governor, to clip the Wings of the *Romiſh* Clergy, who were grown too powerful there, this occaſion'd new Troubles; For the *Parvas* being a Zealous kind of People, and for the moſt part at the Devotion of the Prieſts, they were divided into two Factions, during which inteſtine Commotions, the Clergy did not forget to improve their Authority, and to Enrich themſelves at the Expence of their Flock, but the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* alſo began to encreaſe to ſuch a degree, that being become formidable to the *Parvas*, they often forc'd them to ſhelter themſelves againſt their Forces in the neighbouring Iſlands. Since that time the *Parvas* acknowledged the Juriſdiction of the *Portugueſe* Governor; Each Village has two Judges, who are changed every Year, they keep Courts twice a Week, and in Conjunction with the *Petangiins* (who are Hereditary Officers) decide all Controverſies of leſs Moment; They raiſe the Taxes, and are accountable once a Year to the People for all their Tranſactions; whilſt the *Portugueſes* were Maſters here, the *Jentyves* or *Pagans* durſt not exact more Taxes from the *Parvas* than was agreed for, unleſs they would ſee them go with Wife and Children to the neighbouring Iſlands, from whence they did not return till they had obtain'd ſome conſiderable Abatement; But of late Years the *Parvas* having left off that Cuſtom, the *Jentyves* improve it to their Advantage, and force them to pay three times as much as they uſed to do formerly. 1662.

The Kingdom of the Nayk of Madure.

The Kingdom of the *Nayk* of *Madure*, under whoſe Juriſdiction the ſeven before-mention'd Seaports are; borders to the *W.* upon the Kingdom of *Travankor* to the *Eaſt* upon the Sea, and to the *N. Weſt* upon the Country of the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor* or *Tanjauwer*, betwixt the Coaſt of *Malabar* near the Cape *Comorin* and *Coromandel*; Its whole Extent being along the whole Eaſtern Gulph or Coaſt oppoſite to *Ceylon* from the Cape *Comorin* (where the Coaſt of *Malabar* ends) to the Town of *Bempaer* or the River *Ulton* a Tract of 75 Leagues in Length, and 30 in Breadth. The Sea-ſhoar, commonly call'd the *Pearl-Coaſt*, from the many Pearl-Banks that are hereabouts, extends from *South* to *North* in length, and in ſome places about half a League deep into the Countrey. The Capital City and ordinary reſidence of the *Nayk* is *Madure*, five Days journey's to the N. of *Koylang*; being adorn'd with many moſt magnificent *Pagodes*, or *Pagan* Temples, which have very high Turrets Gilt on the top. Along the Coaſt of *Madure* neither Graſs, or Herb, or Plant is to be ſeen, except Thiſtles and Houſe-leek; it having been found by Experience, that the Coco-trees would not thrive here no more than ſeveral other *Indian* Trees; notwithſtanding which they are ſufficiently provided with all manner of Neceſſaries from the circumjacent Country, as well as from abroad, by the way of *Tonte-koriin* (beſides that, the Sea-ſhoar abounds in Hares and Partridges, the firſt of which reſemble our Rabbits, their Fleſh being tough, yet in Taſte like

like our Hares. The Flesh of the Partridges, which have red Legs and round Bills here, is of an agreeable Taste.

They have here Mice as big as Cats, which dare not approach them, for, if they be pursued, they will settle upon a Chair, or Chest, and sitting upright, Fight and Bite like Dogs: They are in colour and shape like the *European* Mice, except that they are without Hair, and have a rough Skin like an Elephant. They will dig underneath the Doors, [illegible] do considerable mischief to the [illegible]dizes in the Warehouses.

[illegible] is also here another sort of [illegible], and much lesser than the first, [illegible], that they will make the [illegible] before them.

[illegible]untry also produces Serpents, [illegible] other sorts of venomous Crea[illegible] Morning, as I was rising, I [illegible]kin of a Serpent sticking to [illegible] the Posts of my Bedstead, which she had cast there the night before, without being perceived by me or any body else: In *October*, *November*, and *December*, the Western Winds blow with such violence the Sand from the adjacent Mountains to the Shore, that you are not able to open your Eyes. Much Rain falls deeper in the Country, and near the Cape *Comorin*, but never at *Toutekoriin*, instead of which a Thaw falls every night, which is very cold; and consequently by the sudden alteration of the Weather, very unwholsome; the Winds being sometimes so excessive hot here, as if they did blow out of a fiery Furnace; as long as these Winds last, the Inhabitants dare not go abroad into the Fields for fear of being overwhelm'd by the Sand.

The *Nayk* of the Kingdom of *Madure* is Master of several considerable Countries, each of which are govern'd by a peculiar Governour; besides which, there is one Governor-General, who has the chief Management of the whole Kingdom; who ruled all our time the Country, was called *Boomalapalles*; besides the Governors, each Village has two Judges, who are much respected by the Inhabitants. The *Nayk* to secure himself of the Fidelity of his Governours, detains always their Wives and Children in a certain Castle call'd *Zwela Baddy*, about seven Leagues from *Madure*, under the guard of 300 Eunuchs; neither are the Husbands permitted to see them without peculiar Licence from the *Nayk*, and are obliged to depart again in two or three days; some to avoid this inconveniency, content themselves with Harlots. Most of the Inhabitants of the Country of *Madure* are *Jentyves* or Pagans, (by some they are called *Badagas*) tho' some of them have been Converted to the *Romish* Faith by the *Portugueses*. The *Jentyves* are accounted good Soldiers, yet are much inferiour to the *Malabars*; witness, the Wars the *Nayk* of *Tanigos*, tho' much inferiour in power, wages against them.

There are three *Nayks* in this part of the *Indies*, *viz.* the *Nayk* of *Madure*, the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor*, by the *Dutch* call'd the *Tanjower* and *Tanjouwer*, and sometimes *Teaver*, and the *Nayk* of *Gingi*, otherwise call'd *Cingier* or *Chengier*. The Word *Nayk*, *Neyk*, or *Najeka*, signifies as much as a Governor, Vassal, or Viceroy, their Predecessors having in antient times been only Governors of those Countries they are now possessed of under the Jurisdiction of the Kings of *Vidia Najar* or *Bisnagar*, or *Narsinga*; but having Revolted against their Liege Lord, each of them assum'd the Royal Power and Title. The *Nayk* of *Madure* had been for a considerable time in War with the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor*, and taken many Places from him: At my time the War was renewed with more vigour than ever; and the *Nayk* of *Tanjaor* having gathered a great Army, attack'd the *Nayk* of *Madure* so briskly, that he took from him in a few days all the Places he had conquered from him before. The Army of the *Nayk* of *Madure* being much disheartned by the Victories of their Enemies, the *Madure* sent to me to *Koylang* his Chief Governour, desiring Assistance from the Company; but as it was not our Interest to engage on any side, I excused it as handsomely as I could.

The Pearl-Banks.

Betwixt the Coast of *Madure*, where the seven Villages are, and the Isle of *Ceylon*, are divers famous Pearl Banks by the Sea, for which reason this Tract is called the *Pearl-Fishery*. These Pearl-Banks are properly Rocks of white Coral-Stone, which sometimes are covered with Sand; on these Rocks, the Oister-shells, containing the Pearls, are fastned, but in what manner no body knows: Some of those Banks are about 12 or 13 Fathoms, and others at 15 Fathoms distance from the Shore, so that they can scarce to be seen from thence: Some of those Banks are five, six, or seven Fathom under Water. The Oisters live six years, after which time the Shells open and the Pearls are lost: of which

1662. which I have ſeen ſeveral that were ſhown me by the Divers. Theſe Pearl-Banks are ſearch'd every year to ſee whether the Shells are come to their full Maturity: This is commonly done in *October*, when the weather is Calm, and the Sea clear hereabouts. After they are convinced that the ſaid Oiſters are come to their full Perfection, the time of Pearl-Fiſhing is appointed and proclaimed throughout the Country; ſo that the Merchants reſort thither from the other part of the *Indies*, nay from *Arabia* and *Turkey* it ſelf, who ſet up their Tents near the Seaſide, to buy the Pearls.

Pearl-*Fiſhing how performed.*

They Fiſh for Pearls, or rather the Oiſter-Shells containing the Pearls, in certain Boats called *Tonijs*, being about 28 foot long, (of theſe you ſhall ſee 3 or 400 at a time;) Each of which has ſeven or eight Stones, which ſerve inſtead of Anchors, and five, ſix, or ſeven, nay ſometimes eight Divers, who are to Dive one after another. Theſe Divers are quite naked, being covered only with a kind of thin Waſtecoat; they have each a Net hanging down from the Neck, and Gloves on their Hands, wherewith they are to pick the Oiſters from the Rocks; each of them has alſo a Stone of about a foot in length, and 50 pound weight, to make him Dive the ſwifter: This Stone has a hole on the top, wherewith it is faſtned to a Rope; when they are going to Dive, they ſet their foot into a kind of Stirrup, laying hold with their Left-Hand of the Rope, the other end of which is held by one in the Boat, ſtopping their Noſe with the Right-Hand to hold in their Breath, and ſo they go to the bottom; where they are no ſooner come, but they give a ſignal, by pulling the Rope, for thoſe in the Boat to pull up the Stone. This done, to work they go, and ſcraping the Shells from the Rocks, fill their Nets, and then pull again the Rope, when thoſe in the Boat draw up the Nets firſt, and ſoon after the Divers, who are ſucceeded continually by freſh ones. Theſe Divers can hold their Breath four times as long as other People; they are obliged to Dive from 3 Fathom to 15, being not able to hold their Breath any longer. Theſe Boats commonly go to Sea every morning by break of day, with the Land Winds, and return in the afternoon with the Sea Winds. Thoſe who Equip thoſe Boats, hire both the Divers and the reſt of the Boats Crew, at a certain price *per diem*, like as we do our Day-labourers. All the Oiſter-Shells are brought aſhore, and there laid up in a great heap, till the *Pearl-Fiſhery* is over, which begins immediately after *October*, and continues all the *November* and *December*, which makes the Oiſters ſmell very ſtrong, and ſometimes occaſions Diſtempers. The Pearl-Fiſhing being over, a wooden Houſe is erected for the Company and the *Nayk*, where each receives his ſhare, the Boats being obliged to Fiſh one day for the *Nayk*, and another for the Company; and theſe take care that they be not diſturbed in their Fiſhing, the Governor and two Judges being every day near the Sea-ſhore, to decide ſuch Differences as ariſe betwixt them. At laſt, the Oiſter-Shells are opened in the before-mentioned Houſe, in the preſence of certain Commiſſioners; every Oiſter-Shell does not contain Pearls, nay the moſt are either without any, or have at leaſt very ſmall ones: On the other hand, ſome Shells contain five, ſix, ſeven, nay eight Pearls apiece: Some of theſe Pearls are found in the Liquor, ſome in the Fleſh of the Oiſters, others but few, are faſtned to the Shells; of which laſt I keep ſeveral by me. The Pearls being all taken out of the Shells, are put into thin Sifts of different holes, and according to their different ſizes are ſold to the faireſt Bidder: The Pearl-Duſt is bought and ſold by the *Dutch*. They Stew and Eat the Fleſh of theſe Oiſters, but it is ſomewhat rank and hardy, not comparable in Taſte to our *Engliſh* Oiſters. They give the Pearls a glaunce by rubbing them with Salt and powdred Rice. Out of the Shells they make a very fine Mortar.

1662.

They have two ſorts of Pearl-Duſt, the *Old* and the *New*; The New Pearl-Duſt is ſearch'd after daily by the Women among the Dirt and Rubbiſh of the Oiſters: The *Old* Pearl-Duſt is dug out upon the very brink of the Sea-ſhore, Dirt, Sand and all, ſometimes, ſix, ſeven, or eight foot deep; this they let dry altogether in the Sun, and by degrees the Duſt being blown away by the Wind, the black Pearl-Duſt remains behind, which they bring to thoſe in ſmall Parcels, who have given them ſome Money beforehand. This Pearl-Duſt being the worſt of the two, and of no great value, theſe poor Wretches can ſcarce get a Half-penny a day for their Labour, a wretched gain indeed, but ſufficient to keep them from Starving in this Country. Pearl-*Duſt.*

Beſides the Pearl-Oiſter, they alſo catch on this Coaſt certain Horns called *Siankos*. *The Horns of Siankos*

1662.

Pearl-
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7 A Heap of Pearle Oyster shells
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9 The Pearle ship men
10 Governers Sacat
11 Tents where all sorts of Provisions are Sold while y Pearle Fishery Continues
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The PEARLE
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Betwixt pag. 208. 209.

The PEARLE FISHERY near TOUTE COURYN.

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Pearl-Banks

1662. *Siankos* by the Inhabitants, being in shape, long, round, and thick, and very white; Out of these they make Bracelets, and Thumb-Rings, which they make use of in drawing their Bows, being valued much beyond Ivory. This Product of the Sea is found at 8 or 12 Fathom depth, in a Tract of the Sea of about 10 Leagues in length, from the Coast of *Vyaamdes Laam* to *Ilha Doce*. They begin to Fish for it in the middle of *December* till the middle of *May*, when the Sea hereabouts beginning to be unclear, the Divers cannot without great danger go to the bottom. Among these *Sea-Horns* they now and then, (tho' scarce once in 100 years) met with one they call the *Kings-Horn*, being not to be distinguish'd from the rest, except by the opening, which is on the contrary side; being red within and green without; they are said to Swim before the rest, which follow them like their King; for which reason it is, that the Kings of *Golconda*, and several other *Indian* Kings, are accounted out of one of these Horns, which makes them to be in great Esteem here, especially among the *Jentyves*, who will sometimes give 800 Reals for such a Horn. Whilst I was hereabouts, a certain Fisherman Dream'd that he had taken a King's Horn, which he telling to one of his Comrades, they agreed, that they would go immediately to try, and divide the Booty; accordingly they did, and he who had Dream'd the night before, catch'd a King's-Horn, but refusing to give to his Comrade his share, they went before the Judges, who were obliged to decide in favour of the Dreamer, the other having no witnesses to prove his Bargain. I bought the same Horn afterwards for 170 Reals, and was offered 20 Reals gain immediately after, by one of the Judges. These *Siankos* are sold at a dear Rate at *Bengal*, where they have a way of polishing them, that they shine with a most lovely white much beyond any Ivory; They make Bracelets and other Ornaments of them.

As the Fishing of those Horns is one of the main subsistance of the Inhabitants on this Coast, so, they must be carefully look'd after, that under pretence of Fishing for them, they don't Dive for Oisters, for which reason certain People are maintain'd to watch them. I remember they once brought up a Moorish Boat belonging to *Kalitpatnam*, which under pretence of Fishing for *Siankos*, had been found among the Pearl-Banks; when they came before me, I found upon a strict Examination, that extream Poverty had enforced them thereunto, and so dismiss'd them for that time. Some are of Opinion, That the Pearl-Dust dug on the Sea-shore, has lain there ever since the Isle of *Ceylon*, and the *Maldive* Islands, were torn from the Continent, when the Pearl-Shells were cast up by the Floods here, and opening themselves, were consumed by degrees, leaving the Pearls underground. The Pearl-Dust is gathered by the Men during those intervals, when they can't go a Fishing; but when they are abroad at Sea, their Wives and Children do it in their stead. Abundance of Divers are devoured by the *Sharks*, against which they pretend to defend themselves by certain Incantations, notwithstanding they are Christians.

The Author retires to Koylang.

After I had settled my Accounts at *Toutekoriin*, I prepared for my Journey to *Koylang* cross the Mountains of *Balligate*; and accordingly as I told you, set out the 19th of *May* 1665. under a guard of some Soldiers, and with an attendance of some Porters to carry my Baggage and Provisions, there being no Inns by the way, and in many Places not the least thing to be got for Money. We had scarce Travell'd a day but were met by a Troop of *Malabar* Robbers, arm'd with Bows and Arrows ready to let fly at us: They had already laid hold of two Slaves, who were carrying some *Persian* Wine, but seeing the Soldiers ready to discharge their Firelocks among them, they thought it their best way to retire, and finding us continually upon our Guard, quite to leave us at last. We pass'd that dreadful ridge of Mountains call'd *Balligate*, extending 120 Leagues in length, and is covered with a very fine red Land, which being as light as Dust is in *October*, *November*, and *December*, blown by the continual strong West Winds as far as the Isle of *Ceylon*, a Tract of at least 50 Leagues; whence it is probable, that these Mountains are not so high now as they were in former Ages; When the Sun casts its Rays upon this Red-Land, the Reflection thereof appears most dreadful to the Eyes in the Sky, which seems to be all on fire. This high ridge of Mountains does likewise occasion most surprising alterations in the Season; so, that whilst on the Northside of the Cape *Comorin*, it is Winter during the months of *May*, *June*, *July*, *August*, and *September*; it is Summer at the same time on the Southside of that Cape; on one side you meet with continual

The Mountain of Balligate.

1662 continual Tempests, Thunder and Lightning, whilst the other enjoys an agreeable and lovely Season. About that time, black Clouds are gathering upon these Mountains, by the Winds, which break out into very hard and sudden Rains, occationing great Water Floods, by the overflowing of the Rivers, which are oftentimes thereby choak'd up with Sand to that degree that they are rendred unnavigable, for a considerable time after.

Comes to Koylang. Having at last passed the Mountains I arrived the 25th of *May* at *Koylang*, whereabouts I found all the Fields under Water; Pursuant to the Orders I had received, to draw the City of *Koylang* into a narrower compass, and to fortifie it on the Land-side with one Wall, and two Demibastions, I ordered all the Houses, Churches, Trees, and what else stood in our way to be cut or pull'd down; and 30000 Stones, each of two foot long and one broad, to be cut out of the Quarries; so that the first foundation of these Fortifications being laid the 1st of *July*, the same was continued with all imaginable diligence. In the mean while I went in an Inland Bark to *Cochin*, by the way of *Kalkolang*, to confer with the Governour *Kolfter* how to regulate the Factories of *Koylang*, *Kalkolang* and *Karnopoly*, to the best advantage of the Company.

Goes to Cochin.

After a stay of three Days at *Cochin*, in my return to *Koylang*, we were surprised by so violent a Tempest, that we were forced to leave the Bark and to get ashoar, but the next Day the violence of the Wind being much abated, we prosecuted our Journey to *Koylang*, where I arrived the 4th Day after I left *Cochin*.

The War among some of the *Indian* Kings continuing as yet, it was generally reported, that the King of *Travankoor* (who was then at *Manjassi*, tho' the Queen resided at the same time at *Koylang*) was marching with a considerable Force to attack the Fort of *Kalkolang*, whereupon I sent our Factor with Letters from our Chief Director Mr. *Kolfter* to the King, to know the reason of this Enterprise: But he was forced to return without any other Answer, from his Courtiers, than that the King being employed in his Devotions, no body could be admitted into his Presence, till that time was expired, which was likely to hold for some time; However the Army did remain all the time in its former Camp, without committing any Hostilities: In the mean while I had taken effectual care to provide for the security of *Koylang*, the Walls advancing apace, and being in such forwardness, that we hoped in a little time to bring them to perfection; This being the only thing that stay'd me at *Koylang*; for as the time of my Contract with the Company began to come near to a period, I began to make preparations for my return into *Holland*. But Mr. *Jacob Hustart* being gone to *Batavia*, and Mr. *Goens* put in his place, I happened to have some difference with him, concerning the Government of *Toutekorin*, which rise to that height that he ordered me immediately from *Koylang* to the City of *Kolombo* in the Isle of *Ceylon*, leaving Captain *Van Reede* Governour of *Koylang*.

1662

The Author's Journey to Kolombo.

The Season for Sea-Voyages (which must be exactly observed in these Parts) being then expired, I was forced to Travel for above 60 Leagues along the Sea-shoar, with no small difficulty, there being no such thing as an Inn to be met with hereabouts, or any other convenient Lodgings, unless, you meet with some Charitable Popish Priest or other, who will receive you into his House, most of the Inhabitants along this Shoar being *Roman Catholicks*, who have here and there a small Church. However after some troublesome Days Journey I came safely to *Toutekorin*, where I found the *Mary* Yacht ready to Transport me to *Kolombo*, where I arrived the next Day, *viz.* The 18th of *Sept.* 1666, I stay'd here above a whole Year; when I resolv'd to go aboard the *Bredaroo* Yacht bound for *Batavia*, where I landed the 20th of *August*, 1667; without meeting with any thing remarkable at Sea, I continued for three whole Years at *Batavia*, without being engaged in the Company's Service, and in 1670 return'd thence into *Holland*. During those three Years, I had sufficient opportunity to take a full view of the City, both within and without, in which I was so curious, as not only to make draughts of all its publick Structures, but also of such Plants and Trees as grow in and about that City; tho' to confess the Truth, the same could oftentimes not be undertaken without great hazard as well from the Wild-Beasts, as from the Barbarous *Javanezes*, so that I durst not venture far out of the Town, without a good Guard; But before I proceed to give you a description of the living Creatures, Trees, Fruits and Plants, and of the City of *Batavia* it self, in the Isle of

Comes to Kolombo.

of *Java*; it will be requisite, I should 1662. give you an Account before hand of the Situation of this great Island.

The Isle of Great Java.

The Isle known generally by the name of *Great Java*, to distinguish it from the *Lesser Java*, otherwise call'd *Bali*, lies six Degrees to the S. of the Line, directly opposite to the South-Point of the Isle of *Sumatra*, from which it is sepparated only by the Streights of *Sunda*, where the same is not above four or five Leagues over. To the North lies the Isle of *Borneo*, betwixt which and this Isle there is a convenient passage for small Vessels; To the East it has the Isle of *Bali*, or the *Lesser Java*, from which it is divided by the Channel of *Balambuan*, and to the South by the Main Ocean. Its length from the Streights of *Sunda* to the Channel of *Balambuam*, i. e. from E. to W. inclining however a little to the S. and N. is about 130 or 140 Leagues; its breadth is very different, but the whole Circumference is computed at 300 Leagues: The North Coast of *Java* has abundance of very commodious Creeks, Bays, Harbours, and goodly Towns; with many little Islands, near the Shoar. In former times the Isle of *Java* had as many Petty Kings as there were Cities, but now a days it is divided into two Kingdoms only, the one of which is under the Jurisdiction of the Emperor of *Mataram*, the other under the King of *Bantam*. The first is in the possession of the Eastern and greatest part of the Isle, the other of the Western and lesser part; for since the Emperor of *Mataram* (call'd also the Emperor of *Great Java* by the *Dutch*) had once found means to subdue his Petty Neighbours, he soon extended his Conquests all over the Eastern parts of this Isle: The Emperor who Reign'd all the time of my being there, was a Young Prince named *Soufoulounan Ingelaga*, the Son of *Sulthan Mahomet*.

Unto one or other of these two Potent Princes all the rest are obliged to pay homage, tho' there be also as yet remaining some Petty Soveraingties along the Sea-Coasts, besides what belongs to the City of *Batavia*.

In the Eastern parts of *Batavia* are the Cities *Balambuam*, *Panarukan*, *Passurvan*, *Joartan*, *Surabaaya*, *Brandaon*, *Sydaya*, *Tubaon*, *Kijaon*, *Japare*, *Pati*, *Damma*, *Samarang* and *Mataram*, the Residence of the Emperor of *Java*. To the West near the Sea are: *Tiggel*, *Charabaon*, *Dermayaon*, *Mamkaon*, *Karavaon* and *Batavia*; of the Coast of which we intend to give you a short but exact Account. About 10 or 12 Leagues from 1662. *Batavia* is the famous City of *Bantam*, where the *English* have a Factory; and a considerable Traffick.

Manners and Customs of the Javanese.

The *Javaneses* are a Barbarous, Proud, and fierce Nation, of a brown Colour, with flat Faces, and thin, short Coal black Hair, large Eye-brows, and large Cheeks. They boast themselves to be descended from the Ancient *Chinese*, unto whom they resemble in some respects, having very small Eyes with large Eye-lids. The Men are very robust and strong limb'd, and well fitted for the War; the Women are but small. The Men, wear a piece of Callico wrapt two or three times round their Bodies; People of Fashion have them with Gold Flowers or Streaks. The Women wear it from under their Arm-pits down to their Knees; all the rest bare. They Marry sometimes two or three Wives, and perhaps keep divers Concubines besides, according to their Ability. Lying and Cheating is a daily practice with them. Those living near the Sea side are for the most part *Mahometans*, which was introduced there about 150 Years ago. In the Inland Countries they are generally *Pagans*, abstaining from Feeding upon any living Creatures. When they are to consult about matters of Moment it is done in the Night time.

Their Clothing.

Religion.

Its Fertility.

The Isle of *Java* is very Fertile, tho' a great part thereof be not known hitherto; It has very high Mountains, reaching to the very Clouds, witness the *Pepper* Mountain on the *South* side of the Island; It has likewise impassable Forests and Wilderness; But to the *North* betwixt *Batavia* and *Bantam* is a very populous Country, full of Rice Fields, and all sorts of tame and wild Creatures; Hereabouts also is Salt and Pepper to be found, but not so good as that at *Malabar*, besides most other sorts of *Indian* Fruits, which are sold in great plenty at *Batavia*. They abound also in Fish, are well stor'd with Hoggs, Oxen, Sheep and other tame Beasts, the Flesh whereof is of a very good Taste; Fowl both wild and tame they have in great plenty; but the Woods have also large Tygers, Rhinoceros's and divers other wild Beasts; In the Rivers you see also often *Crocadils*, call'd *Kaymans* by the *Indians*.

The Air and Seasons.

The Air or Climate of *Batavia* is in my Opinion as temperate and healthy as any place whatever in the *Indies*. The *East* and *West* Winds blowing all the

1662. Year long along the Shore, beſides the ordinary Land and Sea Winds. The Seaſons of the Year run here in the ſame manner as in *Europe*, except that the Sun paſſes twice a Year directly over their Heads; The moſt agreeable Seaſon begins in *May*, which continues with continual Breezes from the *Eaſt*, and a very ſerene Sky till *November*; When the Winter Seaſon approaching it rains ſometimes [illegible] three or four days without Intermiſſion, which ſets all the low Grounds under Water, which however has this Convenience, that it kills and waſhes away all Inſects, which elſe would prove very obnoxious to the Fruits. This Seaſon ends about *May*, when the dark Clouds beginning to diperſe, the Sky aſſumes its former Serenity; In *December* the *Weſt* Winds blow ſo violently, that there is no going by Sea here; In *February* it is changeable Weather, intermixt with ſudden Storms of Thunder and Lightning; In *March* they begin to Sow, and this Month produces ſome Fruit; In *June* is the moſt agreeable time of the Year. In *July* the Sugar and Rice begins to ripen, in *September* it is the beſt time, and the *October* affords them plenty of all ſorts of Fruits. The happy Temperature of the Climate produces ſuch Plenty of all ſorts of Neceſſaries, that there are very few Countries, that can compare with this Iſland; The pleaſant River riſing in the Mountains, divides it ſelf into many Branches, and waters the circumjacent Country, and afterwards recollecting its Channels, paſſes thro' the midſt of *Batavia*, (which divides in two parts) and there exonerates it ſelf into the Sea. 1662.

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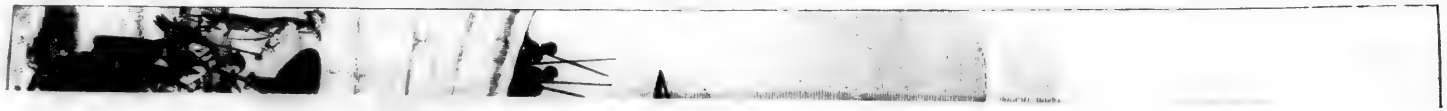
The City of *Batavia*, which got its Name many Years ago from the *Dutch* [illegible] Eſtabliſhment in thoſe [illegible], and is now by the *Javaneſes* call'd *Jakatta*; from a Palm or Cocoe Tree, which grows very plentiful hereabouts; the fruit of which the *Javaneſes* call *Kalappa*. The *Indians* call it *Jacata*, derived likewiſe from a certain Fruit call'd *Jacas* by the *Indians*, and *Schoolzak* by the *Dutch*. Not long before the *Mahometans* ſettled in the *Indies*, *Batavia* was no more than an open Village, inhabited by *Pagans*; At firſt it was ſurrounded only with a row of Palliſado's of Bamboo



THE NEW G

Betwixt p. 302. 303.

1662

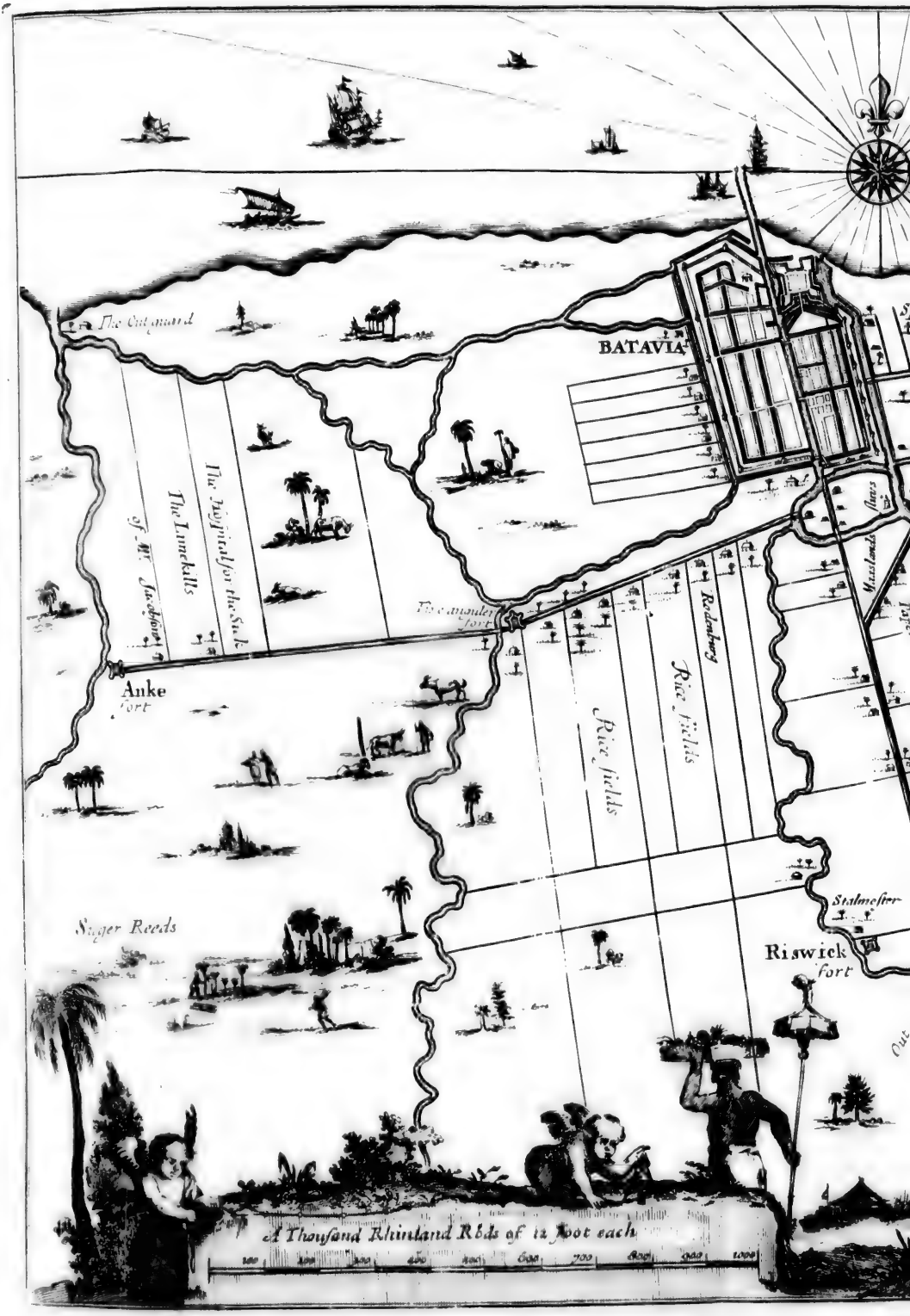
Bamboo Canes, but as it became more populous, the Inhabitants began to wage War against the King of *Bantam*, and some other neighbouring Princes, and that with very good Success. The City of *Batavia* lies at 5. Degr. 50 Min. off Southern Latitude, at the *North* side of the Isle of *Java* in a large but fenny Plain before it to the *South*; it is surrounded with abundance of small Islands; and to the *North* or Land ade with Woods and high Mountains. It is divided into two Parts by a River, is of a quadrangular Figure, fortified with a Wall of Stone, and 22 Bastions; the [illegible] whereof are, *Amsteldam*, *M*[illegible], [illegible], *Fritzenbergen*, *O*[illegible], [illegible] *Gate*, *Hollandia*, *Drest*, *Nassau*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Overyssel*, *Groningen*, *Zewburgh*, *Kuilenburgh*, and the *Middlepoint*. The Ditch underneath the Wall was in the Year 1670, surrounded with a Quick-Set-Hedge of Thorns; It has four great Gates, two whereof are very Stately and Artificially built, by the Famous *John Listing*, on the South side; the first 1630, and the other 1657. The third Gate is on the East-side, call'd *Rotterdam*, and the fourth call'd *Utrecht* on the West side. The City of *Batavia* is Situate in a Bay, extending to the East, as far as to the Cape of *Karavant*, and to the West as far as the Cape call'd the *Rough Point*, towards *Bantam*, which lies on the same Shoar, about twelve Leagues from *Ba*[illegible]

Both within and without this Bay lie [illegible] which the [illegible] of the [illegible] Waves be[illegible] [illegible] Her[illegible] [illegible] at once, [illegible] Banks lie [illegible] [illegible] the Bottom of the River, where they may lie without Anchors in a muddy Bottom; The River is lined with Stones on both sides as far as the Boom, [illegible] every Night [illegible] by a good [illegible] Besides which, [illegible] out of the main River, [illegible] Reception of smaller Vessels. No Vessel passes the Boom without paying a certain Custom, every Vessel that fetches Salt pays a Real, and

1662. and those that carry Stones two Reals. The Ditch without the Wall is very broad and deep, and sometimes rises so high, that some of the lowermost Streets without the City are laid under Water; All the Buildings of this City are well contriv'd, most even of the private Houses having handsome Gardens, well planted with Fruit-trees and Plants and Flowers, adorn'd with Pearls, Springs, Pumps, &c.

Its Streets. All the Sreets of this City run in a streight Line, most of them being 30 Foot broad; and on both sides near the Houses paved with Bricks; There are Eight Streets which are all well built and inhabited; among which the Princes Street is the Chiefest, beginning at the middle Point of the Castle, and running in a streight Line to the Town-House, having on each side a cross Street. Next to this is the *Lords-Street*, beginning on the *North* side over-against the Castle, reaching in a direct Line to the New Gate. The first Cross Street on the *East* side has got the name of *John Tirment*, who built abundance of Houses in this Street. The second is call'd the Market Street, opposite to which lies the third call'd the *Petawins* Street; The fourth is call'd the Street of the Hospital; as you come out of the Castle at the first Entrance into the *Princes Street* is the *Princes Lane* on the left hand. These are on the *East* side of the River; we will now pass over to the Western side; The Bank of which is planted with pleasant Trees, and adorn'd with Houses all in a straight Line as far as the *Diest Gate*. The first Street on this side is call'd the *Gentlemans Street*, being divided into two Streets by a Gracht, that comes cross it. The second Street comes crosswise thro' this part of the City, beginning at the *Utrech Bastion*, from whence it has got the name of the *Utrecht Street*. But now we must look back and take a view of the *Burghwalls* or *Grachts* (being Streets with Water Channels in them) of these there are no less than 15 among which the *Tygersgracht* is the most Stately and most Pleasant, both for the Goodliness of its Buildings, and the Ornament of its Streets, which afford a very agreeable Shadow to those that pass along the Street; The Channel is edged and lin'd with Stones from the Bottom, over which are four Stone Bridges, sustain'd by as many high Stone Arches, twelve Foot broad each; beside which, there is a wooden Bridge at one end. The inward *Gracht* behind the Carpenters Wharf (where is also the Founding-House) has three Bridges; Next to this is the *Kaymans Gracht* with four Bridges. The first *Gracht* which runs crosswise, is the *City's inward Burgh Wall*, having only one Bridge; Next to this the *Herb Gracht*, without any Bridge at all. The *Sesons Gracht* extending from the *Middle Point* directly to the *Rotterdam Gate* with six Bridges, and the *Inward Gracht* with one Bridge only. These are all the *Burgh Walls* and *Grachts* on the *East* side; now we must come to those on the *West* side; The first is the *Gentlemans Gracht*, with three Bridges; The second is call'd the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, having likewise three Bridges; The third, is the *City's Inward Gracht*, with three Bridges. The first *Gracht* running crosswise to the *North* is the *City's Inward Gracht*; the second faces the Carpenters *Wharf*, and is call'd the *Javanese Gracht*; and the third is call'd the *Chinese Gracht*, having only one Bridge. The fourth *Gracht* which runs crosswise, begins at the Bastion call'd *Frieseland*, and ends at the New Bridge near the Fish-Market, having three Bridges; last of all the *City's Inward Gracht* with one Bride. These are all the *Grachts* and *Burgh Walls* within the City, over which are laid 56 Bridges, most of which are sustain'd by large Stone Arches, not to mention here the wooden Draw Bridges which are over the *Grachts* without the Walls. At my first coming to *Batavia* I Lodg'd upon the *Tygers Gracht*, so that having sufficient Opportunity to take a Draught of it, I thought fit to insert it here.

The publick Buildings of the City. Among the publick Building of this City, the Church call'd the *Cross Church* claims the Precedency, being built in 1640. of solid Stone; In the midst of the Church stands the Steeple, being exceedingly beautify'd with Iron Work. It has but one Bell, which is only rung before Church-time; The Stone Edgings in the Front of the Church are Artificially Carved, and adorn'd on the Top with *Cherubims*. But time which defaces all things, and the Air, which is much sharper here than in *Europe*, has in a few Years wrought a considerable change in this Magnificent Structure. The Pulpit and Seats of the Chief Men here are very finely wrought and adorn'd with Iron-Work and Ebony Wood. The Vestry is of the same Workmanship. This Structure is very Lightsome and Lofty, within being adorn'd with five clear Branches of Brass brought



The Outguard
BATAVIA
The Hospital for the Sick
The Lunekills
of Mr. Jacobson
The angular fort
Anke fort
Rice fields
Rice fields
Redenburg
Maaslands
Stalmester
Riswick fort
Suger Reeds
A Thousand Rhinland Rods of 12 foot each
100
200
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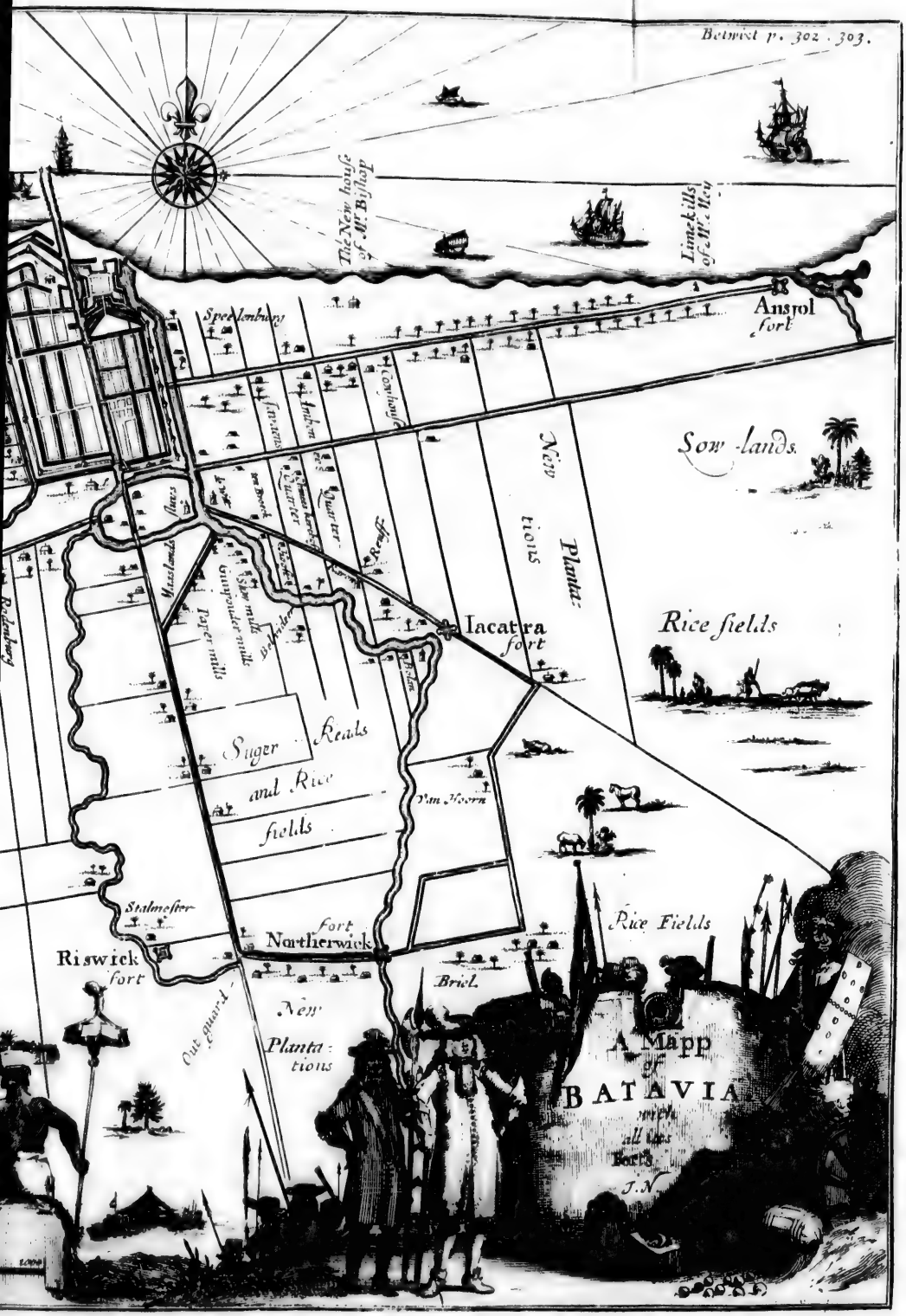
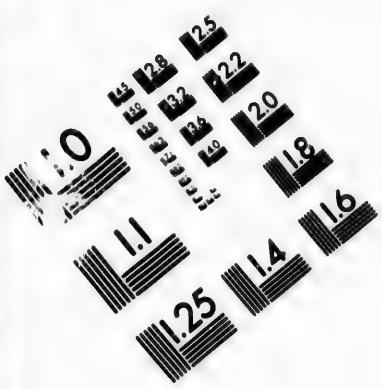
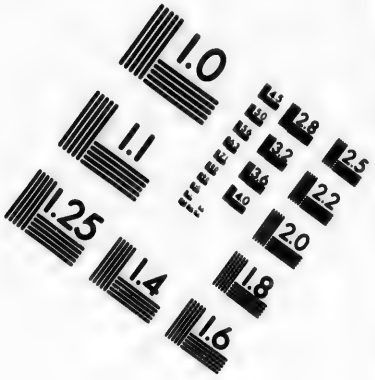

Betwixt p. 302 . 303.
The New house of Mr. Bishop
Limekills of Mr. Mey
Speelenburg
Ansjol fort
Sow-lands.
New Plantations
Iacatra fort
Rice fields
Suger Reads and Rice fields
Van Hoorn
Stalmester
Riswick fort
Northerwick fort
Rice Fields
Briel
New Plantations
Out guard
A Mapp of BATAVIA with all its Forts
J. N.





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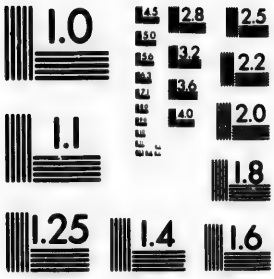

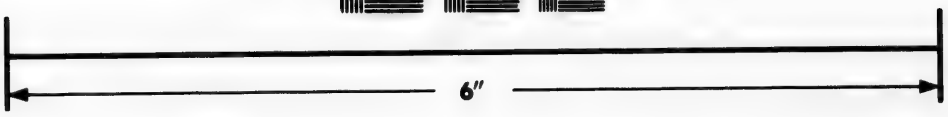

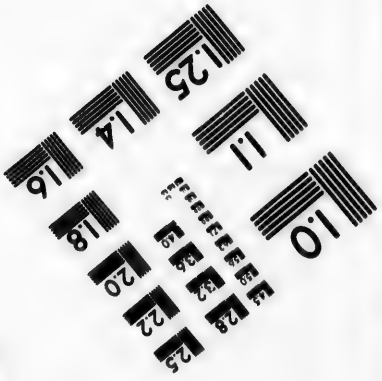

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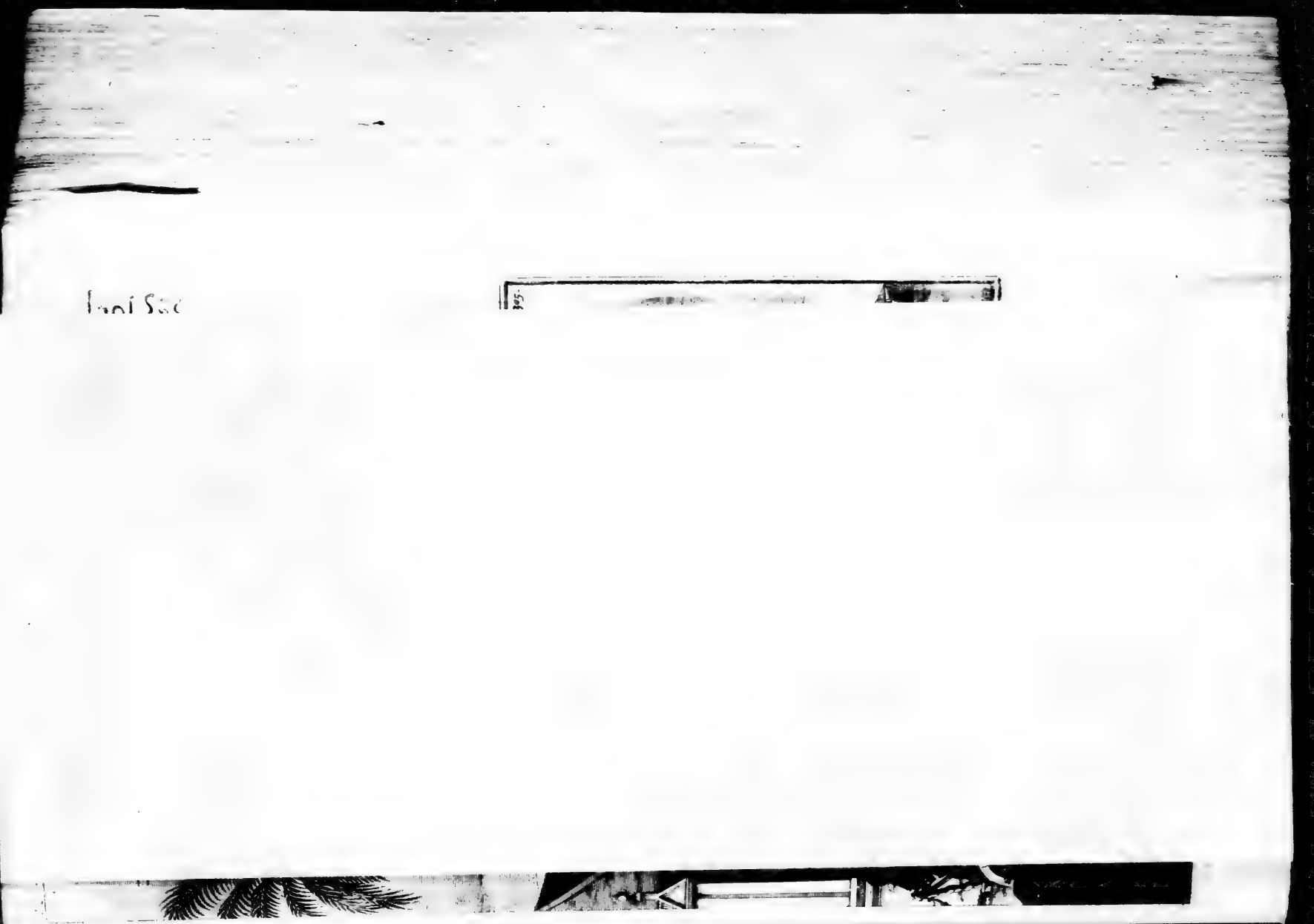

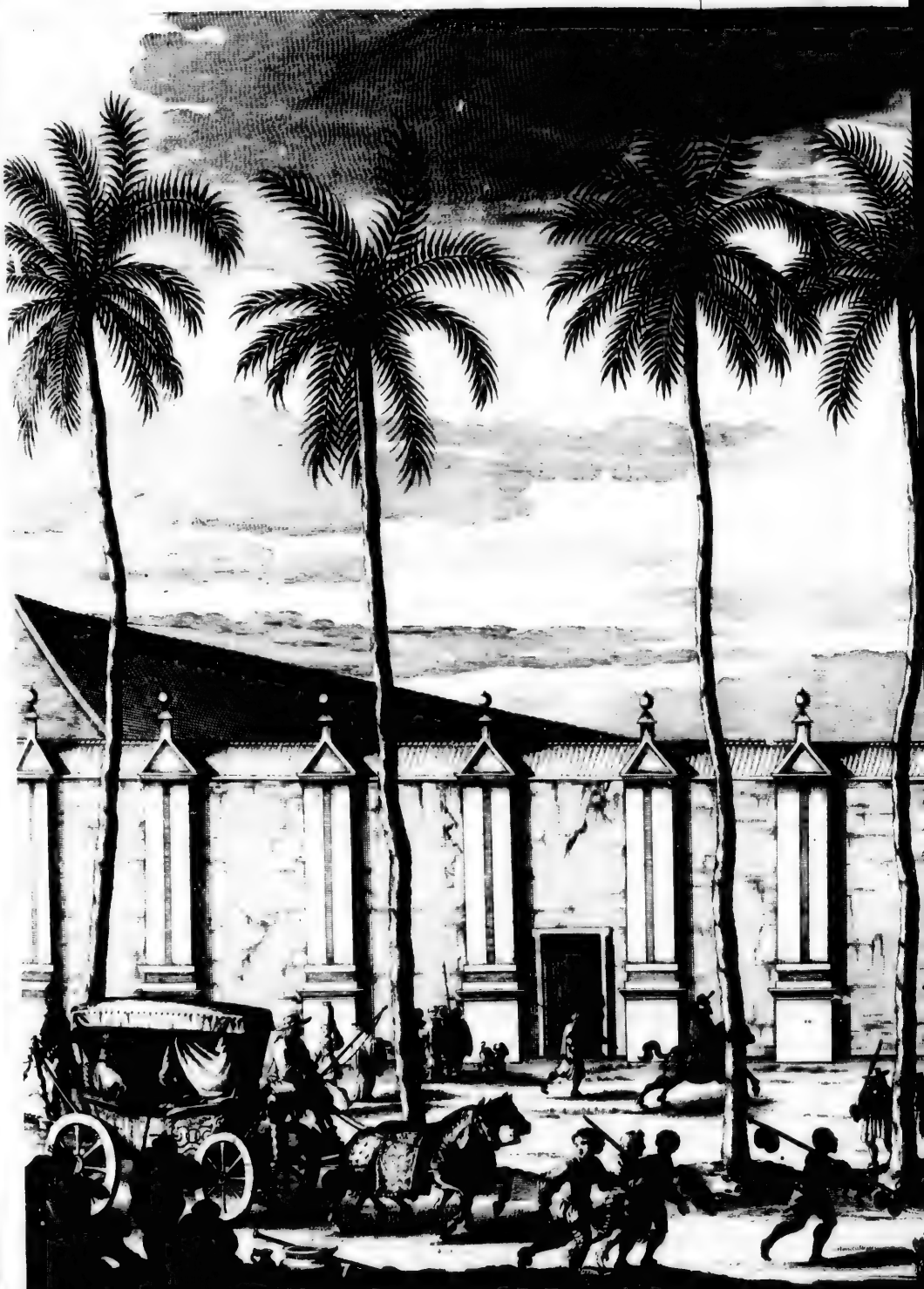

THE TOWN HOUSE

Page 305.

The Tygers Graft of
Batavia.
Tygers Graft

ers Graft

brought thither from *Holland*. In the other part of the City, the Foundation of a New Church was laid during my ſtay there, and before my departure, the Brick Work was almoſt finiſhed. In the year 1644. there was alſo a Church built in the Caſtle of an Octagonal Figure, being very light within, and flat on the top; The Floor covered with well poliſh'd white and blue Stones neatly done; The Glaſs of the Lanthorn on the top was of the beſt kind, and the Pews of the Church Carv'd very Artificially, and made of the beſt kind of Wood the *Indies* afford.

The *Town-Houſe* ſtands very near in the Centre of the City, in a ſpacious Place; being built of Brick in 1652. It is two Stories high, and you aſcend to the ſecond by a pair of winding Stairs. The great Gate is exactly in the middle of the Structure, artificially wrought, of the *Corinthian* Order, over which is a Balcony or Gallery of Stone, into which you enter out of the upper Hall. When Criminals are to be try'd a Scaffold is erected before the *Town-House*. The Windows of this Building are in proportion very high and lofty, finely glazed, and on the out-ſide guarded with Iron-work. In this Houſe, the Courts of Juſtice are kept; Here is the Meeting Place of the *Shepen* or *Senators*, as alſo of the Maſters of the Hoſpitals, and of the Overſeers of other Places; as alſo of the Court for the Direction of Military Affairs within the City. The inward Court is encloſed with a high Wall, and a double row of Stone-Pillars; here the Officers of Juſtice have their Habitations; and the Priſon-Keeper with his Attendants on the Weſt-end of it. It extends from the *Tygers Graeht* to the *Lords-Street*.

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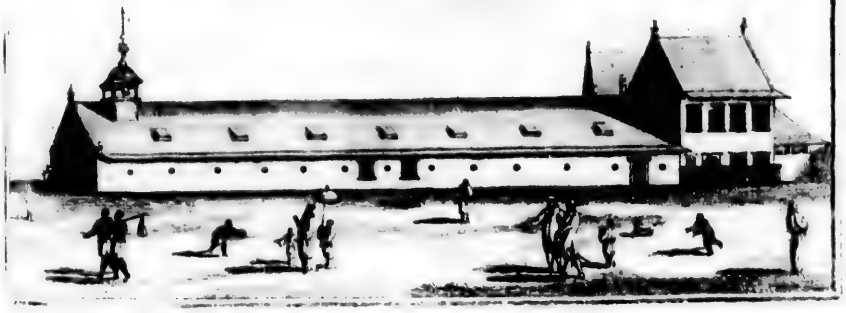
The HOSPITAL for the SICK.



The Hoſpital for the Sick ſtands upon the Bank of the great River, which runs through the City, betwixt the *New-Gate* and the *Dieſt-Gate*. Here ſuch as are Sick, and have not where withall to provide for themſelves, are entertained and Cured; there being ſometimes 200 or 300 to be ſeen here at a time, who are all provided with neat Lodgings, Beddings, and other Conveniencies. In the Out-houſes, are the Apartments for the Overſeers and their Servants, for the Doctor, Apothecary, Surgeon, Miniſter, Caſh-Keeper, Treaſurer, and others, who are to keep the Houſe clean, and look after the Sick; all theſe are

1662. plentifully maintain'd by the Company. Beſides, thoſe before-mentioned, three Perſons of Note belonging to the Company are conſtituted Overſeers, who take their turns every Week, and ſee that every thing be done as it ought to be, and eſpecially whether any of them are recovered ſo far as to be fit for Service. Behind it is a Square encloſed with a high Wall, and planted with Trees, which ſerves for a walking Place, for thoſe who are upon their Recovery; and a Door with a wooden-Bridge reaching a good way into the River, is alſo made for the taking of the freſh Air of the River. The Miniſter, who is appointed to viſit the Sick, ſays Prayers every Morning and Evening, when a Bell is rung; Every Sunday there is a Sermon, where all thoſe that are able are obliged to be preſent.

The Spin-Houſe. For the Encouraging of Virtue, and Suppreſſing of Debauchery in lewd Women, a *Spin Houſe* has been erected here, having no Windows or Proſpect but only on the Eaſtſide towards the *Burgh-Wal*, where certain Iron-Rails are made in the Gate, with wooden-Shutters within, which are ſhut and bolted as often as the Overſeer pleaſes. Here the Women are reclaim'd from their Lewdneſs by keeping them continually at Work, under the Tuition of a Governeſs, whoſe Buſineſs is to look after the Houſe, and to ſet them their Taſk, which if they miſs to perform, they are ſure to be Scourged. For the reſt, there are two Members of the Senate conſtituted on purpoſe for the Government of this Houſe, whoſe Buſineſs is to be preſent there every Sunday at the Sermon that is held there, for the Reclaiming thoſe lewd Creatures from their ill Courſe of life: If they commit any Miſdemeanour which cannot be corrected by Scourge, they are puniſh'd by the ordinary Court of Juſtice.

Slaughter-Houſes, or Fleſh-Halls. Upon the very brink of the River are built two Slaughter-Houſes or Fleſh-Halls, ſuſtained by wooden Piles, by which means they may with conveniency throw the Excrements of the kill'd Beaſts into the River. They kill twice a Week, each Butcher having his peculiar Stall, where he ſells his Meat, at ſuch a price as the Magiſtrates ſhall think fit to ſet; tho' moſt of them find means to Sell it as dear as they can. Whilſt I was there Beef was ſold at the Rate of four pence *per* Pound, and Pork at the ſame Rate; but Mutton being moſt eſteem'd was ſold dearer. All the Beaſts that are to be kill'd muſt be Taxed by the Farmer of the Exciſe upon Cattle; according to which, the Butcher is obliged to pay the Tenth-Peny Exciſe: But if the Farmer ſhould be Extravagant in his Taxation, the Butcher, who thinks himſelf injur'd, may Appeal to the general Judgment of all the Butchers, who if they do not agree to the Price ſet by the Farmer, he is obliged to Tax it himſelf at his own ſet Rate. 1662.

The Hall for the Sword-Stuffs. On the Weſt-ſide of that ſpacious Place which Faces the *Town-Houſe*, is a certain Structure, in which are ſold all ſorts of Cloaths ready made, as alſo Stuffs and Callicoes, white and painted; beſides divers other Commodities expoſed to Sale there, by the *Chineſes*. Theſe have here their peculiar Shops, for each of which they pay 3 *Crowns per* month. The whole Building is of Wood, being divided within into 5 Walks or Galleries, having Shops on each ſide; and as many Doors from without, which are kept open day and night, becauſe the Shop-keepers don't put up their Commodities till very late at night, and lay them out again early in the morning, with a great deal of curioſity, to Invite the Buyers to give them a good price, at which the *Chineſes* are very dextrous and quick, ſo that unleſs you be upon your guard, you are over-reacht before you are aware of it; however, theſe little Shops have this conveniency, that you may furniſh your ſelf here at an eaſier Rate, and that all at once, with abundance of ſmall things, which you can't buy ſo conveniently at the great Shops, where they will not be ſatisfied with a ſmall gain.

The City ſtables. On the Eaſtſide of the *Town-Houſe* is a goodly Structure, fitted up for Stables for Horſes, being all of Brick-work without, and provided with Racks, Mangers, and Partitions, and paved with Stones, ſo that the Horſe-Dung may be removed and waſh'd away with all imaginable Conveniency. The Place where they Manage their Horſes is very airy and well ſituated, having two Doors, one whereof leads to the Cities *Binne Gracht*, for the conveniency of Watering and Waſhing the Horſes. In this Stable are kept, beſides the Coach and Cart-Horſes, above 100 Saddle-Horſes, that are managed daily by certain Perſons kept for purpoſe. Their beſt Horſes are the *Arabian* and *Perſian* Horſes, which they Buy here at a high Rate; 200 Crowns being a common Price for an indifferent *Perſian* Horſe, the beſt being not to be got for Money. It is worth Obſervation, That

25
62.

The Slaughter House
of Batavia.

Betwixt p. 306. 307.

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1662.

The Hosp-
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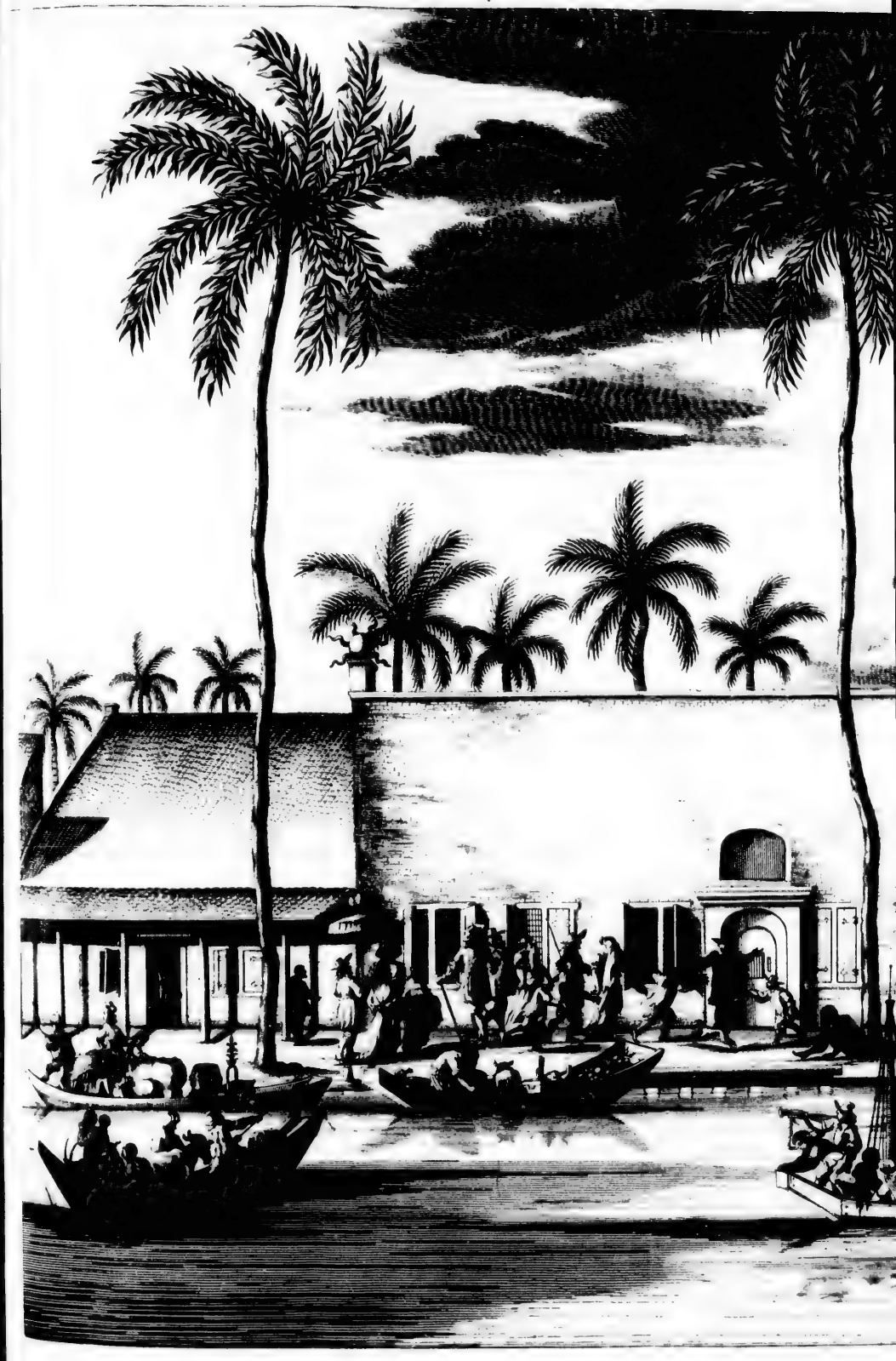

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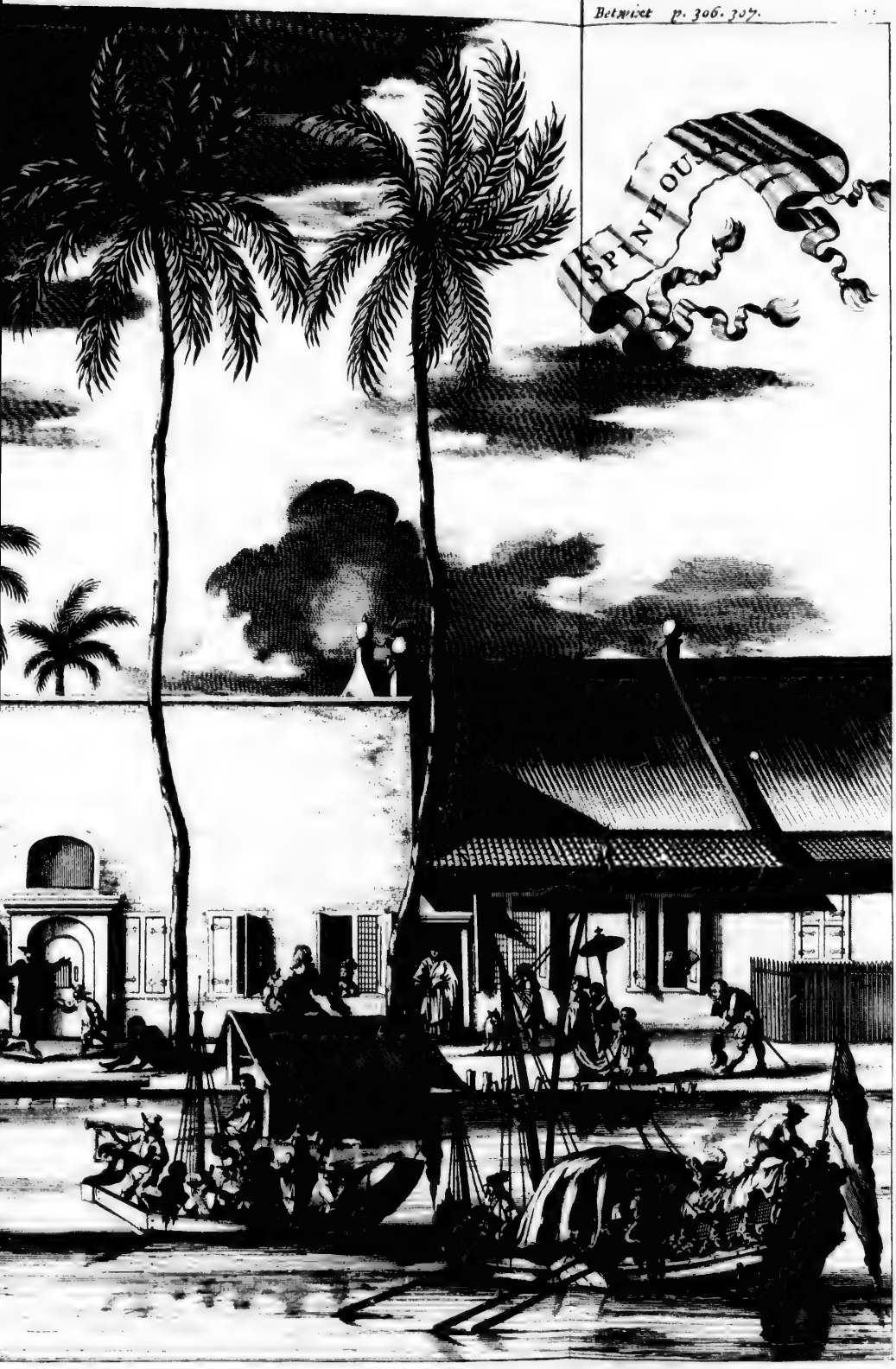

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That the *Perſians* Train up and Manage their Horſes without Blows, whereas our Managers are uſed to make uſe of Whip and Spurs, which makes them unfit for the due Management of thoſe Horſes. Abundance of Horſes are alſo brought to *Batavia* from *Japara* in the Iſle of *Java*; but theſe are not comparable to the *Perſian* Horſe: Some of theſe however are very Tractable, it well handled from the beginning, but many of them are broken Mouthed before they come to *Batavia*: The Natives being uſed to Ride their Horſes with a light Hunting Bridle; they are apt to toſs up their Heads when they are rid afterwards with a Curb-Bridle, to prevent which, our Managers faſten a Leather String to the Girt under their Belly, the other end of which being Buckled to the Bridle, makes them keep their Heads ſteady. 1662.

The Chineſe Hoſpital for Sick and Aged Perſons.

On the *Rhinoceros*'s *Gracht*, near the Spin-Houſe, is the *Chineſe* Hoſpital for Sick and Aged Perſons, built of Brick, divided into convenient Apartments, and a pleaſant Court to walk in: It was built in the year 1640. In this Houſe, ſuch as are Sick and Superannuated, and have not wherewithall to ſubſiſt, are received and maintain'd. For the Maintenance of which, a certain Duty is laid upon Marriages and Burials; as alſo upon Actors of Plays, Farces, and ſuch like Shews. And as, beſides this, many of the rich *Chineſes*, either by voluntary Contributions, or Legacies, give great Encouragement to this Houſe: It is provided with a conſiderable Revenue. The whole Management of this Houſe is committed to two *Hollanders*, and as many *Chineſes*, who have a Secretary to keep their Accounts. 1662.

The Hoſpital for Children.

At the Extremity of the Weſt-end of the *Rhinoceros*'s *Gracht*, you ſee the Hoſpital wherein poor Orphans are maintained and educated, being of Brick, with convenient Lodgings for the Servants of the Houſe: It has hitherto no ſettled Revenue, being maintain'd by the voluntary Contributions of well-diſpoſed People.

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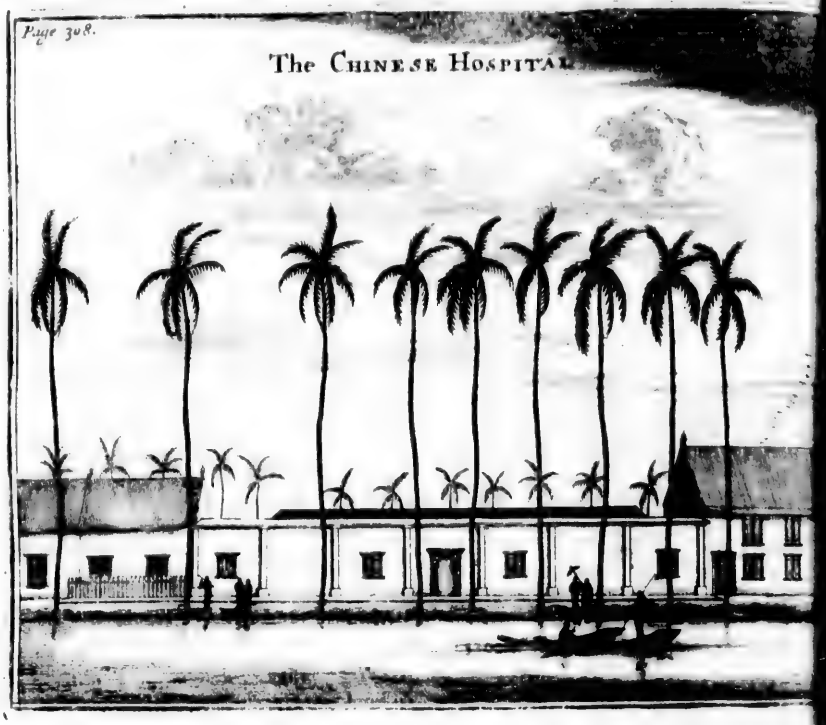

1662. *The Dutch Arrive.*

In the East-Corner is the Houſe, wherein are lodged all the Artiſans belonging to the Company, as Carpenters, Bricklayers, Gun-Founders, Stone-Cutters, Carvers, Glaſs-Makers, Turners, Ingineers, Seal-Cutters, Pewterers, Painters, *&c.* all which are diſpoſed into their proper Quarters, under the Direction of three *Hollanders* appointed by the Company. Beſides the Slaves belonging to the Houſe, there is alſo a Chirurgeon, and a Schoolmaſter; the laſt of which is obliged to ſay Prayers every night; at which all are obliged to be preſent under a certain Forfeiture. In this Houſe the Surveyor-General has his Lodgings, which are very handſome, and keeps two Clerks under him. He Overſees the Workmen. In this Houſe alſo are maintain'd ſuch Criminals as have been Condemn'd to the Chains, who are kept here to hard Labour, and well guarded. Every night at Nine a Clock, the Doors of the Houſe are ſhut up; and a guard of Slaves is placed to prevent any Diſorders, which might happen among ſo great a number of People of different Callings. I had for ſome time my Lodgings in this Houſe; and here it was that I firſt made the Draught, and afterwards made the Deſcription of *Batavia*. The Wharf belonging to this Houſe, is only fitted for the Building of ſmall Yachts and Boats, ſuch as are uſed only in the Road for the loading or unloading of Ships: But Ships of Bulk are built at the Ille of *Ormus*, about a League to the Weſt of *Batavia*, where are conſiderable Magazines for Ropes, and other Implements belonging to Ships, which are defended by certain Fortifications. 1662.

The Rope-Alley.

The *Rope-Alley*, where they are employed in twiſting Roaps, is likewiſe in one corner of the City, oppoſite to the Carpenter's Wharf, being planted with large Nut-Trees, which afford an agreeable Shade to the *Rope-Makers*. A little beyond it to the Weſt, you ſee the Pack-Houſes of the Company; wherein are laid up Pepper, Cinnamon, Nutmegs, Cloves, Mace, *&c.* The Overſeer has a goodly Habitation for his own uſe.

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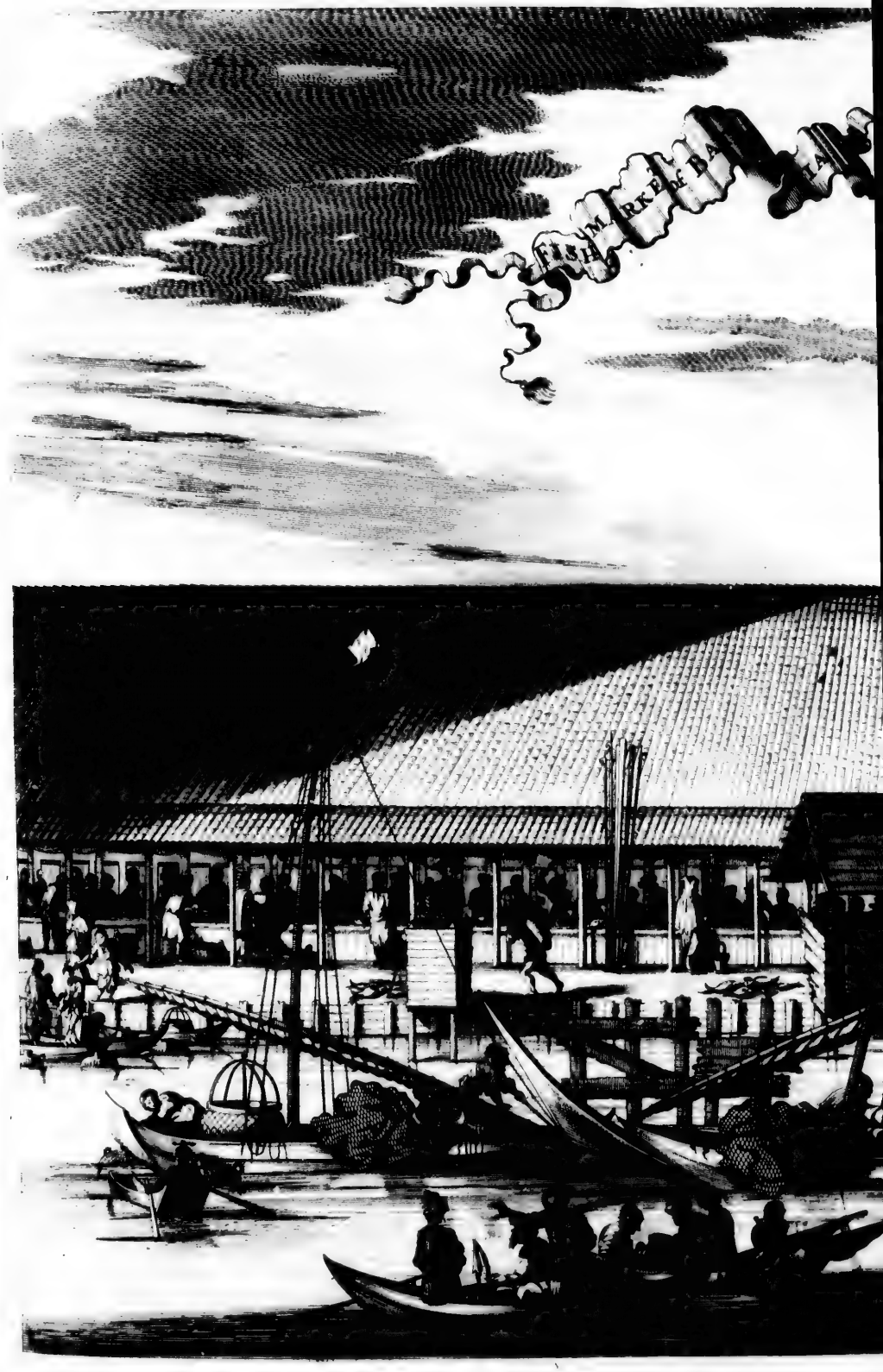
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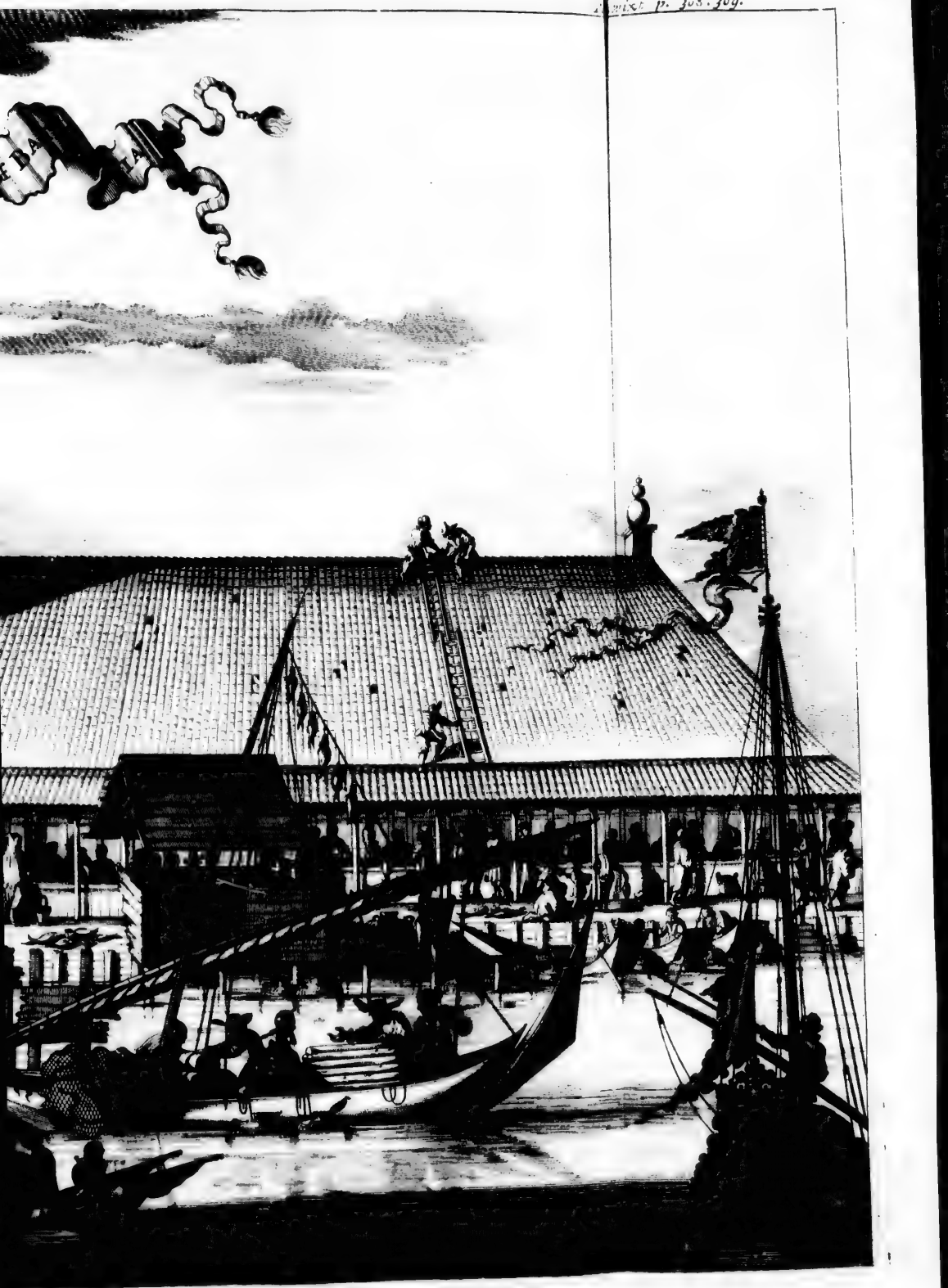

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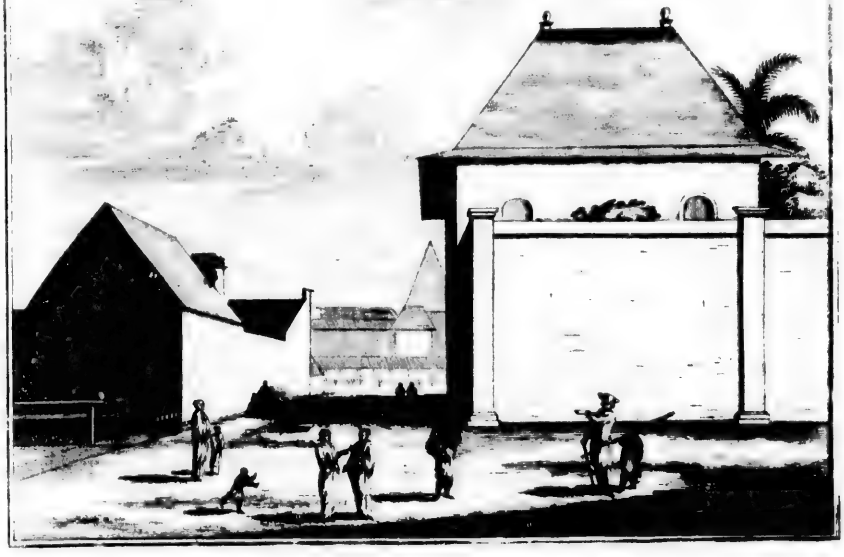
Page 309.

The LODGINGS of the ARTISANS belonging to the COMPANY.



Not far from thence, *viz.* near the Baſtion call'd *Amſterdam*, ſtands the Companies Magazine of Rice, a large ſtructure, having a Door looking to the Water-ſide, where Ships may be laden and unladen. It was built in my time 1670, of Brick-work. There is a Square enclosed with a Wall at the *Inward Wharf*, where the Receivers and other Servants of the Company have their Habitations.

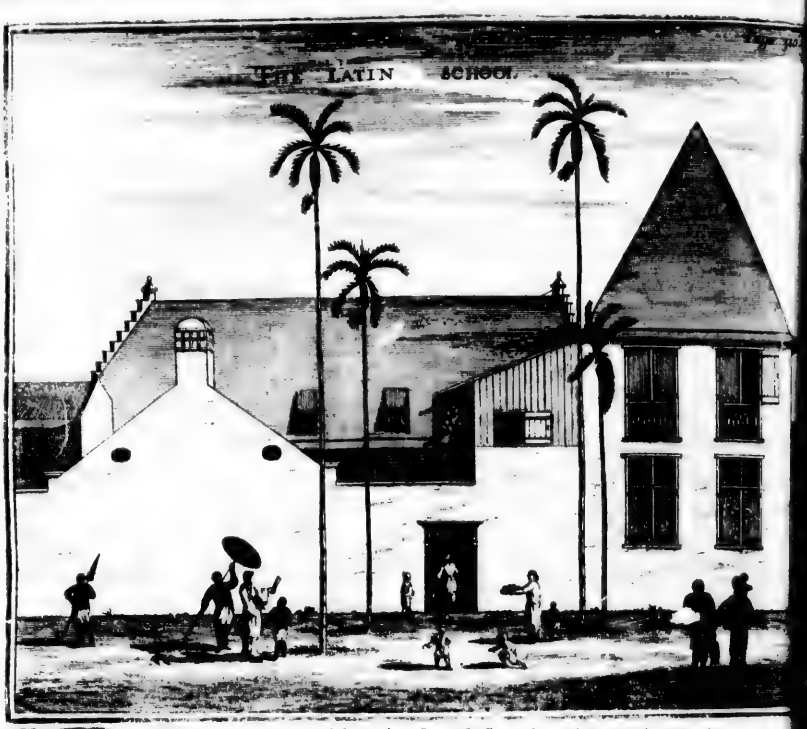
The *Prawenhouſe*, ſo call'd from the Word *Praw*, which in the *Malayan* Tongue ſignifies a *Boat or ſmall Veſſel*, ſtands upon the brink of the River, for Conveniency of ſuch ſmall Boats, as are built or refitted there; Here ſeveral Shipwrights, and a good number of Sea-Men, have their Quarters, the laſt being obliged to be ready upon call, where ever they are ordered to Row, by the Deputy Governour, under whoſe Tuition they are. On the Eaſt-ſide of the little Wharff, the Overſeer has a ſmall Houſe. Having thus given you an Account, of the publick Structures of this City, with ſuch draughts thereof as time and opportunity would permit us to take, we will now proceed to the four *Great Markets* of *Batavia*, and begin with the Fiſh-Market. 1662.

The Fiſh-Markets.

The Fiſh-Market is on the Weſtern-ſide of the Great River, being ſuſtained by ſtrong Wooden-Piles; and covered on top with Pan-tiles. Oppoſite to it is the Dwelling place of the *Aſſager* (or *Outroper*) where the Fiſher Boats are oblig'd to ſtop, and their Cargo is ſold immediately by publick Sale, to the faireſt bidder; The Fiſh-Mongers are generally *Chineſes*, each of which has his own Stall, for which he pays two Reals *per* Month. The *Outroper* pays ready Money to the Fiſhermen, for what they ſell to theſe *Chineſes*, who allow him Two-pence in the Crown, and are obliged to repay it at a ſet time. Here you may furniſh your ſelf with Sea, River, or Shell-fiſh, according to your own pleaſure, from 10 a Clock in the Morning, till four in the Afternoon; when the Fiſh-Mongers leave their Stalls here, and Sell the Remnants near the Riverſide behind the *Fleſh-Hall*.

The Rice or Corn-Market.

The Rice or Corn-Market is adjoining to the former, or rather oppoſite to it at the North-end; being built after the ſame manner, except that it has no



Stalls or Banks; Here you meet with Grains of all ſorts which are ſold here, according to the Market Price, by a certain ſmall Meaſure called *Ganting*, containing about 13 or 14 Pounds of Rice, which is commonly Sold for Six-pence. He that has the over-ſight of the Market and Meaſures, has a Houſe at one end; His buſineſs among other things is to ſet the Mark upon the Meaſures, and Weights, which is done twice a Year; *viz.* in *January* and *July*, at the Town-Houſe, in the preſence of two *Shepemen* or Aldermen. They pay Two-pence for each Mark. 1662.

The Fowl-Market. Near the *New-Bridge*, as you paſs along the River-ſide to the *Croſs-Church*, is the Fowl-Market, where the *Mardikers* and *Topaſſen* (a kind of Negro's) ſell all ſorts of Fowl in great plenty, ſo that you may buy an ordinary Pullet for Three-pence, but the beſt ſort are dearer. In this Market you ſee many Hutts, in which they ſell dried Fiſh, Eggs and courſe Earthen Ware.

The Fruit-Market. The Fruit Market begins at the *New-Bridge*, extending by the River-ſide, to the *Middlepoint*. Here you meet with all ſorts of Fruits and Herbs, Sold by the *Chineſes* and Negro's, who pay the 100th Penny Exciſe. From four a Clock in the Afternoon till Night, this Market is ſo crowded with People, that there is ſcarce any paſſing in it. 1662.

On the *Tygers-Gracht* is the *Latin* and *Greek* School; the back ſide of it reaching to the *Kaymans-Gracht*, with a lofty Stone-Gate. It has a very pleaſant Court, where the School-Boys may divert themſelves at certain times. The *Rector* or Head School-Maſter has a very handſome Houſe. Beſides this School, there are divers other Schools at *Batavia* for the Inſtruction of Young People in Reading and Writing; in which ſome of the Natives, and eſpecially the *Topaſſes* are ſo ingenious, that they don't give way in that point to any other Nation. What Books are uſed here, are brought out of *Holland*; but in the Year 1667, a Printing-Houſe has been erected, and ſeveral Books have been Printed here with good ſucceſs. *The Latin and Greek School.*

The Caſtle. The Caſtle is a Quadrangle, Situate in a level Ground, two Baſtions of which, *viz.* the *Diamond* and the *Rabbet*; front the City, one facing the *Tygers-Gracht*, and the other in a ſtraight line thro' the *Lord-ſtreet*

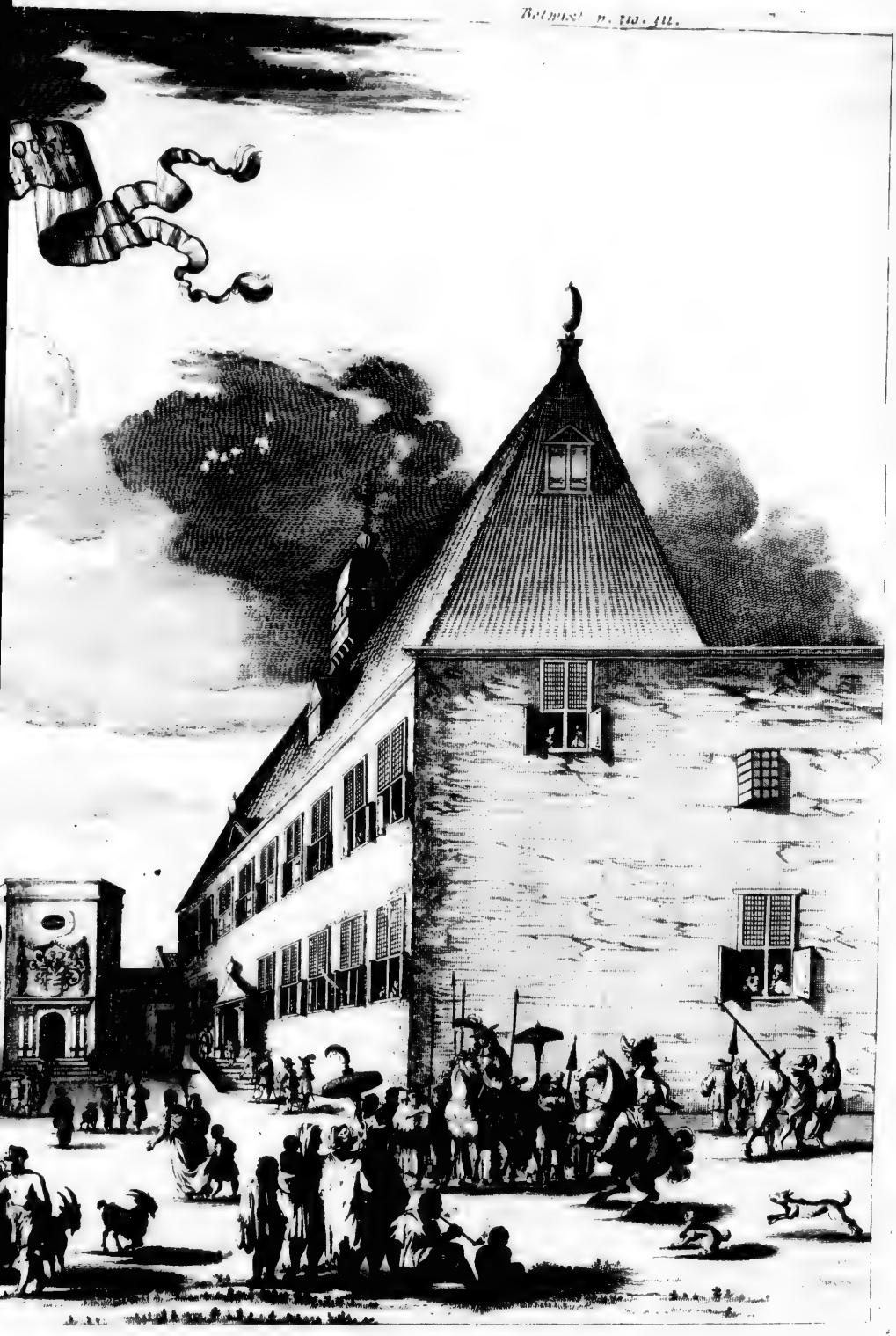
1662.

The Latin *and* Greek *School.*

The Castle.

1562.

GOVERNOURS HOUSE
WITHIN THE CASTLE



1662

The Fowl Market.

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1662. New-gate.

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1662. *Lord ſtreet* to the *Middelpoint* of the *New-gate*.

On the Weſt-ſide the River waſhes the very Walls, being encloſed by part of the City, which lies open on that ſide; The two other Baſtions call'd the *Pearl* and the *Sapphire*, face the Sea; The low Grounds towards the Weſt are well planted with Gardens and Orchards; The Baſtions as well as the *Courtins* of the Caſtle are faced with white Stone from the bottom to the top, and provided with Watch-Houſes at convenient diſtances; The Ditch is very broad and deep; being encloſed, 1669, within a Quickſet-Hedge, ſerving not only for an Ornament, but alſo as an Additional ſtrength to the place, from whence they Fire with advantage upon an approaching Enemy.

In this Caſtle the *Dutch* Governour General of the *Indies*, and all the Members of the Council of the *Indies*, reſiding at *Batavia*, have their places of Reſidence; As likewiſe the head Factors, who keep the Accounts, and of what is paid to the Servants of the Company; and the general Book Keeper, the Secretary of the *Great Council*, the Captain of the Armory, the Phyſician, Chirurgeon, and Commander of the Soldiery; all theſe I ſay, beſides ſeveral others, have their fix'd Habitations here. But the Houſe or rather Palace of the Governour General, ſurpaſſes all the reſt in Magnificence.

It is built of Brick, two Stories high, yet ſo lofty that the top of the Roof ſurpaſſes in height all the other buildings, and may be ſeen a great way at Sea; eſpecially the Lanthorn or Turret, which ſtands in the midſt of it, having inſtead of a Weather-Cock a Ship of Iron, very Artificially wrought. The Door is juſt in the middle, unto which you aſcend ſeveral broad Stone-Steps; In this Palace, is the Council Chamber, for the *Great Council* to meet in; and near it the Secretary's Office, and Chamber of Accompts. The great Hall is hung about with bright and well poliſh'd Armour, Enſigns, Standards and Flags, which have been taken by the *Dutch*, in ſeveral Sea and Land Engagements; In this Hall Prayers are ſaid every Night, and here it is that the Governour at certain times gives Audience, to all ſuch as have occaſion to Repreſent their Grievances to him. Behind it are pleaſant Walks, planted with Trees, among which a *Tamarind*-Tree of an exceſſive height, and ſtanding in the Center of the Garden, affords a moſt agreeable ſight. Out of this Garden you paſs thro' a little Gate of the *Courtin*, by a ſmall Bridge to a Summer-Houſe, built upon Piles in the midſt of the Water, from whence you have a very pleaſing Proſpect, not only of the Fortifications of the Caſtle, but alſo of the Rivers Mouth, and the Road where the great Ships Ride at Anchor. At the Eaſtern Corner of this Summer-Houſe is a Door leading thro' a Gallery, to the before-mentioned Chamber of Accounts, which has a flat Roof, convenient Offices, and pleaſant Walks belonging to it; The Floor is covered with a kind of Grey-Stone neatly done. In this Apartment, moſt of the Book-keepers and Clarks are boarded at a certain rate, by the Treaſurer. 1662.

The Houſes of the Members of the *Great Council* are on the South-ſide of the Caſtle, the Land-Gate being in the midſt of them.

The Armory is built much after the ſame maner as the Chamber of Accompts; It extends along the Eaſt-ſide of the *Courtin*, having ſeparate Apartments for Sword Cutlers, Gunſmiths, and other Artificers of that kind.

The Governour of the Sea Affairs has his Houſe on the North-ſide juſt oppoſite to it, and on the ſame ſide dwell the Factors, Phyſician, Chirurgeon and Apothecary. Hereabouts ſtand alſo the Magazines of Fleſh, Bacon, Wine, Brumſwick-Mum, *Holland* Butter, Oil, Vinegar, and divers other Proviſions; And under Ground are made certain Vaults for Gunpowder, and Artificial Fireworks. The Caſtle has four Avenues and as many Gates. The firſt and largeſt is call'd the *Landgate*, built 1636, where you ſee a Stone-Bridge, ſupported by 14 Arches over the Ditch; being 26 Rods long, and Ten Foot broad, paved with *Dutch* Bricks ſet on edge. The *Watergate* faces the North, where is a large Watch-Houſe for the Garriſon, and ſome Apartments on both ſides, for the Overſeers of the Magazines and Store-Houſes.

This was built 1630, according to the Inſcription. Beſides theſe, two leſſer Gates are in the *Courtins* to the E. and W. which are ſcarce ever made uſe of, unleſs that ſome Veſſels laden with Ammunition, and ſuch like things are generally unladen here. There is a ſmall Plain before the *Rabbet* Baſtion, where the new Lifted Soldiers are Exerciſed and Taught the uſe of Arms, by an Officer

1662. **Officer apointed for that purpoſe. Not** many Years ago a Wooden Draw-Bridge was built near the Baſtion call'd the *Sapphire*, by which means you may walk all round the City to the Boom, where you muſt be ferried over.

Before my departure a project was on foot of building a Tower and Steeple upon the *Rabbet Baſtion*, making ſome additions to the *Rotterdam* and *Utrecht* Gates, and to enlarge the City to the E. and N. as far as to the turning of the *Great River*, ſo that the North-ſide of the Caſtle ſhould front the Baſtion call'd the *Middlepoint*. Thus far of the City of *Batavia* it ſelf, we will now take a view of its outſide.

It is eaſie to be gueſs'd at, what moved the Regents of this City to ſurround it with Forts at ſuch a diſtance, *viz.* to the E. as far as the River *Antjol*, and to the W. as far as the River *Anke* along the Bay of *Batavia*, and on the Land-ſide to the S. by the Forts, *Northwik*, *Riſwick* and *Jacatra*; theſe ſerving the Inhabitants of the flat Country, as a Defence againſt the Incurſions of the Neighbouring Barbarians, ſo that they may quietly enjoy the Fruits of their Labour; **The Country all about this City being** well Cultivated, and ſtored with Rice 1662. and Sugar-Reed-Fields, Gardens and Orchards, Country-Houſes, Brick and Tile Wharffs and Sugar-Mills, which are of great Conſequence to the City. To give all poſſible encouragement for the Manuring of the Ground, the main Channel of the *Great River* was ordered to be ſtopt up, 1659, inſtead of which two branches being made, one leading to *Reſwick*, the other to *Jacatra*, theſe ſerve to lay the Ground thereabouts under Water, upon occaſion. One of theſe Branches is to the W. brought into another Channel, leading directly to the middle of the City, and being ſtopt near the ſecond Bridge of the *New-Gate* by a Dyke and Sluce. Here you ſee ſeven Mills, one whereof is a Corn-Mill, four Gunpowder-Mills, one Saw-Mill for Wood, and one Paper-Mill, which are driven by the force of the Water; near it the Millers have their Habitations.

Before the Dyke juſt at the Entrance of the City is the Place, where they Refine the Brimſtone; Near this place, 1658, a very ſtrong Sluce was built for

for the Conveniency of bringing Country Commodities into the Cities with leſs Charge; but the ſame was ruin'd in a little time after, by the force of the Water. 1662.

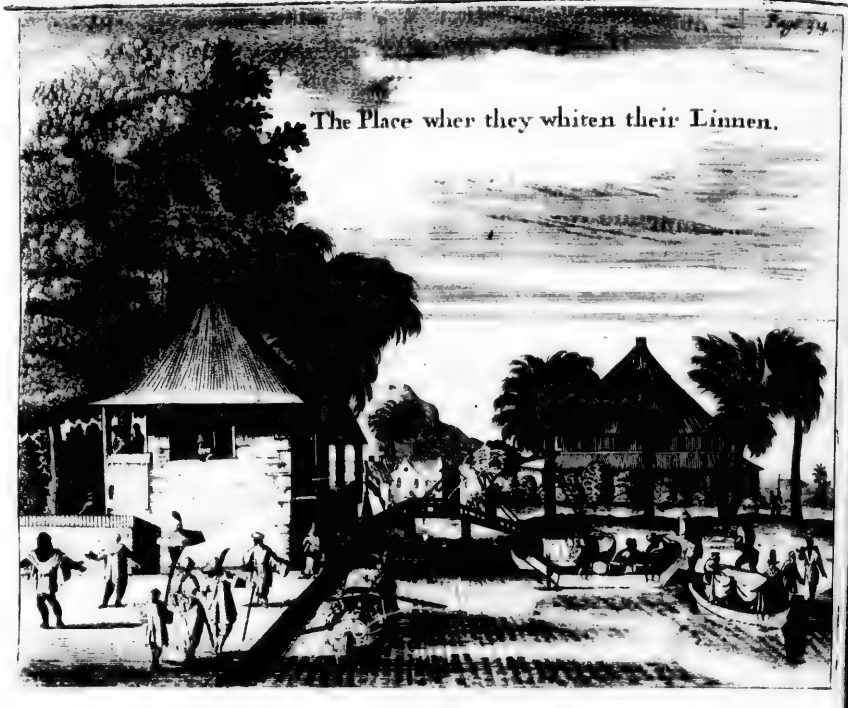
Page 313.

The PEST HOUSE.

Not many Years ago, a certain contagious Diſtemper began to rage at *Batavia*, which proving Mortal to many, it was reſolved, (to ſtop the Infection) to build a kind of *Hoſpital* or *Peſt-Houſe*, where ſuch as were ſeiz'd with this Evil, might be provided with Lodgings, Diet, and ſuitable Remedies. This Houſe, which has with it the *Deiſt Gate* near the Road to *Ambe*, is under the Government of ſeveral of the richeſt Citizens of *Batavia*.

By the *Eaſt* ſide of the Dike where the Mills are, a Houſe was built in 1609. for the waſhing and whitening of Linen Apparel, the latter (being carried thither by Bamboo Canes faſten'd together. Without the City are beſides theſe many other Houſes Erected partly by the Company, and partly by the Liberality of ſome of the Inhabitants, which I will paſs by in Silence here; and ſay a word or two more of their Out-works or Forts: All theſe lie in a flat even Country, made of Earth, ſurrounded with Ditches and Quickſet-Hedges, except the Quinquangular Fort, call'd the *Riſwick* and the Fort *Anſjol*, both which are faced with Brick-work. They are all well provided with great Artillery, and Proviſions for nine Months, or perhaps for a whole Year, as well as the Garriſon of the City of *Batavia* it ſelf. There is a certain Officer appointed to keep the Cannon and other Arms neat and clean, the which being under the Overſight of a Captain of the Artillery, who commands alſo the Fire-Workers, and has his Habitation upon the Baſtion call'd the *Diamond*. The Garriſon conſiſts chiefly in Foot, there being only a Troop of Horſe, which ſerves as a Guard to the Governor General, who are obliged to be upon the Guard in their Turns. Theſe enjoy great Privileges, are commanded by one of the beſt Officers, and are obliged to appear every *Sunday* in their Armour well poliſh'd, and with their Piſtols, Carabines, and broad Swords.

The Inhabitants of *Batavia* conſiſt either of the Citizens, or ſuch as *The Inhabitants.*



The Place wher they whiten their Linnen.

are Servants to the Company, being of 1662. divers Nations; among whom the *Dutch* exceed the reſt both in Riches and Dignity, moſt places of Honour and Profit being in their Hands.

Chineſes

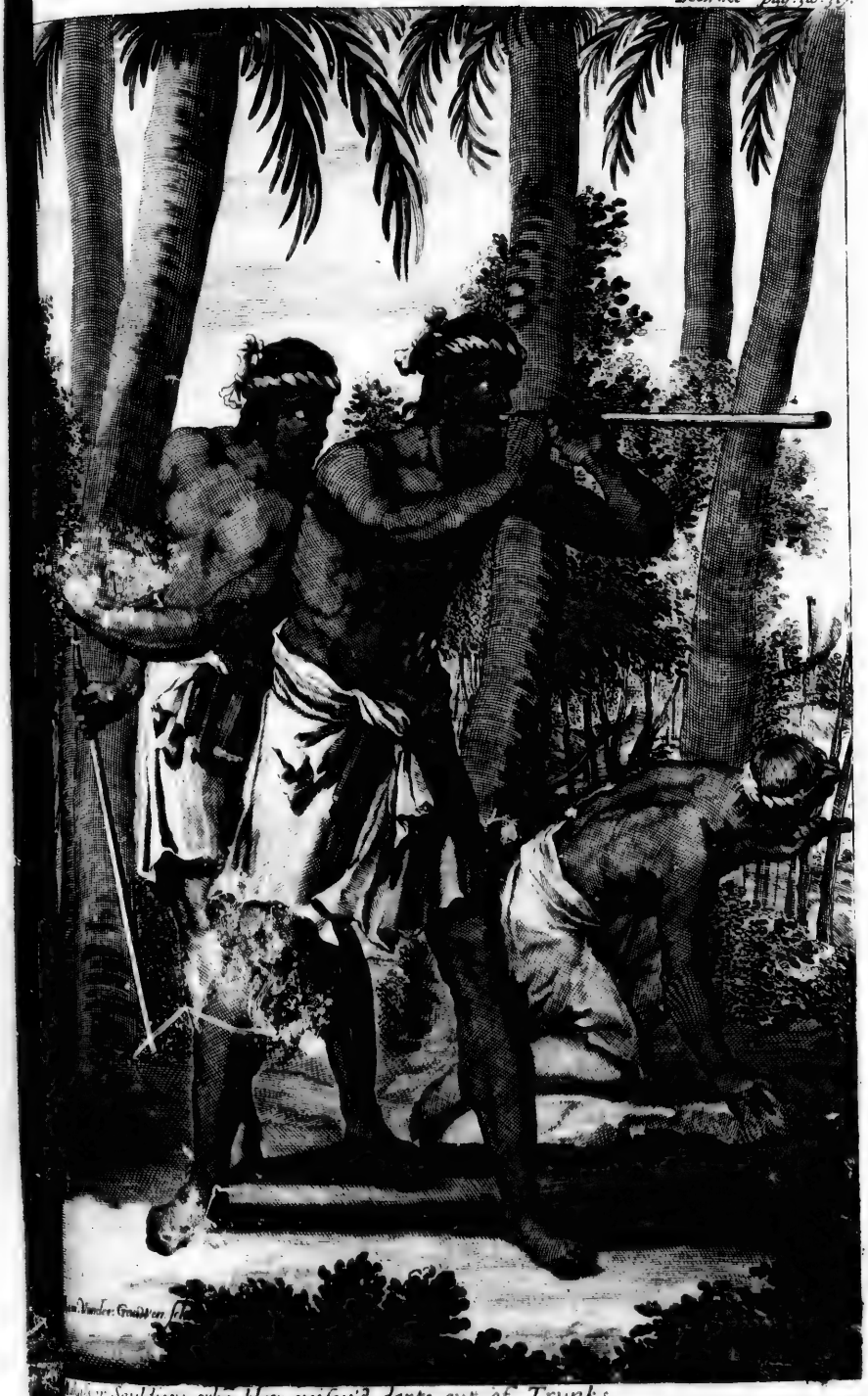
The *Chineſes* drive here a conſiderable Traffick, being more induſtrious than any of the other *Indians*; They deal much in Fiſh, and cultivate moſt of the Rice, Reed and Corn-fields; ſome alſo maintain themſelves by Fiſhing, but the chiefeſt upon Merchandizing; They Farm the Exciſes and Cuſtoms; but of late years ſome of the other Nations have found ways to imitate them in their Thriftineſs and Cozenings, at which they are great Artiſts, which I know by my own Experience. They live here according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of their own Country, under the Tuition of a *Chineſe* Governor, who manages all their Affairs with the Company. They are dreſs'd after their own Faſhion, in a Coat with wide Sleeves, either Callicoe or Silk, according to their Abilities. They don't ſhave their Heads here according to the *Tartarian* Faſhion, as they do now in *China*, but wear their Hair long, and neatly twiſted. Their Habitations are ſetled thro' the whole City, but live for the moſt part on the *Weſt* ſide near the *Great River*, and many of them on the *Eaſt* ſide; Their Houſes are low, with the Roof cover'd over the firſt Floor. 1662.

The *Malayans* as they are not ſo much addicted to Trading as the *Chineſes* live for the moſt part upon Fiſhing; Their Boats are made after the *Indian* Faſhion, with large Sails. They have alſo a Governor of their own, who lives in the *Rhinoceros's Gracht*, whereabouts moſt of them have their Dwelling Places. They wear light Callicoes or Silks, tho ſome of their Women of Faſhion uſe flower'd and ſtrip'd Silk; their Hair, which is very black, they tie behind in a Knot, but the Men wear a piece of Cloth about their Heads. Thoſe few Merchants that are among them, are next to the *Chineſes*, accounted the cunningeſt Traders; The Houſes of the *Malayans* are but very indifferently built there, being cover'd with Leaves, and planted round with Coco-Trees. They have a Cuſtom of chewing the *Bethel* Leaves continually, and take Tobacco, through Sugar Canes lackered over with ſtone Ball. The Malayans.

The

A Marchant of Java.

Betwixt pag. 316. 317.



...ss Souldiers who blow poison'd darts out of Trunks

A Tonas or Mardick with his Wife.

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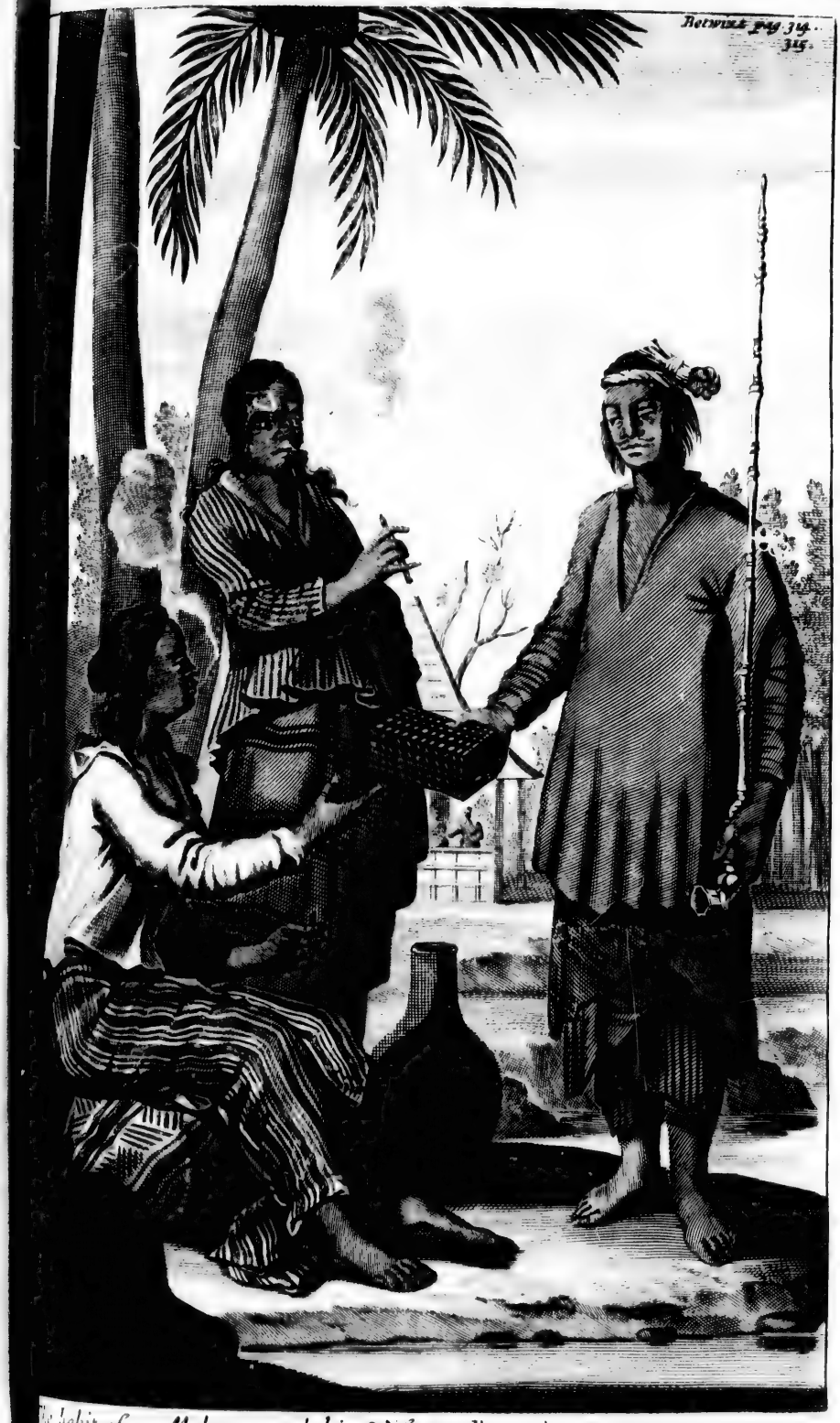
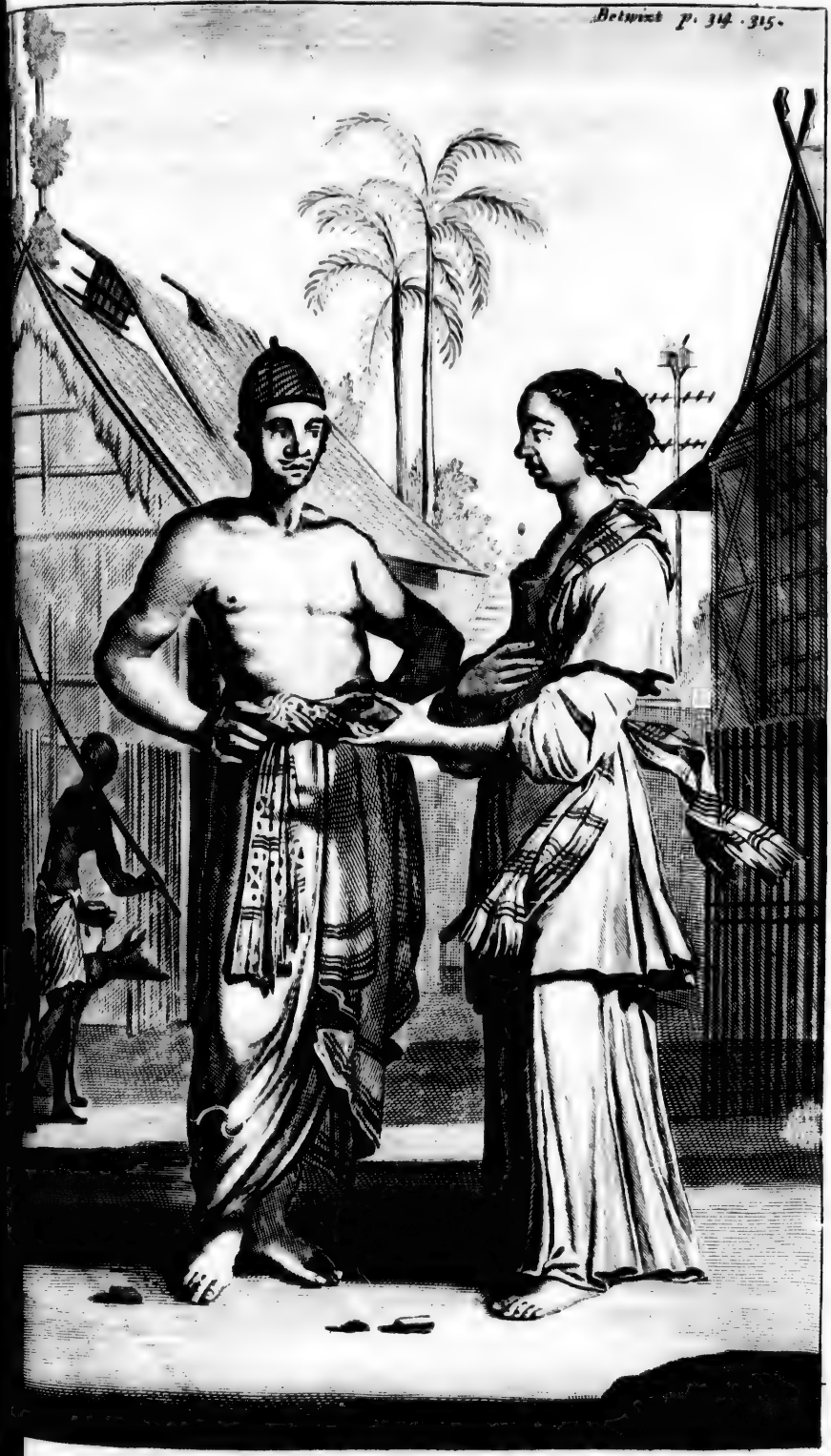
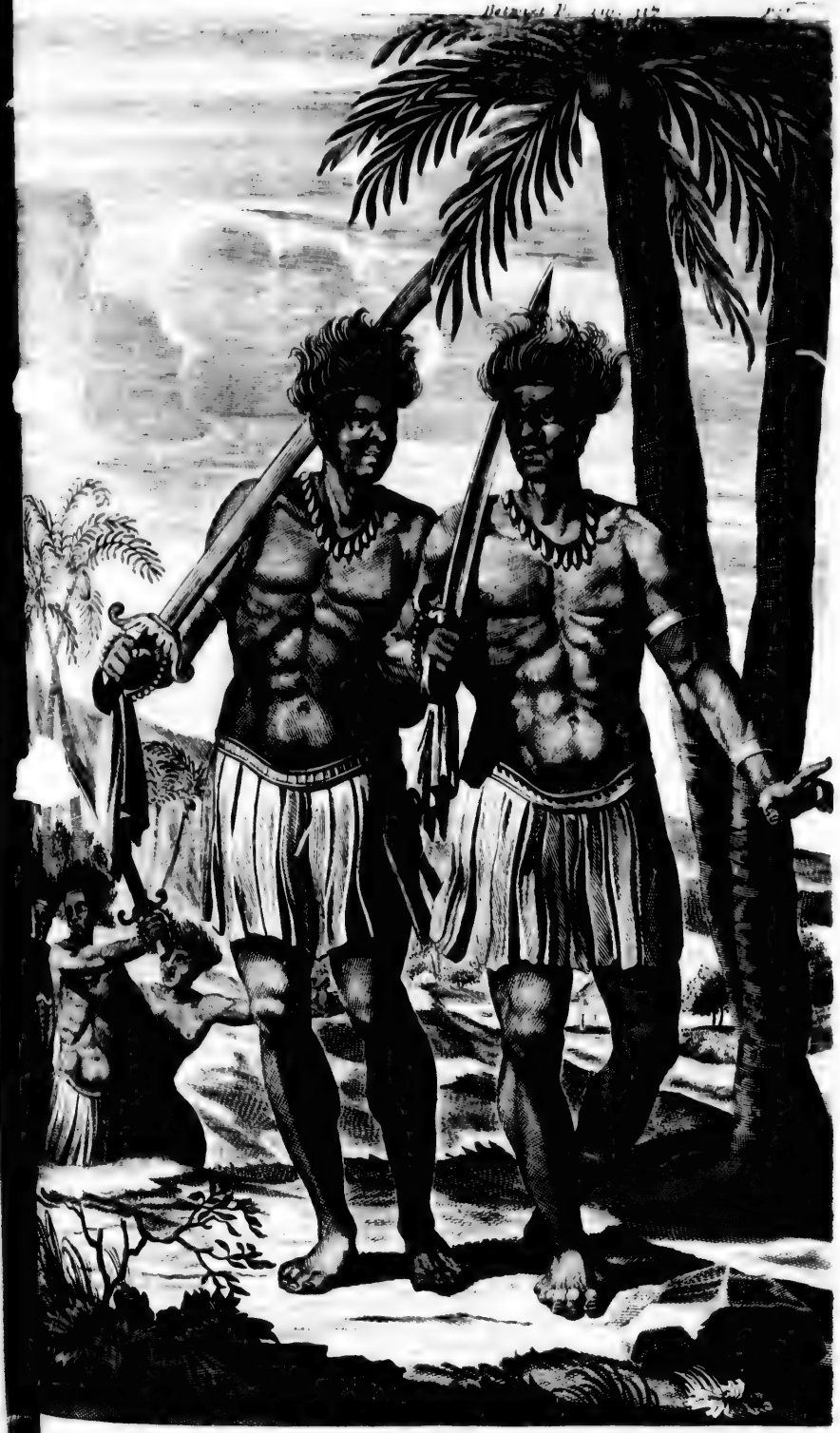


The habit of a Malayan and his Wife at Batavia.

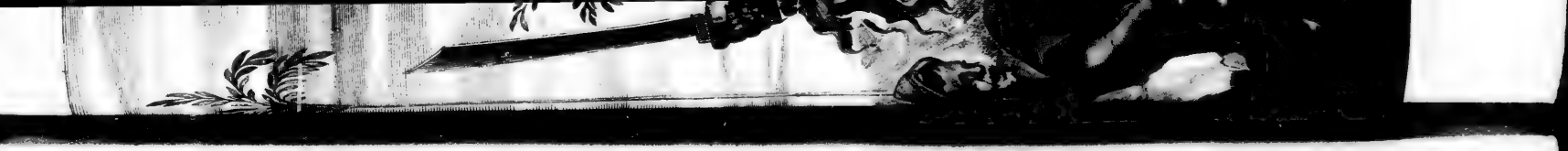
A Melayã Captain.



A Javaneſe Man and Wooman.



Tymorian Souldiers.



A Souldier of Amboina.

H. Cause Sculp.

A Makaßer

A Makasser with his Wife as they are habited at Batavia

A Negro Pedler with his Wife.

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The Fort RYS-WICK.

The *Moors* or *Mahometans* here maintain themſelves almoſt in the ſame manner, and live near the *Malayans*; ſome however drive a kind of Pedling-trade, and ſell Coral and Glaſs Beads in the Streets, ſome have ſmall Stalls in Market Towns. A few of them Merchandiſe, eſpecially in Free-ſtone, which they fetch in their Veſſels from the adjacent Iſlands. They are clad after the *Mahometan* Faſhion. 1662.

The *Amboineſes* inhabit a particular part of the Suburbs, on the left hand, as you come from *Jacatra* to the City, near the Burying place of the *Chineſes*; Near it their Governor (who has done great Services to the Company) has built himſelf a ſtately Houſe, after the manner of the *Amboineſes*. They live for the moſt part upon Carpenters Work, being extreamly dextrous in building of Houſes of Bamboo-Canes; and have a peculiar way of ſplitting and twiſting of Canes in divers Figures for Windows, which afford a free paſſage to the Air. The *Amboineſes* are a courageous Nation, of a dreadful Aſpect, with long black Hair, and much inclin'd to Mutiny; Their chief Weapons are Cymeters, and Shields of an Oval Figure, wherewith they know how to ward a Blow, and to intercept their Enemies Arrows; The Men wear a piece of Callicoe, wrapt ſeveral times about their Heads, both ends hanging down, and adorned with Flowers and ſome other Ornaments. The Women have only a piece of Callicoe wrapt about them, and another piece round their Shoulders, their Arms being left bare; Their Houſes are made of wooden Planks, carv'd with Leaves, indifferently high built; Their Dreſs is like that of the *Moors*. 1662.

The *Javaneſes* inhabit in houſes of Bamboo Canes on the other ſide of the Burying place of the *Chineſes*, ſome of which are neatly built and cover'd with the Twigs of Coco-trees. Some maintain themſelves with Husbandry, and eſpecially with planting of Rice, others with building of Boats, uſed by the Inhabitants for the carrying of their Commodities to the City; They alſo go abroad a Fiſhing, their Boats which are turn'd like Horns in the Figure of a Half Moon, being ſo nimble, that they call them the *Flying Boats*. The *Javaneſe* Men go for the moſt part naked, being only cover'd from the Middle to the Knees; ſome wear a kind Javaneſes.

1662.

kind of a Scarf, whereon they faſten their Swords; on the Head they wear a Cap, but go bare-footed. Their Houſes excel in neatneſs, thoſe of the reſt of the *Indians*.

Mardhikers or Topaſſes.

The *Mardhikers* or *Topaſſers* are a mixture of divers *Indian* Nations, call'd *Topaſſers*, i. e. *Accommodaters*, becauſe they will accommodate themſelves eaſily to the Manners, Cuſtoms and Religion of ſuch as they live among; tho' ſome will have them derive their Name from a Precious Stone call'd a *Topaze*. They live both within and without the City, the chiefeſt of which being Merchants, who traffick in their own Veſſels with the adjacent Iſles, live in very ſtately Houſes. The reſt live upon Husbandry, graſing and gardening, and have ſome Artiſans among them; they have their own Captains, who ſit in the Council of War, and School-Maſters, who teach their Children to Read and to Write. Their Dreſs approaches near to the *Dutch* Faſhion, but their Breeches reach down to their Ankles; and wear a kind of Caps on their Heads. Their Women are clad like other *Indian* Women. Their Houſes are better built than thoſe of the other *Indians*, generally of Stone, and cover'd with Tiles, ſtately built and arch'd. Before their Houſes they plant Coco-Trees, and all ſorts of *Indian* Fruits and Flowers, but the Backſide they reſerve for the keeping of Pigs, Pidgeons, Fowl and other ſorts of Poultry, which they bring to ſale in the Market.

The Soldiers of Makaſſar.

The chief Arms of the Soldiers of *Makaſſar* are certain poiſon'd Arrows of a Foot long, pointed at one End with Fiſh Teeth, and on the other with a kind of hard Wood; when they are to go into the Wars, they provide a good number of theſe Arrows dipt a good while before in a poiſonous Liquor which they let dry upon them. This Poiſon is the Juice, iſſuing out of the Bark of a certain Tree growing in the Iſle of *Makaſſar*, and two or three adjacent Iſles of the *Bougiſſes*; It is of the height of a Clove Tree; its Leaves reſembling alſo thoſe of that Tree; the Juice of which whilſt yet freſh is Mortal, and not to be cured by Antidotes. Theſe poiſoned Arrows the Soldiers of *Makaſſar* don't ſhoot out of their Bows, but thro' Trunks, as we let fly at the Birds in *Europe* with ſmall Earthen Balls; with theſe they will hit any Mark within four Rods diſtance. This Poiſon is ſo pernicious, and penetrates with that Swiftneſs thro' the whole Maſs of the Blood, and ſeizes upon the Spirits, that the *Makaſſars* themſelves knew no Remedy againſt it. The moſt approved Remedy againſt it, is Maus Dung, which taken immediately after the Wound is given, cauſes a Vomiting, and hinders the Operation of the Poiſon; I have known ſeveral of our Soldiers cured by this Remedy, tho ſome others I have ſeen die not long after they had been wounded, notwithſtanding the uſe of it, and others after two or three days. In the Iſle of *Makaſſar* grows a certain Root, of a bitteriſh Taſte, which is look'd upon as a great Antidote againſt this Poiſon, and is often uſed as ſuch by the *Dutch*; they chaw the Root, and lay it about the Orifice of the Wound.

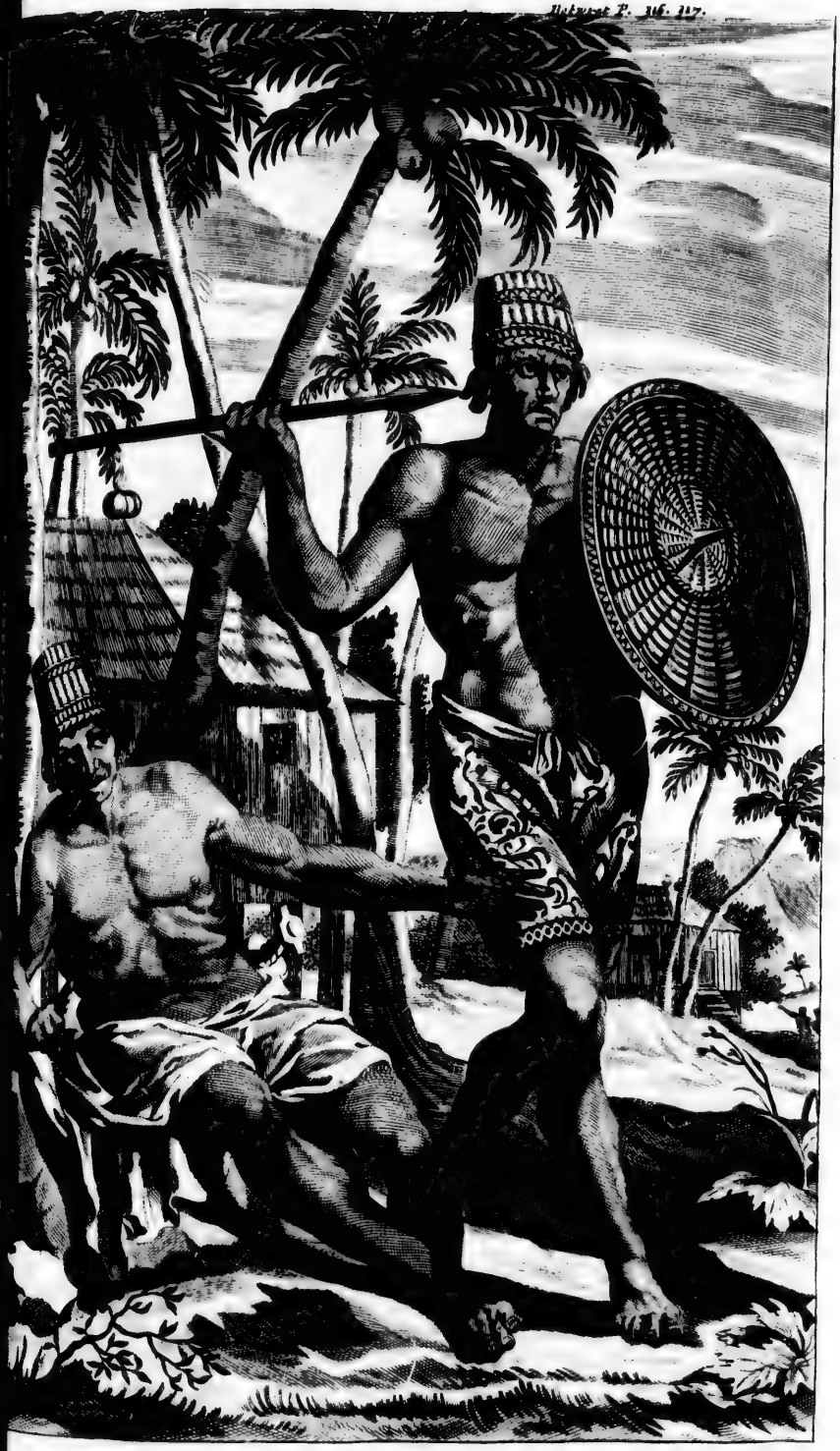
1662.

The *Timoreſe* Soldiers or Inhabitants of the Iſle of *Timoor*, uſe Swords of Sandel Wood, wherewith they can cut a Man through the middle at one ſtroke: For in this Iſle, and the *Molucca*-Iſlands, and all along to the S. S. E. beyond the *Leſſer Java*, to the 10th Deg. of Southern Latitude, grow whole Woods of white and yellow Sandel Wood, call'd *Chandava* by the Inhabitants. The *Timoreſes* are very Barbarous, but Warlike; formerly they were all Pagans, but of late years, moſt are turn'd *Mahometans*, and ſome *Roman Catholicks*.

Timoreſe Soldiers.

The *Bokjes* or *Bougiſſes*, who formerly inhabited divers Iſles near that of *Makaſſar*, are a warlike People, arm'd with Cymeters, Arrows, and Shields, which they handle with great Dexterity. They go for the greateſt part naked, having only a piece of Stuff about the middle down to the Knees. The Women are clad like the other *Indians*. After the *Dutch* became engaged in a War with the King of *Makaſſar*, theſe *Bougiſſes* fixt their Habitations in and about *Batavia*, till the event of the War; their King having his Reſidence near the Out-guard, betwixt the Forts of *Riſwick* and *Rotthwick*, the Queen being permitted to reſide within the City; but after the *Makaſſars* were conquered by the *Dutch*, under the Conduct of *Cornelius Spellman*, and a firm Peace was ſettled with the Neighbouring Nations, both the King and Queen had a Houſe aſſign'd them in the *Lords-ſtreet*. This Houſe or Palace extends to the Brink of the River, with very pleaſant Walks, Flower-Gardens, and a moſt delightful Vineyard, which in my time, 1676. bore vaſt Branches of Grapes. The Gate facing the Street is very neatly built, of the *Ionian* Order, with a Gallery on the top of it, and the Apartments ſo ſpacious, and well-contrived,

Bougiſſes.



A Bougis of Bokjes.

1662. trived that moſt of the *Indian* Kings and their Retinue might live here.

Number of Foreigners at Batavia.

Among the Foreign Nations reſiding here, there may, according to Computation, be raiſed 6720 Fighting Men, *viz.* 400 *Topaſſars* or *Mardikers* under two Captains, within the City, beſides 710 without the City under three Captains, making in all 1110; Of *Regantiins* 70; *Amboyneſes* 600; *Malayans* 201; *Chineſes* 1200; *Moors* 200; Of the *Javaneſes* in their Quarter within the *New Gate*, 750; Near the Burying Place of the *Chineſes* 1500; In their Quarter beyond the *New Fort* 800; And of *Baſilians* beyond the *Fort* 300. That this Iſland is ſufficiently Fruitful, and able to maintain its Inhabitants, is evident from the Exportations that are made yearly thence to *Amboyna*, and other Places: 'Tis true, no Wheat grows here, but ſuppoſing the Supplies that are brought of that Grain from *Suratte* and *Japan* ſhould be ſtopt, the Defect thereof may very well be ſupplied with Rice. The Chief Artiſans here are *Dutch*, moſt of which live very well, and the *Chineſes* have many Carpenters and Bricklayers among themſelvas, who will work as Journeymen: Their Cabinet-Makers have a way of joining the Wood of their Cabinets, ſo that the Joiatures are not to be ſeen. Others get a livelyhood by Selling of *Sugar-Beer*, Cookery, and the Sale of *Sury*, or Coco-Liquor, and *Arak* or *Indian* Strongwaters, of which they make Punch, (as the *Engliſh* call it) a Liquor that opens both the Hearts and Purſes of the Inhabitants. But the Chief Inns and Taverns are kept by the *Dutch*, who pay as well as all the other Nations, two *Reals per* Month for their Licenſe, beſides 70 Reals Exciſe of every Pipe of *Spaniſh* Wine they Sell. The Diſtillers of *Arak* are moſt *Chineſes*, who pay 50 Reals Exciſe for every Chauldron or Goſper *per* Month.

The Government of the City of *Batavia* is ſettled upon the ſame *Baſis* as in the *United Provinces*, being adminiſtred by Six peculiar Colleges or Councils.

The Firſt and Chief is compoſed of the Members of the Council of the *Indies*, in which the Governor General of the *Indies* preſides, whoſe Name was Mr. *Maetzuiper* at that time. In this Council all Affairs of State are tranſacted: Their Chamber is in the Palace of the Governor, where Audience is given every day to redreſs the Grievances of the People.

The Second College or Council conſiſts of Nine Perſons, beſides the Preſident, who commonly is one of the Members of the Great Council, and is the *Keeper of the Great Seal*, repreſenting a Woman placed in a Tower, with a Balance in one, and a Sword in the other Hand, with this Inſcription; *The Seal of the Council of Juſtice of the Caſtle of* Batavia: This College being generally called the *Council of Juſtice*. Here are Debated and Decided all Matters relating to the publick Revenue and Treaſury. They alſo take Cognizance of Differences ariſing about Cuſtoms. The Preſident in Conjunction with the Council has a Voice in the Determination of Civil Cauſes; and has a third part of all the Fines, but if they exceed 100 Reals, he has only a Sixth part. His Chief Buſineſs is to take care that no Incroachments be made upon the Prerogatives of the Sovereignty of the *United Provinces*. The Secretary is to keep an exact Regiſter of all Things tranſacted in this Aſſembly, without any other Reward but his Salary: He alſo has in his Cuſtody, the Money which comes from the Fines, of which he muſt give an account. The Door-Keeper is to attend whilſt they are Sitting, and to ſummon ſuch Perſons as are to appear before them: He wears a Stick, and a Silver-Shield on the Left-ſide with the Seal of the Council. Their Gaol-keeper keeps three Tables for the Priſoners; who are to pay half a Real for turning the Key. This Council aſſembles in the Council-Chamber of the Town-Houſe, twice, and ſometimes thrice a week.

1662.

The Third College or Council, conſiſts of the Aldermen or Senators, choſen out of the beſt Citizens. They aſſemble three times a week, *viz.* Mondays, Wedneſdays and Thurſdays, from 7 till 11 in the forenoon. At their Election they are preſented with 50 *Rixdollars*, and with 100 more every 6 Months. In this Council are determin'd all the Cauſes betwixt the Citizens, (from whom however lies an Appeal to the *Council of Juſtice*;) if any difference ariſes betwixt a Servant of the Company and a Citizen, the laſt muſt be ſummon'd before this Court; and no Citizen is obliged to appear before the *Council of Juſtice*, but muſt be ſummon'd before this Aſſembly firſt, and there anſwer for himſelf. This Council iſſue their Orders in relation to the publick Structures, Bridges, and Streets, yet not without the Approbation of the *Great Council*. The Preſident has the Cuſtody of the Seal, and calls the Aſſembly together when he

The Government of Batavia.

1662. thinks fit: He may peruſe the Regiſter, and propoſes all Matters to the Council: He has a double Voice, and is commonly one of the Members of the Great Council. The *Landroſt*, or chief Judge, has in this Aſſemoly a deciſive Sentence in Criminal Cauſes, and is allowed a third part of all the Fines. This Council conſiſts of nine Perſons, among whom are two *Chineſes*. They have alſo a Door-keeper, who is called the City Meſſenger, having a Shield with the City Arms in it.

The Fourth Council conſiſts of the Overſeers of the Hoſpital of the Orphans, being choſen out of the beſt Citizens, except the Preſident, who is generally a Member of the *Great Council*. It conſiſts of Five Members only, three whereof are Citizens, the other two Servants of the Company: Their Buſineſs is to provide for the Poor-Orphans, and to enquire into their Condition, and what is left by their Parents.

The Fifth is the Council appointed for the Determination of Matters of leſs Moment; the Preſident whereof is a Member of the *Council of Juſtice*. They are to give Licenſes for Marriages, and not to permit Men before they are Twenty One, and Maids before Eighteen years of Age, to Marry; nor Mahometans or Pagans to Marry with Chriſtians; nor any *Hollanders* with the Natives that don't underſtand *Dutch*. They Sit twice a Week in the Town-Houſe, where Cauſes of little Moment are Pleaded and ſoon Decided.

The Sixth Council of *Batavia* is the Council of War; in which the Chief Officer of the Militia of the City is Preſident. Here are determined all Matters relating to the Militia of leſs moment, which are brought before them by the City Major; but Matters of Conſequence are referr'd to the Determination of the Judge and Court of the Senators. They alſo meet in the Town-Houſe once a Week.

All theſe Courts have each their own Secretary, Clerks, and Waiters.

The Eccleſiaſtical Government.

The Eccleſiaſtical Government of *Batavia* is adminiſtred by the Miniſters, Church-wardens, and Overſeers of the Poor, who aſſemble in the Veſtry of the Church upon the Summons of their Preſident, who is choſen every Month. The Miniſters being choſen in, and ſent hither out of *Holland*, are Confirm'd here, and live in great Eſteem among the Citizens.

Batavia, the Capital City of all the *Indies* under the *Dutch* Juriſdiction, has been frequently attempted by the Natives, or *Javaneſes*: For, no ſooner had the *Hollanders* in 1618. (after the taking of *Jacatra*, unto which they gave the Name of *Batavia*) erected a Fortreſs here, but the Natives being encouraged by the *Engliſh* of *Bantam*, endeavour'd to drive them from thence. To effect which, the *Engliſh* perſuaded them to erect a Redoubt or great Battery, upon which they planted their great Guns, from whence they play'd ſo furiouſly upon the *New Baſtion* of the *Dutch* Fort, that they were not able to bring it to perfection. *John Peterſon Koen*, the *Dutch* Governor, having thereupon call'd together a Council of War, it was reſolved, That to hinder the further Progreſs of the Enemy, they ſhould make a Salley the next morning by break of day, in order to attack the Redoubt, and the Quarters of the *Chineſes* and *Engliſh* at the ſame time. Accordingly our Men were divided into three Troops, commanded by *Peter Van Brock*, (afterwards Governor-General of the *Dutch Indies*) *Peter Van Dirks*, and *Peter Van Rey*, with theſe they attack'd the before-mentioned Poſts at once. The *Javaneſes* fought bravely at firſt; but ſeeing the *Hollanders* perſiſted in the Attack, reſolved either to Die or overcome, they retreated, leaving their ſtrong Hold to the Enemy, who deſtroy'd all their Work in a few hours. But being ſorely gall'd by the Fire of the City, they had not the ſame Succeſs at the new Redoubt erected by the Enemy near the River-ſide; ſo, that having endeavoured, but in vain, to make a Breach there, they were forced to retire with the loſs of 15 Men kill'd and 10 wounded. Beſides this Redoubt, the *Javaneſes* had another Battery raiſed in the midſt of the City, which being mounted with heavy Cannon taken out of the *Engliſh* Ships, did alſo conſiderable miſchief to the Beſieged; who were day and night at work in raiſing Batteries, and put their Fortifications in a State of Defence; whereas the Enemy being much Superiour in number, had had time enough to provide themſelves with all things for this Enterpriſe. In the mean while, the *Hollanders* made a ſecond Attempt upon the Redoubt near the River-ſide, but were repulſed with the loſs of 7 or 8 of their Men, and a Lieutenant, whoſe Head the *Javaneſes* carried in triumph on the top of a Launce. The *Engliſh* then living at *Bantam*, would fain have revenged

1662. *The original and Rife of Batavia.*

1662. revenged themſelves upon the *Dutch* Inhabitants there, for the Damages their Countrymen had received at *Batavia*, had they not been prevented therein by the *Pangerang*. Whilſt the *Dutch*, who were not above 240 Fighting Men ſtrong in the Fortreſs, were thus defending themſelves againſt ſome thouſands of the *Javaneſes*, (beſides the *Engliſh*) an *Engliſh* Squadron of 11 Ships appear'd in the Road of *Batavia*, coming from *Bantam*; whereupon the Governour of the Fort, having recommended the Defence thereof to *Peter Van Broek* the Deputy Governor, he went on Board a Man of War with an Intention to Engage the *Engliſh*, but finding himſelf too weak, left what Ammunition he could ſpare in the Caſtle, and ſo ſet Sail for the *Molucca* Illands, being purſued for ſome days by the *Engliſh*, but to no purpoſe; who after their return, came again to an Anchor in the Road of *Batavia*. Thus the *Dutch* were attack'd both by Sea and Land, yet did not loſe their Courage, but defended themſelves with ſo much Bravery, that the Enemy thought fit to offer a Truce, to Settle as they pretended the Preliminaries of a Peace.

Hoſtages being exchang'd on both ſides; the *Dommagon* or Prime Miniſter, the K of *Jacatra*'s Brother, demanded the Summ of 4000 Crowns from the *Hollanders*; which he ſaid they had forfeited according to Agreement, for having attack'd the *Engliſh* without the King's Leave, and 4000 more for the letting them finiſh the *New Baſtion*, which they ſaid was not comprehended in the ſaid Contract; After many Debates and Conteſts, certain Articles were at laſt agreed on, which the *Dutch* (who wanted Ammunition) were willing to ſign; But the *Engliſh* finding thoſe Conditions againſt their Intereſt (the *Dutch* being thereby permitted to remain in the Poſſeſſion of their Fortreſs and Habitations at *Bantam*) found out the following Trick to break off the Treaty; They ſo far prevail'd, Firſt with *Peter Van Broek* the Deputy Governor of the Fortreſs, that he came out to meet the King of *Jacatra* at an appointed place, but no ſooner appear'd there, but he was taken Priſoner, with thoſe few that attended him, and laid in Irons; being threatned with preſent Death, unleſs he would prevail with thoſe in the Fortreſs to Surrender it immediately; But finding the Garriſon reſolved to defend the Place, the *Engliſh* brought more of their heavy Cannon a-ſhore, in order to batter it with the utmoſt Fury; At the ſame time they dragg'd the Deputy Governor loaden with Irons, and a Rope about his Neck to the Walls of the Caſtle, threatning him once more with immediate Death upon the Spot, unleſs the Garriſon would prevent it by an immediate Surrender; The Deputy Governor was ſo far from being overcome by the fear of preſent Death, that on the contrary, like a brave and faithful Commander, he exhorted them to defend the Place to the laſt Drop of Blood, which ſo exaſperated ſome of the *Javaneſes* and *Engliſh* that ſtood near him, that they threw him backwards by the Rope, and ſo dragg'd him back to the Councel, all which he took patiently, and with ſo undaunted a Courage, that ſome of the *Engliſh* being aſham'd of ſo barbarous an Action, afterwards begg'd his Pardon. By this time the *Dutch* having ſpent all their Ammunition, and quite tir'd out with continual Labour and Watching, without any Hopes of preſent Relief, ſaw themſelves under an indiſpenſable Neceſſity to ſurrender the Place under Condition, that the Garriſon and Caſtle with all the Artillery ſhould be deliver'd to the *Engliſh*, and the Merchandiſes, Money and Jewels to the *Javaneſes*; It was Sign'd the Firſt of *February* 1619. by *Wydurk Bama* King of *Jacatra* and the *Engliſh* chief Commander on one ſide, and by thoſe in the Fortreſs on the other ſide.

1662. *Bravery of the Dutch Governor of Batavia.*

The *Hollanders* being now upon the point of delivering themſelves and the Fortreſs up to their Enemies, a ſudden Accident robb'd the *Javaneſes* and *Engliſh* of all their Hopes; For the *Pangerang* of *Bantam* had no ſooner notice of this Capitulation, in which he had no Share, but he order'd his *Dommagon* or chief Miniſter to march with a Body of 4000 Men to ſecure the *Dutch* Deputy Governor, and the Caſtle with all that was found in it for his Uſe. Accordingly he marched with all Secreſie to *Jacatra*, and meeting with the King in his Apartment, put his Dagger to his Breaſt with theſe Words: *King, Surrender your ſelf Priſoner, or expect no Quarter*, which ſo terrify'd the King, that he comply'd not only with his Demands, but ſoon after retir'd with the Queen into the Mountains, without ever being heard of ſince. The *Dommagon* of *Bantam* having taken the Deputy Governor into his Cuſtody, ſummon'd the Fortreſs to Surrender, which thoſe refus'd to do, except upon the before-

1652. fore-mention'd Conditions, which the *Bantameſes* refuſing to agree to, and the *Engliſh* in the mean while (ſeeing they were like to be diſappointed in Aim) beginning to reimbark their Cannon, thro' Connivance of the Beſieged, theſe finding their Enemies at variance about the Booty, began to take freſh Courage, and having in ſeveral Attacks bravely repulſed the *Javaneſes*, were now ſo confident of maintaining the Fort, that they gave it the Name of *Batavia*; Thus Matters ſtood when on the 25th of *March* 1619. their ſo long look'd for Relief, conſiſting of 17 Men of War, under the Command of *John Peterſon Koen* came from the *Moluque* Iſlands in the Road of *Batavia*: Within a few days after, they landed 1100 Men, divided into 12 ſeveral Bodies, and edged on with Revenge, attack'd the City of *Jacatra* with incredible Fury, the *Javaneſes* defended themſelves with great Obſtinacy for ſome time, but no longer able to endure our Fire, they left their Entrenchments, and look'd for their Safety in an open Flight, being cloſely purſu'd by the *Dutch* who gave no Quarter; This happened the 30th of *March*, 1619. which day is yearly Celebrated here in Memory of this great Action. This done, Mr. *Koen* ſail'd with the Fleet to *Bantam*, demanding the immediate Reſtitution of all the Priſoners; the *Pangerang* being at firſt unwilling to grant his Demand, he began to thunder with his Cannon into the City, which ſoon terrify'd him into a Compliance. The *Engliſh* ſeeing themſelves now quite out of all Hopes of accompliſhing their Deſign, by the coming of the *Dutch* Fleet, made the beſt of their way thro' the Streight of *Sunda*, and thoſe of *Bantam* finding themſelves forſaken by their Confederates, thought it moſt convenient to give over their Project.

The *Hollanders* having now their hands free, and ſeeing the Situation of their new Fortreſs in ſo Fertile a Country, near a very advantageous Bay, capable of containing 1000 Ships with Safety, reſolved and gave immediate Orders for the building of the City, under the Cannon of the Fortreſs; the adjacent Iſlands furniſhing them with ſufficient Stone and Mortar; and what elſe was requiſite for this Undertaking, being purchaſed from the neighbouring Confederates. But the *Javaneſes* not being able to brook the Riſe and Encreaſe of this new City, the *Mataram* (or *Javaneſe* Emperor) 1629. laid cloſe Siege to it with 12000 Men, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Madure*; and being advanc'd with their Works within Muſket Shot of the Walls, they made ſeveral furious Attacks in the Night time, but were as often repulſed by the Fire of the Beſieged, who beſides this, made frequent Sallies, and rain'd their Works, without giving them leiſure to repair them. The *Javaneſes* being reſolv'd to try all means to reduce the Place, ſtopt the Current of the great River with Piles ramm'd into the Bottom, behind which they threw all the dead Carcaſſes of Men and Beaſts, which not only infected the Water, but alſo the Air, which occaſion'd Diſtempers among the Beſieg'd, who were forced to drink Sea-water for a conſiderable time, till at laſt by continual digging having found ſome Springs of tolerable good Water, they began to refreſh themſelves with leſs Danger and more Eaſe. The *Javaneſes* finding alſo this Deſign to prove unſucceſsful, had recourſe again to Force, and the Second of *October*, 1629. made a general Aſſault on the South ſide of the City, Relieving their Troops continually with freſh Men, but were repulſed bravely without any conſiderable Loſs of the *Dutch*. At the ſame time they aſſaulted a ſmall Outwork or Tower call'd *Maaſland-Waerburgh* defended only by 15 Men, who defended themſelves courageouſly, as that they were attack'd. At laſt having ſpent all their Powder and Ball, they went to work with the Tiles and Bricks of the Caſtle within; The *Javaneſes* being ſenſible of their Want, advanced to the very foot of the Walls, and having found means to bring a great Rope round the Building, were endeavouring to pull down the Tower; But the Beſieged ſeeing themſelves in Extremity, made a furious Sally upon the *Javaneſes*, who thought not fit to ſtand the Shock, but ſoon retreated to their Entrenchments; except a few that were ſlain upon the Spot. The firſt of *November*, 1629. about ſix Hours after Sunſet, the *Javaneſes* ſet fire to their Camp in three ſeveral places, and march'd off with all imaginable Secrecie, after a Siege of three Months and three Days. No Booty worth mentioning was found there, but 300 Men miſerably murthered all on a Spot; a miſerable Spectacle! occaſion'd as we learn'd afterwards by the haughty Courage of the Prince of *Madure*, which happened thus: During the firſt Siege of the Caſtle of *Batavia*, the Emperor of *Mataram* having ſent a Body of Troops under the Command

1652.

of one of his best Officers to the King of *Jacatra*, and the same returning insuccessful, the Prince of *Madure* spoke slightly of the matter, telling openly at Court, *That if he had been sent with such Troops, he would have carried the Castle or dy'd in the Attempt.* The *Materan* being inform'd thereof, and resolv'd to try his Fortune against *Batavia*, gave the Supream Command of his Army to the said Prince, tho' proving unsuccessful, just as he was ready to march off with his Troops, was order'd to be slain with all his Followers, *to verifie his own Words* (as he said) *that he would either carry the Castle or perish in the Attempt.* 1652.

The *Javaneses* lost above 30000 Men in this unfortunate Siege, notwithstanding which, those of *Bantam* in the Year 1655, had a mind to try their Fortune against the *Dutch*; who meeting them in the open Field, this occasioned many Skirmishes, in which the *Javaneses* commonly had the worst; so that being pretty well tired with the War, and hearing of the approaching Succors from the *Molucca* Illands, under the Command of *Arnold Vlaming*, they thought it their best way to come to a Composition with them, since which time they have not thought fit to come to any Rupture; but maintain a good Correspondence with those they know are able to cope with them; especially since they have strengthned their City with divers considerable Outworks and Forts.

The Fort *Ansol* on the Sea side, the Fort *Ake* to the West side; and on the *Quinquangular* Fort, the *Rijswick*, *Noordwick* and *Jacatra* on the Land side. The Fort *Ake* is built 1250 Rods from *Batavia* to the *East*, near the Sea side past by the Lime-Kills, and faced with Stone. The Fort *Ake* lies about 500 Rods from the City, more towards the Land side, being also a three quadrangular Figure; Hereabouts live abundance of Farmers along the River, the Grounds being very fertile here. Near it is the *Pest-House*. The Fort *Jacatra* stands upon the Bank of the River, not above 500 Paces to the North-East of the City; from whence there is a streight and pleasant Walk thither; Planted on both sides with Gardens and Orchards. The *Chineses*, *Arabonefes* and some other Foreigners have their Habitations hereabouts. the Fort of *Noordwick* lies to the *North* of the City near the River, betwixt that of *Jacatra* and *Rijswick*.

Without the City, many of the Citizens have very pleasant Gardens and Houses. Upon the great River without *Batavia* you see a House belonging to Captain *Burghs*, built flat on the top after the *Indian* Fashion, being surrounded with all sorts of *Indian* Trees. Upon the Brink of the River is a pleasant Summer-House. Without the City, near the great River, stands another House belonging to a rich Citizen call'd *Strumwick*, belonging formerly to Mr. *John Maetzuicker*, Governor-General of the *Dutch Indies*: It is very airy and pleasantly built, with a very fine Front, the Gardens being well-stored with Trees and Flowers of most sorts. 1652.

Without the *New Gate* in a Grove of very pleasant Trees, you see the Tomb of a *Chinese* Governor, named *Senua*; being no more than a heap of Earth raised above the surface of the Ground, and enclosed with Brickwork, plaistered white all over: In the midst you see a Table, and upon it a Cup, into which the *Chineses* put sometimes Money, sometimes Victuals, to appease the *Manes* of the deceased.

Trees, Plants, and Flowers of Java.

The Grounds about *Batavia*, and indeed of the whole Isle of *Java*, are extremely fertile in all sorts of Fruits the *Indies* afford; but what is most surprising, is, That divers Plants, which in *Europe* grow on small and tender Stalks, rise up here very thick, and with hard Stalks; whereas on the other hand, divers sorts of Beans and Flowers grow in *Java* upon Trees. The Soil about *Batavia* is so rich, that the Seeds brought hither out of *Holland*, *Persia*, and from *Suratte*, thrive extremely and yield plentiful Fruits.

Fruits of the Earth.

Holland Cabbages, if Sown in due time, and well look'd after, come here to a good Perfection; but if neglected, they will not Cabbage. Provident Nature seems to have been careful in abundance of Astringent Plants for this Climate, where the Bloody-Flux, and other Distempers occasioned by the Gall, are so frequent. Of Tretoil or Clover, they have great store here; and in their Gardens, Purcelain, Asparagus, Endive, Lettice, Bekabung, Water-Cresses, Parsley, Radishes, red and white Beetes, and such like: The Reddishes grow longer and better tasted here than in *Europe*, and there is a certain kind of them shorter but thicker than the rest, which are Boil'd like our Turneps. The *Chineses* Pickle Radishes, and use them to create an Appetite to their Victuals. Here

1662. alſo is found a certain kind of *Mandragora*, called *Bella dona* by the *Italians*, in great Requeſt among the *Indians* in Burning Fevers; They Pickle it in Vinegar, and Eat the Fruit roaſted in the Aſhes as a Diſert.

Vines. Vines are very plenty and good here if well cultivated; whether, or by whom the Vines have been tranſplanted hither is uncertain, there being no mention made of it in the Journals of the Voyages made into thoſe Parts ſince the year 1595. They grow very luſcioully upon the Walls of the Houſes of *Batavia*, which bear Fruit in a manner all the year round, provided they be Pruned in due time; for 14 days after they are Pruned, the Buds come out, which in 14 days more ſtand in full Bloſſom, and in two months longer produce ripe Grapes; ſo that every Vine brings forth ripe Grapes every three months, and conſequently four times in the year. But they don't thrive ſo well without the City, whether the Lands be too low, or not ſufficiently purged from the Sait-Petre, I will leave to the Enquiry of others; ſince it is certain, that Vineyards would be of prodigious conſequence to the Inhabitants; there being Vines here, who bear Grapes, each Bunch weighing 16 or more Ounces; and there are ſome Grapes as big as the *Spaniſh Muſcadine* Grape.

Blue-Beans. All along the Roads about *Batavia* grows a certain Plant among the Woods, with ſmall Branches not unlike the Hops, which ſpread very plentifully upon the Ground, or will riſe up to a good heighth on Stalks like our *French* Beans, having Leaves like our Roſe-Trees. The Flower comes forth out of a Bud as large as our ordinary Roſes, pointed at the end; they are of a lovely Sky blue colour, and yellow in the middle, but the Fruit being rank, is not regarded.

Indian Garden-Herbs. The *Indian* Beets grow in the Gardens of *Batavia*, their Leaves being not unlike our Sorrel Leaves, with a pale Vein through the middle: They bring forth Purſley Flowers on green Stalks; ſome are white, others a mixture of Purple and Green. The Leaves and Stalks when boil'd, are in Taſte like the *Indian Bajan*: All ſorts of Garden-Herbs are in great Requeſt among the *Indians* here, becauſe moſt of the *Indian* Foreigners that come from *Surate*, and the Coaſt of *Coromandel*, feed for the moſt part upon Fruits of the Earth, for believing the Tranſmigration of the Soul, they will not Eat the Fleſh of any living Creature; for which reaſon alſo they abſtain from red Beans, or Herbs of a red colour, as having a reſemblance to Blood; and for the ſame reaſon it is, that the *Indians*, tho' otherwiſe very Ignorant, yet are very well verſed in the Knowledge of Plants and Trees. The *Malayans* call all Pot-Herbs or other Eatable Herbs, *Seir*; but Medicinal and Poiſonous Herbs, *Oubat*. About *Batavia* are to be found divers ſorts of Pot and other Garden Herbs; as red and white *Beets*, *Parſley*, divers ſorts of *Lettices*, *Dill*, *Fennel*, *Aſparagus*, &c. And of Fruits of the Earth, *Water-Melons*, *Pompions*, *Cucumbers*, *Citruls*, &c. And of Pulſe, all ſorts of Beans and Peaſe, which grow up to a great height on Stalks or Trees. 1662.

Fokky-Fokky. The Fruit call'd *Fokky-Fokky* by the *Indians* is ſhaped like a Pear, ſometimes near a yard long, and of the thinneſs of a Man's Arm: It contains abundance of ſmall Seeds, the Rind being thin, but ſo ſmooth and bright, that you may ſee your Face in them like as in a Looking-glaſs: The Leaves are green, but rough, and as it were covered with a hairy Subſtance: They grow up to a good heighth. This Fruit is one of the beſt and moſt eſteem'd of all the *Indies*, being of a delicious Taſte; and when Boil'd with Wine and Pepper, not unlike our Artichoak-Bottoms. They are frequently Eaten both by the *Dutch* and *Indians*, inſtead of the *European* Turneps, being look'd upon as very nouriſhing and eaſie to be digeſted; beſides, that by their Diuretick quality they are good againſt the Gravel and Stone. There is another wild kind of *Fokky-Fokky*, the Fruits whereof are round, and when ripe, turn yellow, but theſe are only Food for the Hogs.

Jambos. In the Plains of *Java* grows a Tree, the Fruit whereof the *Malayans* call *Jamboes*, and the *Dutch*, *Sloes*, or *Small Plumbs*: This Tree reſembling in all reſpects unto our *Sloe*, or wild *Plumb-Tree*; The Fruits being alſo of an aſtringent, but not diſagreeable Taſte: The Fruit when ripe is yellow, and the Juice thereof mixt with *Champana* and Roſe-Water, is uſed againſt the Inflammation of the Throat. The Juice taken inwardly is good againſt the *Bloody Flux*, and other bilcous Diſtempers. Thus this Juice of the *Indian* Fruit *Jungonas*, is equivalent in its Virtue to the *Acacia* of the Antients, or to our *European* Sloes.

Cubebes, or Kumuk. In the Iſle of *Java* only, *viz.* in the Woods near the Shore of the Streight of *Sunda*, grows wild, a certain Fruit, called *Cubebes* and *Qusbeb*, by the *Arabians*;

Kumuk

Kumuk by the *Javaneſes*; and by the reſt of the *Indians*, except the *Malayans*, *Kubab Sini*, i. e. *Chineſe Kubebe*, not becauſe it grows in *China*, but becauſe it is tranſported thither in great quantities. The Tree which bears this Fruit is both in Leaves and Branches not unlike to our Apple-Tree, but ſomewhat leſſer. The Fruit is round, ſmaller than Pepper, of a dark brown colour, and if pincht with the Nails, will emit a certain Liquor like unto the Cloves. This Fruit is in ſo high an Eſteem among the *Javaneſes*, that they will not permit them to be tranſported, unleſs they are Boil'd beforehand, to prevent their being tranſplanted into another Place. They gather ſome of them before they are ripe; Theſe are light, with a rough Rind, within which is a ſmall ſoft and whitiſh Kernel. When they are ripe, the Rind is ſmooth, have a bigger Kernel, and are much heavier than the others. Before they are quite ripe, they have an Aromatick, biting, and bitteriſh Taſte, and when chew'd offend the Brain: But the ripe ones are neither ſo ſharp nor ſo bitter, and don't ſend ſo much of their offenſive Vapours up to the Head. they are reckoned hot and dry in the ... degree; are good to Attenuate the ... in the Stomach and Breaſt, expel Wind, and correct the cold Symptoms ... the Womb. Chaw'd with Maſtick, they draw the Phlegmatick Humours from the Head, and ſtrengthens the Brains. They are in great Requeſt among the *Javaneſes* and other *Indians*, who ſteep them in Wine, and take them to raiſe their Appetite to Venery, and to Warm the Stomach. Three or four Chaw'd, diſperſe the Vapours which occaſion Giddineſs in the Head; but care muſt be taken to Spit out both the Phlegm and *Cubebes*, and to keep the Noſtrils cloſe while you are a Chawing, that ſo the Smell and Scent of them may penetrate with the more Efficacy, and affect more immediately the Head.

Aſſida. The *Javaneſes*, *Malayans*, and other *Indians*, uſe very frequently for the reliſhing of their Sawces, a certain Drug called *Hin*, by the *Arabians*, *Altit*, and by the *Europeans*, *Aſſa-fœtida*, by reaſon of its ill Scent. This Shrub, out of the Root of which this Juice is expreſs'd, grows in *Perſia*, betwixt *Gamron* and *Lara*. It is of two ſorts; the firſt is not unlike our *Oſier*, out of the Leaves and Sprigs of which is ſqueezed the *Hin* by a Preſs, and the Juice afterward coagulated in the Sun. The ſecond ſort is much ſtronger and worſe ſcented, being the Juice expreſs'd out of the Root of this Shrub. This Juice, and that of *Amſion* or *Opium*, are two of the chiefeſt Commodities the *Dutch* Trade in in the *Indies*. Our *Eaſt-India* Ships bound to *Java* and other *Indian* Ports, do always carry a conſiderable quantity of this Juice from *Perſia*, which they Exchange with the *Javaneſes* for ſuch of their Country Commodities as they have occaſion for.

Both great and ſmall *Cardamome*, (as the *Arabians* call it) called *Maligneius* by the *Indians*, grows likewiſe in the Iſle of *Java*. The ſmall *Cardamome* grows on a Stalk with ſmall Joints, like Reeds, (the Leaves being alſo like theirs) and grow in Cluſters like them; but the *Cardamome* ſeldom grows above two or three foot high, and the Leaves rubb'd betwixt your Fingers, emit a very odoriferous Scent. From the Root firſt ſprouts forth in Ears like the *Spicknard*; the Flowers being of a pale colour, not unlike the Orange-Flowers. After thoſe come certain Husks, which contains theſe well-ſcented Seeds, which are green, but in time turn of a dark Vermilion colour. The *Cardamome* is a moſt excellent Spice of extraordinary Virtues; having an agreeable heat conſonant to our Nature, without leaving any heat behind it, which is the reaſon that it is Chaw'd without any addition. It promotes Urine, and the Monthly Terms of the Women; opens the Obſtructions of the Spleen and Liver, and procures a Sweet-Breath. The great *Cardamome* grows plentifully in the Woods of *Java*; the Flowers grow on the Stalk like the Hyacinth; it differs from the ſmall *Cardamome* in divers reſpects: It grows to the heighth of ſix foot, the Leaves are larger, and the Stalks not knotty like the Reeds. The ſmall *Cardamome* ſends forth an Ear from the Root; and the Husks are ſometimes a Finger long. However, the Leaves and Flowers are of the ſame Scent in both; but the Leaves of the great *Cardamome* are not only much larger, but alſo covered with a *Lanugo* on the under ſide. This Shrub is very pleaſant to behold, of a light green colour, with white Flowers tipp'd with Purple red at the Extremities.

Cardamome.

The Plant called by the *Malayans* *Moulit Bebek*, i. e. the *Ducks-Beak*, from its ſhape, grows in the Gardens of *Batavia* on a ſomewhat longer Stalk than the *Cardamome*, being a ſempervirent Herb; the Leaves alſo differ from thoſe of

Moulit Bebek.

1662. of the *Cardamome*, being carved or edged in the circumference. The Inhabitants uſe the Juice of this Herb againſt Puſtules and other Exulcerations, of a bileous Nature; and ſteept in Vinegar, it is a good Remedy againſt the St. *Anthony's Fire*; The *Malayan* Women lay it upon the Heads of their Children, to corroborate the Brains.

Indian Sorrel. In the Iſle of *Java*, and adjacent Iſlands, grows an odd kind of Sorrel, having no reſemblance to the *European* Sorrel, growing up to the heighth of ſix foot, with a ſtrong, hard, and three corner'd Stalk not unlike the Hemp; the Leaves being alſo not unlike thoſe of the Hemp, beſet with ſharp ſmall Prickles. The Flower has but one ſingle Leaf of a pale yellow colour, but of a Purple colour below. The Leaves Chaw'd have the ſame Taſte as our Sorrel, but are more oily: The Seed is Thorny like that of *Carduus*, and of a cooling and drying quality. The *Malayans* Eat this Herb among their Sallads; They alſo take the Leaves, and after they have mixt them well with the Saw-duſt of Sandel-Wood upon a Marble-Stone, and a little Cocoe-Oil and Vinegar, make a Cataplaſm of it, which they apply to the Head to Cure the Tooth-Ach, proceeding from a hot Cauſe.

Benzoin-tree. In the Iſle of *Java* grows likewiſe the Tree, out of the Bark of which, after an Inciſion made, flows that well-ſcented Gum called *Benzoin* or *Benjam*, being a Shrub or Tree ſpread into many Branches of the thickneſs of a Man's Arm.

Nardus. About *Batavia* grows a Plant in great plenty, called *Nardus*, moſt in requeſt among the *Javaneſes*, who uſed it in their Fiſh and Boil'd Meat Sauces, to give them a reliſh. They ſteep the *Nardus* in *Vinegar*, and make a Syrup of it with Sugar, which is eſteem'd a good Remedy againſt the Coldneſs of the Bowels, and opens the Obſtructions of the Spleen and Liver. This Vinegar and Syrup Cures alſo the Stings of the Serpents and Scorpions, if applied outwardly and taken inwardly at the ſame time.

Anfion, or Opium. *Anſieon* or *Anſion*, as it is called by the *Indians*, and *Opium* by the *Europeans*, is nothing elſe but the Juice of Poppy's, much uſed by the *Javaneſes* and other *Indians*, eſpecially when they are upon the point of engaging their Enemies. The *Anſion* is a very uſeful Drug to the *Indians*, without which they would be at a ſtand how to Cure many Diſtempers in this hot Climate, as the Bloody-Flux, Burning Fevers, and ſuch like Diſtempers proceeding from the Gall. The poorer ſort of the *Indians* Boil the Leaves and Sprouts of the *Anſion*, out of which they make a ſlighter ſort of *Opium*, by coagulating the Decoction called *Pouſt*. 1662.

Pyzang. The Fruit called *Pyzang* or *Indian Figs*, as alſo *Bachovees* from the *Portugueſe* Word *Bakovia*, are called *Pyzang* or *Banana's* by the *Malayans*, *Gedas* by the *Javaneſes*, *Thio* by the *Chineſes*, by the reſt of the *Indians*, *Oncelli*, by the Inhabitants of the Iſle of St. *Thomas*, *Oncella*; and by the *Arabians*, *Mauz* and *Mauza*. The Stem or Trunk of this Tree grows up in long oval Scollops to the heighth of 20 or 30 foot, in ſix months time; its circumference being of four foot, but ſo ſoft, that you may cut it with a Knife like a Cabbage Stalk. It ſpreads its Branches very lottily, and bears Leaves, ſome of which are a foot and a half broad, and five, ſix, or ſeven foot long; green on the uppermoſt ſide, but dark on the other ſide, with a thick Vein through the middle. The Fruit has an Ear, the Stalk a yellowiſh brown, is very pleaſing to the ſight, and ſhap'd like a Cucumber, turning at the Extremities towards one another as they hang on the Tree: Before they are ripe, they are of a Parrot-green colour, but when come to full Perfection, yellow both in and out-ſide. When the Fruit is fit to be gathered, the Stem is cut down to the Ground, and the Fruit, which is green as yet, taken and hung up in the Houſe, where it ripens and turns pale-yellow in a few days. The Rind is ſo thin, that it may be taken of without a Knife. Neither the Tree nor Fruit produces any Seed, but a very handſome Flower of the bigneſs of an Oſtriches Egg, which ſprouts forth on the top out of large Budds, and opens its Leaves by degrees. Whilſt the Stem has Fruit enough to nouriſh, the Leaves fall of one after another: Out of the before-mentioned Knot or Flower comes forth a Branch, on which grows the Fruit in a Cluſter, ſometimes one or 200 together; ſo that ſometimes one Branch is as much as a Man can carry, and each Stem or Trunk brings forth no more than one Cluſter. There are divers ſorts of theſe Figs, diſtinguiſh'd by the Inhabitants, by different Names, Shapes, and Taſte; and they put them to various Uſes; ſome have a way of drying them in the Sun, when they Taſte as pleaſantly as the *Portugueſe Figs*: Of this kind I taſted at St. *Anthony*, one of the *Salt*-Iſlands.

The

Betwixt
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the Bamboe Canes
Indian Figgs

1662. The *Dutch* Fry them with Butter and Eggs, or with Butter alone, and Eat it for a Dainty; Thus Dreſs'd they are accounted Cooling, Nouriſhing, and Opening. The Fruit raw is very Adſtringent, and conſequently not to be Eaten thus, becauſe they are Windy and will create a nauſeouſneſs in the Stomach; and ſometimes will produce the Bloody-Flux. However, they being of ſo agreeable a Scent and Taſte, they are ſometimes Eaten raw, provided they are cut off the Trees a good while before they come to full Maturity; when the Rind will remain green, and the Pulp by degrees acquires a very agreeable Taſte, not unlike our Sugar-Pears: If you cut the Fruit through the middle, you will ſee the figure of a Croſs within: The Leaves of this Tree are uſed like as we do our Matts, to pack up Goods with: And I remember, that in 1660. when I travell'd with Mr. *James Huſtart* to the Ille of *Buro*, the Inhabitants ſerved up their Victuals in thoſe Leaves inſtead of Diſhes, and covered their Meats with the ſame: They alſo uſed them inſtead of Napkins, to wipe their Hands on: When one of our Servants offered them a Glaſs with Liquer, they refuſed to take it; but inſtead thereof brought forth a Leaf of a certain Tree, which being accommodated for that purpoſe, they drunk out of it, telling us, that their Cup needed no Waſhing: The *Javaneſes* being of Opinion, That the Leaves of theſe Fig-Trees have a great Virtue to extinguiſh the Fire, they Plant them near their Houſes, to make uſe of them in caſe of neceſſity. So ſoon as the Stem or Trunk is cut to the Root, after the Fruit is come to Maturity, the Root ſends forth new ones, round about the old one, which coming to their full growth in a little time, and producing new Fruits, the ſame may be had freſh all the year long. This Tree grows without much trouble, and in ſuch plenty, that for a Penny you may buy a whole bunch; they grow beſt in a fat and mellow Soil. Some will have this Fruit the ſame, which by the Spies of *Iſrael* were brought out of the *Land of Promiſe* into the Camp of the *Iſraelites*: Others are of Opinion, That theſe were the Leaves wherewith *Adam* and *Eve* covered their Nakedneſs: Others again maintain, That *Adam* Eat of this Fruit, which occaſioned his Fall; whence they call them *Paradiſe Apples*.

The Bamboe. The *Bamboe* grows all over *Batavia*, being ſtreight Reeds clove in two at the upper-end, having no Root faſtned in the Ground, but grows without the leaſt Portion of Earth from the Surface of the Water, having on the bottom a thick knob, from whence ſprout forth ſmall Twigs like Threads, which being nouriſhed by the Air and Thaw, bring forth Leaves and Flowers. Its Flowers are very white, having five long Leaves ſomewhat crumpled, not unlike the white Lilies; they have alſo a very odoriferous Scent, and a yellow Seed within. The Leaves ſprout forth at the Extremity of the Twigs bending downwards, which bear long and narrow Leaves. It is very ſurpriſing both for its natural Growth and its moſt agreeable Scent. 1662

The Flower called by the *Malayans*, *Borago Soeſan*, by the *Javaneſes*, *Bunbang Ungo*, and *Licuhoa* by the *Chineſes*; the *Portugueſes* call *Fule de Botano*, i. e. the *Button Flower*, from its reſemblance to a Button. It grows in great plenty in the Gardens, by reaſon of its pleaſing Purple colour, (which remains even after it is dried) but has no Scent. It grows like our Clover; except that the Leaves grow cloſer to one another on thin brown Stalks: The Flower comes forth with green Budds betwixt two Leaves. Button-Flower.

The *White Sweet-Eryer* called *Boenga Dadu* by the *Javaneſes* and *Malayans*, and *Tyntſon* by the *Chineſes*, bears Leaves and Flowers like our Roſe Tree, except that the Flowers, which are very white, are not altogether ſo large, and have pointed Leaves; they Scent like our Roſes, but not altogether ſo ſtrong. They ſay, That this Tree was firſt tranſplanted from *Perſia* near *Batavia* by the *Dutch*, when they firſt ſettled here: Out of the Leaves of the Flowers they Diſtil Roſe-Water, uſed in the ſame manner like our Roſe-Water, for which reaſon they are very induſtrious to propagate this Tree. *The* White Sweet-Eryer.

The Tree which bears the Fruit, called *Jakka*, or *Jakkas*, by the *Portugueſes*, and *Nanka* by the *Javaneſes*, is one of the largeſt Fruit-Trees of the *Indies*, which delights in high and dry Grounds, where it will grow up to the heighth of an Oak-Tree. The Leaves are blue on the underſide, but green on the other ſide, round, and leſs than the Leaves of our Cherry-Trees. It bears no Flowers, the Fruit growing out of Stem and Branches, of ſuch a bigneſs that one of them weighs ſometimes nine or ten Pounds; being commonly 8 Inches thick, and a foot and a half long: They are very pleaſing to look upon, not unlike the Pompions or large Me- Jakkas.

lons, but on the outside like the *Ananas*, 1662. or Pine-Apples. The Fruit is green at first, but after it is gathered and ripened yellow: It has a thick Rind, covered with a kind of three cornered thorny *Lango*, but don't prick. Within this Rind you have certain Divisions like as in a Honey-Comb, which contain certain Kernels or Chesnuts larger than Dates, enclosed in a yellow Pulp, which is Eaten. The Kernel is generally of the bigness of a Joynt of a Man's Thumb, and two of them be sometimes found in one of these Fruits if it be of the largest size; some are yellow, others white within; the harder, the sweeter they are. The Fruit is of an agreeable Scent, yet of a rough Taste, and if Eaten raw, create Winds; but Roasted like Chesnuts, are well-tasted, and a Provocative to Venery, for which reason they are frequently eaten by the common People. If you eat too much of this Fruit, it inflames the Blood, produces Loosenesses, Exulcerations in the Bowels, and Bloody Fluxes. In short, this Fruit is very unwholsome by reason of its Lusciousness, and is commonly evacuated by Stool just as it is eaten; the Pulp about the Kernels being so tough, that it is scarce to be manag'd with the Teeth; The Kernels are eaten boil'd by the Inhabitants with a little Salt instead of Rice. Of this Fruit there are two sorts; One is call'd *Bavka*, and is the best, the other *Papa* or *Giraſol*, which is softer than the other; as you may perceive by pressing it with your Fingers. They grow all over the *Indies*, but those of the Isle of *Ceylon*, and the Coast of *Malabar* are the best; I remember that the Queen of *Signati* presented me with one, which was of so delicious a Taste, that I could meet with none afterwards like it.

The Flower Siampin. This Flower is call'd by some the Flower of *Camboja*, because it was transplanted from thence to *Batavia*, tho' others look for its Original as far as *China*, whence it is call'd *Pakjahoa*. It grows all about *Batavia* in the Gardens, on knotty Trees, which grow sometimes twelve Foot high. It bears no Seed, but thick oily Leaves, white on the Extremities, but a pale yellow towards the Stalk; some have red Spots on the upper side. The Flower sprouts far at the Ends of the Twiggs, in a broad Knot, which produces several Flowers, the Scent whereof is like our *May* Flowers, but stronger and not so agreeable. The Leaves of the Stem are long, pointed at the End, green and full of Veins; The Wood is grey; and near the Top where the Flower Buds out, surrounded with many young Sprigs. 1662.

The Flower Kattiepiri. The Flower call'd *Katſiepiri* by the *Malayans*, *Korban* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Micuhoa* by the *Chineſes*, grows in the Gardens of *Batavia*, the Tree being not unlike a Palm-tree, but somewhat higher, and with larger Leaves. The Flowers sprout out of pale green Buds, are well scented with thick, oily and snow white Leaves, with yellow Seeds in the Middle. This Flower is in great Request for its pleasing Scent, being sold sometimes for Two Pence a piece.

Arroz e Rice Flower. The Rice-flower is call'd by the *Portugueſes Fulo di Arroz*, by the *Malayans Boingo Pitſia Pria*, and by the *Javaneſes Pella Sidanga*, all in the same sense from its Scent, which is like Rice, when it comes boiling hot out of the Pot. It grows on a kind of Vine, which spreads its Branches like our Vines, with very fair broad Leaves, like those of the Quince Pear-tree; and are as green as a Leek. The Branches grow so thick that the Sun cannot penetrate them, being supported by Bamboo Sticks. The Flower has single white Leaves, streaked with white within, and in the middle a pointed Sprout, surrounded with small Buds.

Jambos. The Apples call'd *Pompions*, by the *Dutch*, *Jamboa*, by the *Portugueſes*, and *Thoe* by the *Chineſes*, grow scarce any where else in the *Indies* but in the Isle of *Great Java*, especially in the Gardens of *Batavia*. This Tree is produced by no other ways than either by laying off of the Branches, like as we do our Vines, or from the Seed of the Fruit; The first bears Fruit the second Year, but the Tree which comes from the Kernel or Seed does not bear till the third or Fourth Year. The Apples are of a Gold Colour without, and some of them Red within; their Taste being not unlike our Cherries. Some are white and somewhat sweeter; They are very like Oranges, both in and out side, except that they are five times as big, some weighing Ten or Twelve Pounds, and being Ten or Twelve Inches in Circumference, so that one Apple is sufficient for two or three at a time. They grow in Clusters four or five together on thin Twigs supported by Bamboe Canes, without which they would either break or hang down to the Ground. The Tree also grows like the Orange-tree, except that the Branches are somewhat thicker and closer, and the Leaves broader.

broader. The Blossoms have white Leaves, with a yellow Seed within being of the bigness of our Apple Blossoms; The Fruit continues almost all the Year round, and after it is gathered will keep four or five Months. It delights in a fat Soil, and the Ground must be kept clear of Weeds near the Stem.

Most and the best of the *Indian* Fruit some continue throughout the whole Year, except few, among which that are call'd *Mangas* by the *Javaneses*, and *Pao Ampelan* by the *Malayans* is one; The Trees which bears this Fruit are sometimes as tall, thick and well Spread as the largest Oak Trees in *Europe*. The Flowers which are white, sprout forth of certain small Twigs growing on the Branches, which produce such vast plenty of Fruit, that when they begin to ripen, they are forced to support them with Sticks. Their time of gathering is chiefly in *September* and *October*; tho' less or more they continue throughout the Year, but not in such plenty, and most of the Trees bear Fruit, but every other Year. The Fruit is something larger than a Plumb; green at first, but when ripe of an Orange Colour; some are spotted, and being of the same Colour on the inside are very pleasing to the Eye, but somewhat crabbed in Taste; The Inhabitants make divers Relishing Pickles of them; They boil them in a certain Pickle, and make them as good in Taste as the best *Portuguese* Olives; Others are Pickled with Vinegar and green Pepper, and are used with roasted Meats like our Pickled Cucumbers. They are also Preserved with Sugar for the use of the Women; They have another way of taking off the Rind and the Kernel, the space of which they fill up with Sugar, Butter and Eggs, and so make a delicious Dish of them, very pleasing both to the Palate and Stomach. The Fruit, if eaten any great quantity after it is ripe is very unwholsome, but moderately used, is good against the Bloody-Flux. The Tree is produced out of the Kernel; and does not bear till some Years after, neither does it bear Fruits for several Years before they die.

Mango-stan.

The Fruit call'd *Mangostan* by the *Malayans* and *Manges Tanges* by the *Javaneses*, carries the Bell before all the other *Indian* Fruits, for its agreeable Taste. It grows chiefly about *Bantam*, and in some places of *Malacca*. The Trees which bears this Apple, grows no higher than our Plumb or Mulberry-tree, having a streight Stem of the bigness of a Mans Calf of the Leg; with a rough Bark, its Branches growing up like those of the Clove Tree; Both the Leaves and Branches affording a very agreeable Sight. The Apples hang at the Extremities of the small Twigs, each being cover'd with two Leaves, of two Palms in Length, having abundance of Veins; they are somewhat of a pale Green on the out side, but light Green on the inside. This agreeable Fruit comes forth from a pale green Bud, which opening produces the Blossom, and these the Fruit. On the Top of the Apple is a kind of a Coronet, which opens as soon as it begins to ripen. The several points of this Coronet has so many Marks, to direct you how many Kernels are contain'd in the Apple; which are sometimes Six, sometimes Eeght; but those which have the most Kernels, are generally the best. The Fruit has a very thick Rind, not unlike our Granate Apples, of a Purple Colour without, and whitish on the inside; Its Taste is somewhat Crab-like, not unlike the Rind of the Granate Apple, and somewhat inclining to bitter; The Pulp which is round the inward Kernels, is sometimes white, sometimes inclining to red; being exceeding pleasing to the Palate, and not unwholsome for the Stomach, notwithstanding its cooling Quality, it being scarce ever known, that any Body surfeited himself by the eating of this Fruit, a thing otherwise very common to the cooling Fruits of the *Indies*. These are accounted very proper even in Agues, and have towards the Bottom about the Stalks three or four different Rinds or Shells. These are brought in such vast quantities from *Bantam* to *Batavia*, that you may buy many of them for Sixpence; and I have seen several of them in the Gardens about *Batavia*, one whereof bore Fruits very plentifully, which makes me believe they would thrive very well hereabouts.

Indian Almond-tree.

As far as I remember, there is scarce any kind of Fruit Trees in the *Indies* which casts its Leaves so as to remain bare except this Tree, which as well as the Fruit is call'd *Katopper*. The Tree grows up very tall, with thick Branches and Leaves, which afford a very plentiful Shade; It is in all respects like an Elm-tree, except that its Leaves are above a Palm in length and very narrow, with yellow Veins. The Stem of this Tree is very strait, out of which come forth

1662. forth the Branches one above the other in due order. The Fruit grows in Clufters on the Extremities of the Twiggs with the Bloſſom, which are ſmall white Flowers with a yellow Seed, and many green Buds not open'd yet, near them; The Fruit is encloſed in a hairy Subſtance, which turns yellow, and ſhrinks as it ripens; within which is a hard Shell, which contains commonly one, and ſometimes two Kernels. Theſe are as ſweet as Almonds, being not unlike them in Shape, and are eaten and uſed otherwiſe like Almonds; The Shell is ſo hard that you can ſcarce crack them with your Teeth. There are divers ſorts of them; ſome having a pale red Shell, which are bigger, others a yellow one.

The Javaneſe Rottangs. The *Javaneſe Rottangs* grow in thoſe Country's wild; And are different in their kind; Some would have them to be a kind of Reed, becauſe they grow ſometimes with Knots or Joints; whereas otherwiſe they have no reſemblance either in the Stem or Leaves to the Cane or Reed kind. This grows ſo faſt, and twiſts its ſelf ſometimes ſo cloſe up to the very Tops of the higheſt Trees, that they die for want of Air. They are much uſed in the *Indies*; However the beſt walking Canes are brought from *Japan* and *Siam*. They bear alſo a kind of Fruit, of a brown Colour like our Earth-Nuts, with a very thin Rind, containing two Kernels, which are white but of an unpleaſant Taſte, and therefore ſcarce ever eaten, except a ſmall portion thereof next to the Rinds which is well taſted. The *Chineſes* make divers ſorts of Pickles of this Fruit; in the nature of the Pickled Olives; and draw an Oil from them which is very good to heal Wounds.

The Tree and Fruit Anrae. The Tree and Fruit call'd by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch Anrae*, is call'd *Saboroſia* by the *Malayans*. It grows in divers places of the *Indies*, to the height of an ordinary Apple-tree, with rough Leaves, green at firſt, but turn brown as the Fruit begin to ripen, and grow directly oppoſite to one another, like thoſe of the Tree *Gojavas*, but are not ſo broad. It bears no Bloſſom, the Fruit coming forth of Buds like the *Portugueſe* Figs; which has a rough Rind, with pale green Knots, not unlike the Pine-Apple, it comes to full Maturity in three Months time, when it is gathered, and kept till it grows ſoft, that it may be broken with ones Hands; within it reſembles a rotten Medlar, being full of Seeds: and the Pulp of ſo agreeable Taſte, that one can ſcarce be ſatisfied with it. The inhabitants make many Inciſions in the Bark, to make the Tree bear the better, as we ſay of our Walnut-trees, when the Twiggs are well beaten whilſt they are gathering the Fruit. There is another ſort of theſe Figgs call'd *Atanoune* by the Inhabitants which are leſſer, as is likewiſe the Tree, which rather reſembles a Shrub, with narrow Leaves, but above a Palm in length. The Fruit is of the bigneſs of a *China Apple*, yellow and ſhadow'd with an Orange Colour, but white within, with brown Seeds; They are much more luſcious, and when cut open emit a Scent like Roſe Water, being accounted very comfortable to the Brains, and therefore held in great Eſteem. This Fruit likewiſe ſprouts forth out of long green Buds; which opening, contain another round Nut or Bud, which produces the Fruit. 1662

Dates. The Date Trees grow in great plenty in *Perſia* near *Gomron*, and delight much in Sandy Grounds. Some of theſe Trees have of late Years been tranſplanted to *Batavia*, of which I ſaw a young one in Mr. *Peter Moleth*'s Garden, the Draught of which I have inſerted, but whether it will bear Fruit time will ſhew. The Date Trees continue in their full Vigour for many years; they have, like the Coco-trees, very ſmall Roots, and the Trunk is thicker near the top, than towards the Root. The Pith of the Tree is accounted excellent good to encreaſe Sperm, and an Appetite to Venery, and the *Perſians* about *Gamron* are ſo fond of this Fruit, that they eat it at their Meals, as we do Bread, or the *Indians* Rice. The Dates hang in yellow Shells on the Trees, being of a delicate taſte, eſpecially if eaten green. There is a Male and Female Date-tree; the laſt of which bears Fruit only; they differ alſo in this, that the Female has a thicker and longer Stem, but the Bloſſom is the ſame in both, and ſhoots forth in a great Bunch or Cluſter on the top of the Tree, of the thickneſs of an Arm, which opening after ſome time produces the Flowers, and thoſe the Fruit. The *Perſians* cut off this Knot from the Male Tree before it opens, which they cut into divers pieces, one of which they put into the Knot or Cluſter of the Female Tree, (which they have a way to open) pretending thereby to make the Tree bear greater plenty of Fruit.

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1662. They have many Stories of the Male and Female Trees, tho' not worth the inſerting here.

Water-Melons, or Patekas. The *Water-Melons*, called *Batiek* by the *Indians*, as alſo *Patekas* or *Pateko*, grow almoſt in all the Countries betwixt the two Tropicks of *Cancer* and *Capricorn*; yet the nearer to the Equinoctial Line, the better they are, and continue in vigour all the year round, except in the heighth of the Rainy Seaſon. Some are white without, as at *Batavia*, but the red ones are the beſt; They have a thin green Rind, which is ſoft and tender within. The Pulp is bright, and ſo tender as to melt in ones Mouth like Sugar. The Seeds are black, not unlike our Pompion Seeds: The Plant creeps with its Stalks and Leaves along the Ground like the Pompions, and at their opening reſemble our Cucumbers. The Fruit is ſufficient for four Perſons to feed upon; and is, among all other Fruits that are Eaten raw, the moſt pleaſant and harmleſs, though you Eat ever ſo much of it. However, moderately Eaten they are beſt, when they are very refreſhing, and acuate the Stomach; whereas in too great a quantity they are obnoxious, and may occaſion the Bloody Flux. They grow beſt in Sandy Grounds. I have ſeen ſome of them in the Gardens of *Holland*, but the Fruit has a watery Taſte.

Ananas. The Fruit called *Ananas*, by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, is called *Nuna* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, and *Unglay* by the *Chineſes*. The Plant which produces this Fruit delights to grow in ſhady Places and a fat Soil: Firſt ſhoots forth a Stalk of an Inch thick, and a foot long, on which near to the Ground grows the Fruit, not unlike a Melon, with a well colour'd Rind, being of a pale red colour, mixed with Orange colour Streaks, which towards the Extremities are green. The Fruit looks yellow within. They are ſometimes five Inches in circumference, and nine long, weighing perhaps five or ſix Pounds. Below and round about the Stalk come forth certain ſprouts like Houſe-Leek or Aloes, with 15 or 16 carved Leaves of the ſame colour as the Fruit, green in the middle, and of a Orange colour about the edges. The *Ananas*, after it is come to its full Perfection, is one of the moſt delicious Fruits of all the *Indies*; but before they are well ripe, they contain a corroding Poiſonous Quality; of which the Ripe ones even have ſome Remnants, and therefore ought not to be Eaten in too great a quantity, unleſs you cut them *into* ſmall Slices, and by pouring ſome *Spaniſh* Wine upon them draw out the ſharp Humour. Some uſe Water inſtead of Wine, notwithſtanding which they often create a heat in the Throat; but as they are Diuretick, ſo they are accounted good againſt the Gravel: But without being ſteept in Wine or Water, they would Exulcerate the Palate of the Mouth and the Tongue, and cauſe a mortal Bloody-Flux. They have a way of preſerving them with Sugar, and are thus tranſported frequently from the *Weſt-Indies* into *Europe*. This Fruit has ſo fragrant a ſmell, that when it is cut it fills the Room with a ſmell like Roſe-Water: In Taſte they approach next to our large Strawberries, which being very inviting to the Pallate, makes one Eat too much, and Inflames the Bowels, or occaſions Burning Fevers, for which reaſon they ought to be Eaten with caution. Thoſe of the Iſle of *Ceylon* exceed the reſt in Taſte; thoſe growing near *Batavia*, and in other Parts of *Java*, are not ſo fine. The Fruits ripen in ſix Months; when they are cut from the Stalks, which remain thus; or elſe they take the Sprouts, and having cut them from the main Stalk, put them thus without any Root in the Ground, which afterwards produce new Plants. The Fruit *Ananas* grows in moſt parts of both the *Indies*, and ſome are of Opinion, That the firſt Plants thereof have been tranſplanted many years ago from *Baſil* unto the *Eaſt-Indies*.

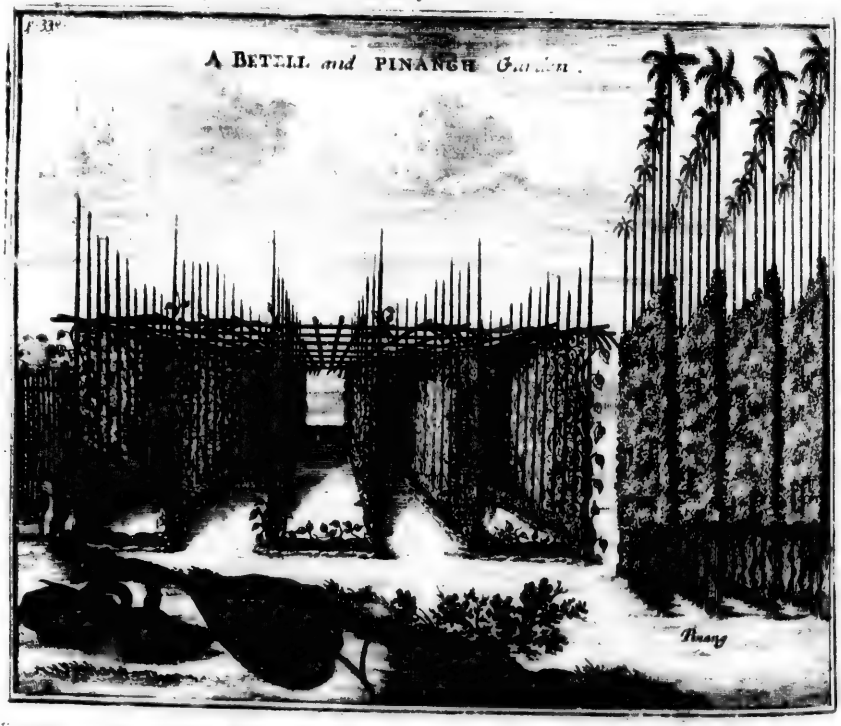
1662.

Among other *Indian* Plants, which are beneficial to human Kind, is that called *Betel* or *Betele* by the *Indians*, and *Siry* by the *Malayans*, *Sury* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Lauheu* by the *Chineſes*, which is one of the moſt inconſiderable ones. It reſembles at a diſtance the Black Pepper, and runs up with its Branches round Trees, Stalks, Poſts, or any other thing it meets with, like our Hops, to a good heighth, delighting eſpecially in a well Dung'd Soil, and ſhady Places; and growing but ſlowly in the open Air: It requires alſo a conſiderable heat, which is the reaſon that it is Planted near the Sea-ſide, and after all muſt be defended and covered againſt the cold Night-Blaſts, being ſo tender, that it can't bear the leaſt Cold. Both the Branches and Leaves are in all reſpects like thoſe of the Pepper; the Leaves being ſometimes ſix Inches broad, and as many long, of a dark green colour, having ſeveral Veins through the length, and

Betel.

1662. and 5 or 6 croſſwiſe; the Stalks are an Inch broad. The Leaves have a Spicy Taſte, very penetrant and ſomewhat adſtringent. They are ſo generally uſed in the *Indies*, as if the Inhabitants could not live without them. They take a ſingle Leaf, and a ſmall quantity of Lime made of burnt Oiſter-ſhells, then folding the Leaf together, they put into it the Lime, and a fourth part of the Nut *Areka*, (or *Pinang*,) which augments the aſtringent quality of the *Betel*, and draws the Spittle: After they have Chaw'd it thus a while, the firſt Spittle is red, like ſtagnated Blood, which being paſs'd, they ſwallow the reſt. The firſt Spittle taints the Lips with a pleaſing red, as ſoon as it affects the Brains, which is chiefly attributed to the *Areka*; and I have ſeen ſome, who, tho' uſed to Chew this mixture, were ſeized with Swouning Fits: It never fails to create a Giddineſs in the Head to ſuch as are not uſed to it, which is ſoon Cured by rubbing their Gums with a little Salt. The Juice thereof, which is ſwallowed down, has an aſtringent and corroborating quality of the Stomach, after the firſt Spittle which contains the Lime, is ſpitted out: It cloſes the upper Orifice of the Stomach, diſperſes the Vapours ariſing from Drunkenneſs, and revives the Spirits. It corrects a ſtinking Breath; cures the Tooth-Ach and Scurvy, faſtens the Teeth, and ſtrengthens the Gums; but makes the Teeth as black as Jet, an Ornament much affected by the *Indians*; and if you Chew too much of this mixture, it will looſen and corrode the Teeth. *Betel* Chaw'd without Lime, produces a green Spittle, but with Lime, makes it red; Perſons of Quality mix ſome Musk, Ambergreece, or Camphire with it: The uſe of it is ſo frequent here, that no Body pays a Viſit to another, but a ſmall Diſh of *Betel* is brought immediately. Nice People Spit in Pots.

1662.



The Ancient Herbaliſts have placed the *Pynang*-Tree among the Palm-Trees, perhaps becauſe its Stem, Leaves, and Branches, are not unlike the *Coco*-Tree. It owes its Original to the Kernel of the Nut like the *Coco* Tree, and grows all over the *Indies*, eſpecially in the Iſle of *Ceylon*, where they drive a great Traffick with theſe Nuts, and tranſport them in prodigious quantities to the Coaſt

Coaſt of *Madura*, and other Places. In 1662. a few years after it is Planted it bears Nuts. From underneath the Leaves ſprout forth certain Twigs, which grow cloſe together, and are full of ſmall white Leaves, emitting a moſt fragrant Scent at a conſiderable diſtance, eſpecially Mornings and Evenings. After theſe Flowers come the Nuts, called *Fauſel* by the *Arabians*, *Areka* by the *Indians*, and *Pynang* by the *Malayans*: They grow very thick together on both ſides of very ſtrong Stalks, being green at firſt, but turning yellow by degrees; ſome are of an Orange colour. Some of theſe Nuts grow not ſo cloſe on tender Twigs; others, which are of an Orange colour, grow out of certain green Husks in Bunches like Grapes; they are covered on the outſide with a hairy Subſtance. This Tree equals in heighth the *Coco*-Tree, but the Stem ſeldom exceeds ſix or ſeven Inches in thickneſs, neither has it ſo long and many Branches as the *Coco*-Tree, and the Leaves are ſhorter and broader. Theſe Trees look very oddly at a diſtance, being ſo thin of Stem and almoſt without Branches, ſo that they are beat by the Wind on all ſides, yet never break. The Stem is ſpongy within, but the Bark very hard, of which they make Laths for the coverings of their Houſes, for which they are very uſeful by reaſon of their ſtraightneſs. The Fruit reſembles an Acorn, but is four times bigger; however, when cleanſed from the hairy Threads, the Nut ſcarce exceeds the bigneſs of a Nutmeg, and looks like it within. The Kernels are aſtringent, and good for the Stomach. They make no other uſe of them but for Chawing with the *Betel* Leaves and Lime as we told you before: They cleanſe the Nuts from the hairy Strings with a pair of Sciſſors, and cut the Nut if large in four, or elſe in two pieces; and this put into a Leaf of *Betel*, and mix'd with a little Lime, they Chaw ſo long as it will draw the Spittle, and ſpit out what remains; But the old *Pynang* Nuts with the *Betel* Leaf will diſſolve inſenſibly in the Mouth. Such as are not uſed to the Chawing of *Pynang*, eſpecially if uſed before it is come to its full Maturity, will certainly be ſeized with Giddineſs in the Head, and will fall down without Senſe or Motion.

Suryboa is a certain Plant which runs up cloſe round the *Pynang*-Tree to a great heighth, and being Planted in rows, afford ſhady and agreeable Walks. The Leaves and Branches are like thoſe of the *Betel*, or of Pepper: The Fruit is not unlike in ſhape to the *Bengal* Pepper, growing on ſmall and green Stalks of two Fingers length: It is green and chequered, of the length of a Palm, but ſcarce an Inch thick, containing a white Kernel with ſmall Seeds. Theſe Kernels are uſed with the *Areka* inſtead of *Betel*, being a pleaſant Chaw. They cut them through the middle, and taking one half of the *Pynang* Kernel likewiſe cut in the middle, they tie both together with a Cotton Thread, and with the addition of a ſmall quantity of Lime made of Oyſter Shells, uſe it like as they do the *Betel*; it has the ſame effects, and being not ſo common as the *Betel* is more eſteem'd among Perſons of Quality. 1662.

Dap-Daf, or *Dap-Dap*, is a very agreeable Fruit both raw and dreſs'd, having a very pleaſant Taſte, of a mixture of ſweet and ſoure, and of a cooling quality. It grows out of the bottom of a Stem of a Tree, having very fine Leaves, the Flowers or Bloſſom, conſiſting of ſmall red Leaves. The Fruit is inclining to red, mix'd with black ſpots of an oval Figure, and ragged, bent a little at the end like a Cucumber. It contains a white Kernel of a delicious Taſte, being encloſed in a whitiſh Rind. Theſe Trees bear Fruit all the year long, and grow properly in the *Molucca* Iſlands, from whence they have been tranſplanted into the Gardens of *Batavia*, but do not thrive ſo well there as in their Native Soil, being much peſter'd with Aunts or Piſmires, which do incredible Miſchiefs to the Fruits there. The Tree whereof I took the Draught at *Batavia*, was ſurrounded with Rails, within which the Ground was paved with Stone, and a ſmall Ciſtern in it with Water, notwithſtanding which the Fruit was ſo covered with Piſmires as ſcarce to be diſcerned. Dap-Daf, *or* Dap-Dap.

The Fruit called *Takkatak*, or *Boa Buwun* by the *Malayans*, and *Kannekoeni* by the *Javaneſes*, are by the *Dutch* called *Red Currants* from their reſemblance to our *Currants*, tho' in their qualifications they are very different. Theſe Berries grow on high Trees with large Leaves, not unlike the Cheſnut-Trees, and ſprout forth in large Buds, in Cluſters, on the Twigs of the Trees, being of the ſame bigneſs as ours, but are of a ſoure taſte; notwithſtanding which they are much coveted, and ſold and uſed in great quantities at *Batavia*, in the ſame manner as we do our *Red Currants*. They grow in the Gardens about *Batavia*, and bear Takkatak.

Fruits

1662. Fruits every three Months, but moſt in *September*.

Moringo. The Tree called *Moringo* by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, *Ramongy* by the *Malayans*, and *Kelor* by the *Chineſes*, is found not only in all the Gardens, but alſo before the Houſes: It has a White Bloſſom, which ſprouts forth from White Buds, having a yellow Seed within. The Fruits grow ſeveral together, being encloſed in hard Husks, not unlike our *French* Beans, except that the Husks are round and longer. So ſoon as they are ripe, they are gathered, and the Twigs on the top being cut off, others ſprout forth in their ſtead, which bear new Fruit. The Leaves are very ſmooth and thick, in taſte not unlike the *Coco*-Leaves in *Holland*; but not ſo biting and penetrant. They Stew theſe Leaves with Meat, or Eat them alone, as we do our Spinage, being well-taſted and cooling; the ſame they do with the Husks, whilſt they are young, but when old, are tough; ſo that both the uſefulneſs and pleaſantneſs of this Tree is a ſufficient Encouragement to the People to afford it a place in their Gardens; eſpecially ſince it wants no great Induſtry to Plant it, as growing out of a Sprig of the Tree planted only in the Ground without any Root, which in a few months begins to Bloſſom and to bear Fruit.

Torre. The Tree called *Torre* by the *Malabars*, *Tary* by the *Portugueſes*, *Rombang Juri* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Husk-Tree* by the *Dutch*, does not riſe above the heighth of an ordinary Apple-Tree: He brings forth certain Husks hanging ſtrait down on thin Stalks of about a quarter of a yard in length, and the thickneſs of a little Finger. The Husks contain 8 or 10 ſmall Peaſe, which are Eaten as well as the Leaves, which are round and ſmall growing on ſmall Twigs; and the Flowers, which are ſurpriſing at firſt ſight. They ſprout forth out of green Buds in the ſhape of a Half-Moon, with Purple-colour'd Points, and ſtreaks of the ſame colour within: From the innermoſt Leaf come forth certain long and thin Sprouts like Fillets, with yellow hairy Points; The Stalk is green, but the beginnings of the Leaves of the Flower, are white, interſperſed with Veins to the Extremities, with a Parrot-green colour, intermix'd with ſome red, which affords a moſt agreeable Spectacle to the Eye: The Inhabitants alſo make uſe of the Leaves as a Soveraign Remedy againſt the Stings of the Serpents, in which caſe they ſqueeze them betwixt two Stones, and mixing a little Salt with them, apply them to the Tumour, which give immediate Relief. 1662.

Devil's Plant. The *Portugueſes* have given it the name of *Folio di Inverno*, or the *Devil's Leaf*, or *Helliſh Leaf*, becauſe it will overrun all Places wherever it lights: The *Malayans* call it *Garrak*, and the *Javaneſes*, *Klatte*: It has ſeveral Phyſical Virtues, againſt divers Diſtempers. There are two ſorts diſtinguiſh'd by their different colours; one having green Leaves, and growing very faſt; the other being brown and red, like the Leaves of our red Cabbages, and growing up to the heighth of 12 or 14 foot, with carved Leaves hanging on very long Stalks. On the top ſprouts out a bunch of green Buds, which opening by degrees, produce yellowiſh Flowers; after which comes the Fruit, not unlike a Cheſnut, containing a Bean or Kernel, which is very good Food.

The Broad Nomeradio. The Plant or Herb called the *Broad Nomerado* by the *Portugueſes*, and *Bajan Dierdia* by the *Malayans*: The ſhape of the Leaf which grows on the Stalk of this Plant chequered with various colours like a Tulip, is altogether like our Beetes, and uſed in the ſame manner; but is preſerved for the Beauty of its Leaves, which are on the top, as an Ornament of the Gardens. There is another ſort reſembling in colour our red Cabbages, and is frequently planted by the *Chineſes*, who Sell it in great quantities in the Market of *Batavia*: It is of an agreeable Taſte, either Boil'd with Meat, or Stew'd by it ſelf.

Kappok. The Tree which produces the *Javaneſe*-Cotton, is called *Kappok* by the *Malayans*, *Jerondo* by the *Javaneſes*, and *My* by the *Chineſes*, grows up to the heighth of a great Maſt, ſpreading its Branches directly ſtraightways on all ſides: The Bark of this Tree is white, as far as the lowermoſt Branches, but from thence to the top green; The Flowers which are white come forth out of certain Buds growing out of the Branches; then come the Fruits of the bigneſs of a Hens Egg, pointed at the end, being green at firſt, but turn brown like a dried Oaken-Leaf. Theſe Fruits hang on the middle and end of the Branches, two and two together, ſeldom one alone. They open at laſt near the Stalks, and produce the Cotton-Wooll, which covers the Seed, and extends its ſelf when expoſed to the Air. The Seeds are black, not unlike the brown Pepper, but ſomewhat ſmoother. The Cotton-Wool is gathered in the *Indies*, in *October* and *November*, where-

with

with they drive a conſiderable Traffick all over the *Indies*, where they are uſed inſtead of Feathers, to Stuff their Cuſhions, Bolſters, and Quilts withal, Feather-Beds being unknown here; but is not long enough for Combing, or for Weaving; Great care is to be taken that no Fire come near it, for if it takes fire it burns with ſuch violence, that ſcarce any Water can ſquench it: This Tree grows whereever it is planted. 1662.

The Tree *Jamboes*, as the *Indians* and *Javaneſes* call it, the *Portugueſes Roſado*, the *Malayans*, *Jamboe Ramus*, and the *Chineſes*, *Ileapont*, affords a very agreeable Entertainment to the Eye, while it ſtands in full Bloſſom. It grows up very regularly, in the ſhape of a Pyramid, the Branches growing in good order, neither entangled within one another, neither above one another. It riſes to the heighth of a large Pear-Tree in *Europe*, and takes deep Root. The Leaves are long and green, at the Extremities of the ſmall Twigs ſprout out green Buds, which produce Flowers with Leaves as red as Blood, containing certain red Fillets within: The Fruits are of an Oval figure, reſembling in bigneſs and ſhape our Sugar-Pears, which grow in Cluſters 23, 24, and 25 together: Some are red, others white, but both of the ſame Taſte, tho' the white ones are reckoned the beſt. They ſmell very ſweet, but are ſomewhat mellow; The Stone which lies in the middle has a large but bitter Kernel, which is never Eaten. Abundance of theſe Flowers which produce no Fruit, fall from the Tree upon the Ground, which cover the Ground underneath, and afford a pleaſant ſight. The Stalks of the Flowers are red, not unlike the Sea-Lions, but not ſo long. Theſe Flowers have ſo pleaſant and ſavory a taſte, that they are uſed and Eaten as a delicious Sallad. The Fruit has a ſweet, yet reliſhing taſte, and allays the exceſſive Heat of the Stomach; if Stew'd with Sugar, and a little Wine, they Eat like Stew'd Pears. The beſt I ever met with were in the Iſle of Ceylon, where they grow in great Plenty. Theſe Trees are produced from the Seeds, and bear Fruit in the 4th year, and three times in a year, ſo that they never are in want of this Fruit, throughout the Seaſons: 'Tis generally believed, That this Tree, for its ſweet-ſcented Flowers, and well-taſted Fruits ſake, was tranſplanted from *Malacca* into other diſtant Countries. There is yet another ſort of *Jamboes*, which grow in the Iſle of *Amboina*, on Trees no bigger than our Cherry-Trees; but they are not ſo well taſted, ſo that this Tree is cultivated there rather for its Bloſſom, which is red alſo, than the goodneſs of the Fruit. 1662.

Among many other Fruits, which if Eaten raw, are crabbed and ſoure upon the Tongue, we muſt not paſs by in ſilence what the *Portugueſes* call *Nelyka*, the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, *Boa Malakka*, the *Chineſes*, *Soaly*, and the *Dutch*, *Wild-Plumbs*: They grow in vaſt numbers on thin Twigs, and are greeniſh of colour; the Twigs have ſmall green Leaves growing cloſe together. The Fruit has a ſouriſh taſte, and is very cooling, for which reaſon it is in requeſt by ſome, tho' generally no great account is made of it. They are in their Prime in *Auguſt*, and are then to be ſold in the Market in *Batavia*. Boa Malakka.

The Tree called *Canary* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſes*, and *Chineſes*, is an *Indian* Oak-Tree, which grows very high with lofty Branches, and very ſmooth Leaves, interwoven with divers Veins. The Stem grows thick, and extends it ſelf into ſeveral Protuberances near the Root. The Rangers of the Foreſts keep a watchful Eye over theſe Trees at convenient diſtances, when the Acorns begin to fall, becauſe the Wild-Boars appearing in great numbers, they ſhoot them; ſo that during that Seaſon, the Wild-Boars Fleſh is ſold at a cheap rate in the Market of *Batavia*. The Fruit is nothing elſe but an Acorn or Nut, produced out of a yellow Bloſſom growing on ſmall Twigs. The Nut or Acorn is incloſed in a green Shell, and next to that another, which is ſo hard, that you muſt break it with a Hammer if you will come at the Kernel, which is as white as an Almond, and of as good a taſte, being covered by a thin Skin. Canary Trees.

In and near the City of *Batavia*, grows in the Gardens a certain Flower, both in Scent and Figure not unlike our Camomile-Flower, but whether it obtains the ſame Virtue, is unknown hitherto. The *Topaſſes* call it after the *Portugueſes*, *Fulo di Madre*, i. e. *Mother-Flower*, becauſe its Leaves and the Flower are ſomewhat like the *Matricaria*, and perhaps of the ſame kind. It grows about a foot high, with large carved Leaves: The Flower which is white, ſprouts forth out of green Buds, with double Leaves carved at the ends. Camomil Trees, or Fulo di Madre.

The Flower called *Four Leaves* comes forth out of ſmall Buds, being not unlike a ſingle Gilliflower, but of a bright red colour. It conſiſts of 4 carved Leaves, which

1662. which have certain pleaſant curls at the ends. The Leaves are dark green on the inſide, and pale green without; chequered with Streaks which run all along to the point of the Leaf, which has the ſhape of an Heart. This Flower is kept only for Ornaments ſake, but is ſoon faded.

Ali or Water Flower. There is ſcarce a Lake or Pool in this Country, but what produces ſome Flower or other, but the Flower called *Ali* is found in great plenty all along the Ditch or *Gracht* betwixt *Anſjol* and *Jacatra*. It is a pretty ſort of a Flower, which may be kept a pretty while in Water; It comes forth out of long and large Buds, is pale green without, and white within with yellow Seeds. After it is opened, it is not unlike a *Tulip* or *Lily*, except that the Leaves are green on the out ſide. Its Virtues are unknown as yet, but is kept for Ornaments ſake.

White Violets or Jarron. The Leaves of this Flower growing cloſe within one another like our Violets, it has got the name of a *White Violet*, ſcarce differing from it in any thing but the Scent. It grows wild on certain Shrubs without *Batavia*; when they are planted in the Gardens, the Stalks thereof are cut down cloſe to the Ground, when new Stalks ſprout forth, which bring Flowers in great plenty. The Inhabitants who call this Flower *Jarron Jarron*, ſay it was brought hither from the Iſle of *Raly*. The *Malayans* call it *Benga Suſun* the *Javaneſes Malati Rompah*, and the *Chineſes Belehoa*. It much reſembles the *Karſiopiri*, but is not ſo ſtrong of Scent, tho' it has no Scent at all, except in the Morning, before the Sun-Beams have dry'd up the Dew from its Leaves. The Leaves are pale green, in Shape not unlike Peach Leaves, but ſomething broader; The Flower iſſues out a pale green turn'd Bud, of the bigneſs of a double *Daffadil*, and is ſnow white.

Cotton of Bengale. There is a certain ſort of Cotton, which is tranſplanted from *Bangale* to *Batavia*, call'd by the *Chineſes Algoudan*, but by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, *Kapas* or *Kappas*, the Tree bears Flowers and Fruit throughout the whole Year. So ſoon as the Flowers are gone, there buds out a Knot, containing the Cotton or Wool; The Leaves are carv'd in three places, being not unlike a certain Herb the *Dutch* call *Ducksfoot*. The Flower is brown red, having within certain pointed Fillets. This Cotton is fit for Weaving.

Wild Mangas. The Fruit call'd *Batsjan* by the *Javaneſes*, *Malayans* and *Chineſes*, is a kind of wild *Mangas* of ſo ſtrong a Scent, that you may ſmell it before all other Herbs in the Market. The Tree which bears this Fruit, is very delightful to the Eye, and not unlike the *Mangas*-tree; but the Leaves are ſomewhat bigger than thoſe of the Almond-tree, of a dark green Colour. The Bloſſom is alſo like that of the *Mangas*-tree, and yellow. The Fruit is green, of the bigneſs and ſhape of a Limon, within which grows certain Almonds, which are much more taking to the Eye than toothſom, tho' the Smell is much more diſagreeable than the Taſte, which is bitteriſh, and ſomewhat nauſeous, and not comparable to the true *Mangas*; which is the Reaſon they are not much planted near *Batavia*, but abundance of them are brought to Market there from *Bantam* in *October* and *November*.

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Marokko. About *Batavia* and all over the Iſle of *Java* grows a certain Tree call'd *Marokko* or *Morukko* by the *Portugueſes*, *Dap-Dap* or *Dadap* by the *Javaneſes*, *Darradap* by the *Malayans*, and *Oy ſenſio* by the *Chineſes*. Its Leaves are like thoſe of the *Poplar-tree*, but as big again, ſmell very well, and grow on yellow Stalks. Theſe Leaves being interſperſed with many yellow Veins, appear at a diſtance, as if the Tree were cover'd with Flowers. The Inhabitants lay theſe Leaves over their Pots, in which they have their boil'd Rice, the Steam of which draws out from thence a very agreeable Scent; but have no other uſe that I know of.

The Plant Datter. The Plant call'd *Karſiobonk* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, *Bantoboa* by the *Chineſes*, *Datura* by the *Turks* and *Perſians*, *Duroa* by the *Indians*, and in a broken Dialect *Datter* by the *Dutch*, grow wild in the Woods, almoſt all over the *Indies*; it ſeldom riſes above the height or thickneſs of our red Cabbages, the Stalk being very like the ſame, but the Leaves brown, pale green and carved. It bears divers Flowers, which open every Morning, and cloſe up again about Noon; they are white within, and pale yellow without; ſome being near a Palm in length, and of the Figure of a Bell, others carv'd at the Extremities; After theſe comes the Fruit, which has a pale green Rind, cover'd with thorny Prickles; they ſeldom exceed the bigneſs of our yellow Palms, and contain yellowiſh Seeds. Whether this Plant has the Virtue of intoxicating to a degree of Madneſs for a certain time, as ſome would have it, I am not able to determine; but

but this I am certain of, that the *Topaſſes* and other *Negro's* who keep it in their Gardens near *Batavia*, look upon it as a Fable. It is properly a kind of *Night-ſhade* or *Henbane*.

Kananga. The Trees call'd *Kananga* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſes* and *Chineſes*, bear leaves of a Parrot green Colour, above which comes forth the Bloſſom; they are planted near the *Betel*, which winds about them, and growing to a great height; their lofty tops are conſpicuous above moſt of the other fruitful Trees in the Gardens; As far as I know, they have no other uſe. Beſides that, theſe Trees are eaſily to be diſcern'd from the reſt by their crooked hanging Boughs, they commonly ſet a little Windmill in the tops to frighten the Birds out of the Garden, eſpecially the great Batts here, which keep their Rendezvouzes in theſe Trees, and are ſeen hanging with their Claws to the Branches thereof with their Heads downwards, and that in ſuch Numbers, that you ſee ſometimes more Batts than Leaves on a Tree.

Indian Oak. The *Indian Oak-tree* produces no eatable Fruit, yet does its Wood make a ſufficient amends for this Defect, being the moſt laſting of all, and as good as our *European* Oak. This Tree grows up to a great height, as may be ſeen by the long pieces of Timber in many of the Churches, and other Lofty Buildings of *Batavia*. This Tree is ſufficiently known by its large Branches and broad Leaves, which ſprout forth out of the Boughs and Branches, being intermix'd with green Veins of a pale brown Colour, and ſomewhat rough, ſomething reſembling the Figg Leaves, but are not carv'd; at the Extremities of the Boughs, ſprout forth certain Flowers not unlike the Hops, which produce Acorns, the Seeds from whence this large Tree takes its Root; the Inhabitants uſe the Leaves in the Pleuriſie; They take a certain quantity of the Liquor contain'd in the Coco-Nuts, in which they boil ſome of theſe Leaves, to the Conſumption of half the Liquor, and this Decoction they give the Patient to take inwardly; which appeaſes the Pain. I have ſeen pieces of this Oak-timber as ſtreight as an Arrow, no leſs than forty Foot long, and of 2½ foot Diameter to the very top in thickneſs; and nothing more common than to meet with Boards of this Wood of three and more Foot broad. The *Malayans* call this Tree *Kyati*, from whence they call this Oak Wood, *Kyaten* Wood; which is exceeding hard, and has the ſame Veins as our Oak; being very laſting, and not ſubject to be worm-eaten; being Proof, eſpecially againſt the Mice, which ſometimes will eat whole pieces off the Timber within, tho' the out ſide appear very ſound.

Water Pompions. The Fruit call'd *Water Pompions* by the *Dutch* from their Shape, are call'd *Katolas* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, and with a broken name *Katilas* by the *Portugueſes*. It is neither a Tree, Shrub, Herb nor Plant; but ſprouts forth in the nature of ſmall Branches, from a ſmall Seed, and ſpreads to that degree, that it runs over the tops of the Houſes with its Leaves and Flowers. The *Indians* frequently lead them over their Ciſterns in which they Bathe, being ſuſtain'd by Bamboo Canes to keep off the Heat of the Sun-Beams. They bring Fruits the whole year round, but eſpecially in *April* and *Auguſt*. The Flowers are like thoſe of our Pompions, and fade without producing any Fruit. The Fruit is of two ſorts; one grows to the bigneſs of our ordinary Pompions, but the other which is the beſt, ſcarce exceeds in Bulk our Cucumbers or Melons. They are uſed in the ſame manner for Salad. There is another ſort of the length of a Man's Arm, but no thicker than a good walking Cane, the Rind being full of Spots; That of which I took the Draught, was 13 Inches long and 3½ Diameter, weighing 3¼ Pounds. When the Gardners have a mind to make this Fruit grow longer than their ordinary Size, they faſten a Weight with Wire thread to the Extremities of it, which ſtretches it downwards to a prodigious Length. The Leaves and Branches are like thoſe of the Pompions; The Fruit is green inclining to yellow on the Rind without, but white within; as are alſo the Seed.

Champakka. If we ſhould enter upon giving you an Account of all the Flowers that grow in the Iſle of *Java*, it would require an entire Volume; Among the Chiefeſt and Beſt is that Flower call'd *Champakka* of *Siampakka* by the *Malayans* and *Indians*, and *Vinhoa*, by the *Chineſes*. The Tree which produces theſe Flowers, grows up to the height of our moderate Pear-trees or Peach-trees, with large wrinkled Leaves, intermix'd with many Veins. The Branches or Boughs grow all in a ſtrait Line from the Tree, and afterward turn upwards; they are generally ſo weak, that no body can climb up to the Tree, ſo that the Flowers which grow on the top, muſt be taken down with Bamboo Canes or Reeds.

Theſe

1662. These Flowers are in great Requeſt among the *Indians*, for their odoriferous Scent, and uſed in Garlands: the Scent is betwixt a Roſe and a Violet, and ſo ſtrong, that it may be ſmell'd in the Houſes, as the Flowers are carried by in the Streets. They are of two Colours, *viz.* of an Orange Colour and green; not unlike the Bloſſom of a *Spaniſh* Orange-tree; but reſemble in Figure the *Engliſh* Saffron. This Flower is one Ingredient of that famous Ointment made by the *Indian* Women call'd *Boreboy*; they alſo Adorn their Hair among the reſt with this Flower. This Tree alſo bears Fruit, which grows out of the Sprigs like Bunches of Grapes, and are of the ſame Colour and Bigneſs, but fit for nothing.

The Branches which produce the Beans, call'd by the *Dutch* the *Large Creeping Beans*, are call'd *Katsjang Panang* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, and run up in many ſmall Branches to ſuch a height, that their curled Sprigs on the top grow beyond the Pinacles of the higheſt Buildings. At the Bottom they are of the thickneſs of a Man's Arm, and change their Leaves and Fruits, without any alteration to themſelves; They bear fine green and thick Leaves, intermix'd with ſmall Veins; The Bloſſoms are of a Purple Colour, and before they open pointed at the End; The Husks which contain the Beans, are green like ours, having a purple Colour'd String all round the Husk. They are of divers ſorts, among which theſe following are moſt in Requeſt.

Fabas de Moro. The *Moors Bean* call'd *Fabas de Moro* by the Inhabitants, are very large, aud run up to a great height; they commonly plant them near the *Pynang*-trees, which ſerve them for Supporters. The Husks are about a Foot in length, and an Inch in breadth; They are chiefly uſed by the *Chineſes* and *Javaneſes*, but neglected by the *Dutch*, by Reaſon of their unſavoury Taſte.

Gondola. The Bean call'd *Gondola* runs up likewiſe to a good height, affording a very agreeable Shade; The Leaves boil'd or ſtew'd are very cooling; The Ranks don't hold above one year, tho' the Beans will keep green three or four years; I did plant ſome of the *Large Creeping Beans* at *Koulang* about a Summer-Houſe, four or five of which yielded me near ſix Buſhels of Beans.

Kadjang. *Kadjang* as the *Javaneſes* and *Malayans* call it, and the *Chineſes Petau*, is a kind of Peaſe, known by all the Inhabitants of *Batavia*, which grow in vaſt Plenty in the Fields about *Batavia*. When they are ripe, they are gather'd and dry'd in the Air. Theſe Peaſe are of the Bigneſs of our Vetches, which grow among the Winter Corn, and grow with green Shells at firſt, but turn black afterwards. Betwixt each two Leaves ſprouts forth a Bud, which produces a Flower, and this the Pea. Theſe Peaſe are of great Advantage to the Ships in their Return home, and when boil'd with Bacon and well Butter'd, are very good for the Stomach. If you plant them in a Pot, with Earth and keep them well water'd, they will come in twice 24 Hours, and make a good Sallad aboard a Ship.

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The Tree, the Fruit whereof, the *Javaneſes* call *Makandou*, has very broad, thick and fine Leaves, the Bloſſom is long and white; after which comes the Fruit *Makandou*; in all reſpects like a Pine-Apple, except that it is not pointed at the End, neither ſo hard, but ſoft. Before it is ripe, it is green, but afterwards yellow, and almoſt inſipid. The *Malayans* Roaſt it in the Aſhes, and take it inwardly againſt the Bloody Flux, Aſthma and Pleuriſie. In the Iſle of *Java* grows a certain Tree with Leaves like thoſe of the Aſh-tree, and a knotty Stem or Trunk. It bears a Fruit like unto our Hazle-Nuts, the Kernels whereof, after they are taken out of the Shells, are of no ill Taſte, yet a little aſtringent. The Leaves apply'd to Wounds and Ulcers, cleanſe them and render them fit for healing; a Spoonful of the Juice of the Leaves is a good Remedy againſt the Worms. Out of the Stem grows a Twig, but to no great height, which brings forth yellow Flowers, like thoſe of the *Nightſhade*; after theſe come the Fruits, which before they are ripe are green, but afterwards red, and of a circular Figure; If you ſqueeze them betwixt your Hands, they ſend forth ſuch an ill Scent, that no *Aſſa Fœtida* or *Sagapenum* is comparable to it; for which Reaſon the *Indian* Women apply to the Noſtrils of ſuch Perſons as are afflicted with Fits of the Mother; The Indians look upon them as not fit to be eaten.

In the Woods of *Java* grows a certain Shrub, call'd *Darlontas*, to the height of ſix Foot, ſpreading its Branches at a good diſtance, like our *Water Willow* in *Holland*; and that in ſuch vaſt Quantities, that the *Chineſes* are forced to root them out with Fire and Steel; The leaves are not unlike thoſe of the *Balſamina*, and cover'd likewiſe at the ends. It bears Cluſters of Flowers like Coronets, not unlike thoſe of the Elder-

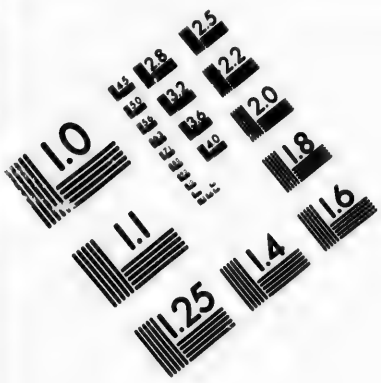
der-Tree; after which come certain Berries that are very bitter; both the Leaves and Flowers ſmell like the Camomile-Flowers, and contain the ſame Virtues: Its Decoction is excellent good againſt the Cough, and nothing provokes the Monthly Terms of the Women beyond this Remedy.

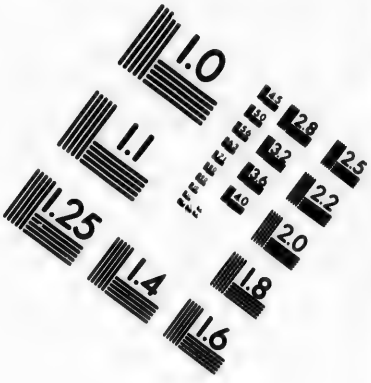
Mangam. The Fruit *Mangam* is look'd upon by the *Javaneſes* as the greateſt Antidote in the World, even beyond *Bezoar*, *Maldive*-Nuts, &c. The Tree which bears this Fruit grows upon the Graves of their Kings, and the Fruit is of the bigneſs of a *Coco*-Nutt. Whenever the King of *Bantam* intends to give a mark of his particular favour to any of his great Men, or ſome Foreign Miniſter, he firſt puts his Drinking Cup upon this Fruit, and then Drinks to the Perſon he intends to Honour.

In the Iſle of *Java*, on the Banks of the Rivers, but eſpecially about *Bantam*, grows a certain Plant, the Leaves whereof reſemble altogether the Horn of *Alce*, from whence the *Javaneſes* have given it the Name of *Sinbar Mangiram*, and the *Malayans* that of *Tanda Rouſa*; It has no Root, but inſtead thereof a Veiny Knot or Lump, which lies not under ground, but either upon Stones, or in hollow Trees, ſending forth its Leaves on all ſides. This Plant is Sempervirent and full of Juice, and if ſome of the Leaves happen to rot by the Rains, the next Sun-ſhine produces others in their ſtead. The *Javaneſes* uſe theſe Leaves like as we do the Roots and Leaves of the White Lilies, *viz.* to make Poultices of to apply to Tumours; but they are not proficuous in the St. *Anthony*'s Fire, which ſhews, that this Plant is very hot, which its bitteriſh and biting Taſte ſeems alſo to intimate. Taken inwardly it Purges by Stool, and applied to the Navil kills the Worms.

Nelumbo. The Flower called *Tratty*, or *Tongjong Tratty* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, *Tienhoa* by the *Chineſes*, and *Fulo de Tanke*, i. e. *The Flower of the Lake*, by the *Portugueſes*, is very large and fair, and grows moſt commonly in Pools and ſtanding Waters. The Stalk grows to the heighth of a fathom above the ſurface of the Water, and the Flower reſembling our Tulips, except that it has broader Leaves, and is at leaſt as big again. Some are of a Purple colour near the Points of the Leaves, which by degrees turns pale yellow or white, towards the Stalk. Some are quite white, but of the ſame ſhape as the former. At the firſt opening of the Buds, theſe Flowers emit a moſt fragrant Scent, and diſcovers to us their Beauty, which by reaſon of its pleaſant colour attract the ſight of all that paſs by. They ſprout forth out of a green Bud, which burſts open like thoſe of the Peony Flowers: Some of the Leaves grow upwards, like the Flowers, being of the breadth of a brim of a Hat, and bright green; Some lie flat and cloſe to the Surface of the Water, being round, out of the midſt of which comes forth a Stalk with the Flower. After the Leaves are fallen off come forth round Husks or Buds of the bigneſs of a Man's Hand, of a green colour containing a pale yellow Seed, and many ſmall and yellowiſh Beans, which lying bare in part, reſemble the *Faba Ægyptiaca* of *Dioſcorides*, *viz.* This Husk being flat on one ſide, is as if it were cut aſunder in the middle with a Knife, and diſcovers about 30 Beans placed in a Circle. As theſe Beans grow to their full bigneſs, they are incloſed in a peculiar Husk, and when ripe reſembles the green Husk of a Hazel-Nut without the Shell, and are not unlike it in taſte, being very ſweet, but ſomewhat Phlegmatick; they are ſold daily in the Market of *Batavia*: It ſeems to me to be a kind of Water-Lilly, having broad and red Leaves, and being the ſame both in the Stalk and Root, tho' it differs from our *Dutch* Water-Lilies, which are white or yellow, but are of a Purple colour in the *Indies*: It alſo differs from ours in the Fruit and Husk. The Leaves of this Plant are eſteemed cold in the third degree, like our *European* Water-Lilies; wherefore alſo the *Dutch* here after the Example of the *Malayans*, give the Decoction thereof in Burning Fevers, Frenſies, Bloody-Fluxes, and other Hot Diſeaſes. There is alſo another ſort, with pale purple'd Flowers; and a third alſo worth ſeeing. There grows alſo in the Rivers and Pools abundance of what is commonly called *Ducks-Meat*, being a Food the *Ducks* are mighty fond of, whereof the *Chineſes* keep here great Numbers. In the ſtanding Pools and Rivers grows alſo the *Potamo Geyton*, or *Fountain Herb*, and *Water-Plantine*, which if chew'd, cauſes great Burning in the Throat and upon the Tongue.

Nothings more frequent in the *Indies* than to ſee the Trees bear Fruits all the year round, but the Fruit called *Langzap* by the *Malayans*, *Kakaſan* by the *Javaneſes*, and in a broken Dialect *Lanſen* by the *Portugueſes* and *Dutch*, is gathered but Langzap.





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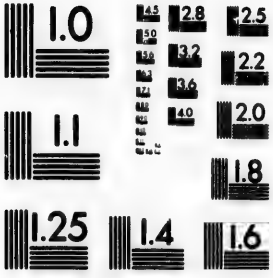

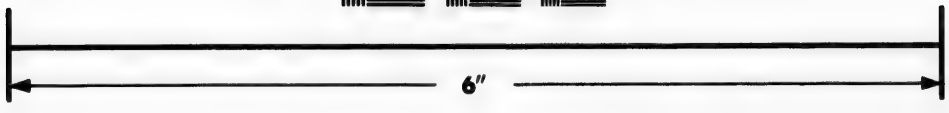

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once a year, *viz.* in *February*. The 1662. Trees which bear theſe Fruits, hanging in Bunches like Grapes, in vaſt quantities, ſpread in a large circumference with lofty Branches, and pale green Leaves like the Lawrel Leaves, or thoſe of the Cheſnut-Tree, but are not carved. The Fruits have ſoft and yellow Rind like our Peaches, containing a white and ſharpiſh Liquor. They reſemble moſt our yellow Plumbs, but are inclining to red and white within, the Pulp being divided by certain Partitions, is of a ſomewhat aſtringent Taſte like our red Corinths, and ſo luſcious, that one can ſcarce be ſatisfied with them; they are in great requeſt here, being accounted very good to allay the Heat of Burning Fevers: each has commonly two or three Kernels, from which you muſt ſuck the Pulp, the Kernels and Skin being both bitter. The Fruits ſprout out of ſmall yelloviſh Buds or Knots, after the Bloſſom. They grow in vaſt plenty in the Iſle of *Amboyna*, and eſpecially at *Gilolo*, where I have ſeen prodigious quantities of them brought to Market. The Iſle of *Java* produces another ſort of this Fruit, called *Boa Rampi* by the *Malayans*, and *Kapandung* by the *Javaneſes*, differing from the former only in the outſide, being for the reſt the ſame in taſte and virtue; forwhich reaſon they might well be called the *Javaneſe Lanſen*: Theſe are ripe in *October*, and are brought out of the Country to *Batavia*.

Purple-Plumbs. Theſe Purple *Plumbs* are ſo called by the *Dutch* from their colour, but by the *Javaneſes*, *Gapak*, and by the *Malayans*, *Boka Gobok*: They grow in great plenty on Trees of a moderate ſize: They are of a Purple colour without, but white within, with red Stones. They have a ſouriſh Taſte.

Jambulang. The Fruit *Jambulang* is the ſame with our Black Cherries, which is the reaſon the *Dutch* call it by that Name here, but the *Javaneſes*, *Duat*, and the *Malayans*, *Kriango*; tho' they are of an Oval figure; and not of ſo agreeable taſte, approaching to our great Sloes; they ripen in *Autumn*. The Tree which bears theſe Fruits is alſo much taller, as the Black-Cherry Trees, and ſpread their Branches at a great diſtance. The Leaves are dark green, taper towards the Stalk, and broader at the ends, being intermix'd with many Strings or Veins. The Flowers have red Leaves with ſmall Filets within: The Fruit is brought to Market at *Batavia* by whole large Baskets full in the Months of *September* and *October*. It is look'd upon among the Inhabitants as a very good Remedy againſt the Bloody-Flux.

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The ſingle *Shooe-Flower*, is called by the *Portugueſes*, *Fulo de Sapato*, i. e. *Shooe-Flower*, becauſe the Flower Chaw'd affords a Juice, which is excellently good for Blacking and Beautifying of Shooes. There are two ſorts of it; which may be diſtinguiſh'd as Male and Female, like our Peony Flowers. Out of the Flower, which is darkned, and not unlike our common Roſes, ſprouts forth on the top a yellow Stalk, at the end of which Bud out Leaves like a Coronet, covered with a yellow Wool: The Leaves are green, and carved at the Extremities like our Nettles: Theſe produce large Buds containing the Flower. They are aſtringent of taſte, and conſequently cooling: The Water Diſtill'd thereof is good in Burning-Fevers, and applied outwardly to the Forehead procures Sleep. There is alſo another kind of theſe Flowers, with ſingle Leaves, of an Iſabella colour, which grow upon ſmall Trees like our Sweet-Briars: They ſpread their Branches at ſuch a diſtance, that they are frequently uſed for Arbours; they alſo make Baskets of the Twiggs. The Inhabitants waſh their Heads with the Decoction of theſe Leaves, and when ſteept in Vinegar, uſe it againſt the Looſeneſs; they alſo apply it to Bruiſes. Theſe Buſhes or ſmall Trees require an exceſſive heat for their growth, which is the reaſon they commonly Plant them againſt the Eaſt Walls here, as we do in *Europe*, againſt the South-Walls, for the exerciſe of Heat. There is likewiſe a *Shooe-Flower* with double Leaves, not differing from the former except in its Leaves, and the Coronet in the middle, which are both of a bright red colour like a Ruby.

Fulo de Sapato, a ſingle and double Shooe-Flower.

The Flower called *Dukol* by the *Javaneſes*, *Bale Adap* by the *Malayans*, and *Fulo di Poco*, i. e. *Flower of the Buſh*, by the *Portugueſes*, grows every where in the Hedges, to the heighth of 12 or 13 foot; it produces at the top a white Leaf growing ſtraight upwards, near unto which the Flowers, which are of an Orange colour, grow in Cluſters. The other Leaves are dark green, with white Veins running through the middle.

The Flower Dukol.

The Fruit called *Boenga Tanjong* by the *Malayans*, *Kombang* by the *Javaneſes*, *Kauky* by the *Chineſes*, and *Crab-Plumbs*, by the *Dutch*, grows on very high Trees with wrinkled Leaves. The Flowers, which are very ſmall, and of an Iſabella colour, open every morning, and ſend forth

Crab, or Wild-Plumbs.

1662. forth a moſt fragrant Scent, but cloſe up again againſt Sun-ſet. The Fruit is of the bigneſs and ſhape of a Hazel-Nut, green at firſt, but turns yellow afterwards, and of an Orange colour at laſt: The Pulp which is of the ſame colour, grows about a brown Stone, but being of a ſoure Taſte, this Tree is admired and planted chiefly for its Flowers ſake.

The Fruit called *Karembolas*, and likewiſe *Kamozia*, *Karabelli*, *Chamarah*, and *Belimbach*, by the *Indians*, grows in many Places of the *Indies* on a Tree, with a ſlender Stem, Twigs, and Leaves; which is produced from the Seed, and growing to the heighth of an ordinary Cherry-Tree, bears a Flower of a pale blue colour, after which comes the Fruit, which is green at firſt, but turns yellow, reſembling in ſhape our Pompions. Some of theſe Trees, (which is very ſtrange) produce a Fruit of ſo delicious a taſte, that nothing can be beyond it; whilſt others of the ſame kind bear a Fruit ſo aſtringent and ſoure as can ſcarce be imagined; when they are cut in the middle, they repreſent in the inſide a Star. The Leaves of the Tree are green, not unlike the Roſe-Tree Leaves, but not carved and full of ſmall Veins.

The Tree which produces the Fruit called *Boca Bidara* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, and *Maſſam* by *Chineſes* and *Portugueſes*, and by the *Dutch*, *Prick-Plumbs*, from their thorny Prickles, grows up to the heighth of our Cherry-Trees, with aſh coloured Leaves, with a triple Vein. Its Twigs are covered all over with almoſt inviſible Thorns or Prickles: It produces Fruit all the year round, in ſuch plenty, that the Twigs bend to the very ground. The Fruit is of the bigneſs of a Hazel-Nut, of a dark green colour without, but white within, containing a Stone of an Iſabella colour: The Flowers are yellow, having no more than Five Leaves, with as many ſmall Stalks betwixt them. This Fruit being of an agreeable taſte, tho' ſomewhat aſtringent, is Eaten raw, and very cooling. The Tree grows wild at ſome diſtance from *Batavia*, but has been of late years cultivated in their Gardens.

The Root called *Gadang*, by the *Javaneſes* and *Malayans*, has got the Name of a *Javaneſe* Turnip among the *Dutch*, becauſe it grows like our Potatoes in the Earth, and is of the bigneſs of our Turnips, tho' it differs much from them both in its ſubſtance and taſte. It bears dark green Leaves, with white Streaks or Veins, betwixt which ſprouts forth a Twig with Flowers of a Purple colour. They are accounted very nouriſhing and wholeſome if not uſed in too great a quantity. 1662.

Here grow divers ſorts of Muſhromes or Toadſtools, called *Kulet* by the *Malayans*, and *Jamor* by the *Javaneſes*. Some are of a red, others of a pale green colour; they grow without any Seed out of the moiſture of the Earth. Some of them are uſed here like as in *Europe*, and are Eaten with Wine and Sugar. Muſhromes.

The Plant, the Root whereof is called *Borbori* by the *Javaneſes*, *Saffran di Terra*, i. e. *Saffron under Ground* by the *Portugueſes*, *Kurkum* by the *Arabians*, and by the *Latins*, *Radix Curcumæ*, or *Curcuma-Root*, has Leaves not unlike thoſe of the *White Hellebore*, *viz.* thick, long, and broad, ſmooth, and interſperſed with many Veins. The Stalk is thick, and grows up to a conſiderable heighth: The Flower is of a Purple colour, and the Root reſembles the *Gentian-Root*. After the Flower comes the Fruit, like a Cheſnut, containing a round Seed not unlike our Peaſe. The Root contains a Saffron yellow Tincture, whence it has got the Name of *Indian Saffron*. The *Malayans* Boil and Eat them both with Fiſh and Fleſh, and look upon them as the moſt Sovereign Remedy in the World, againſt all the Obſtructions of the Liver, Lungs, and Spleen; againſt the Gravel and Stone, the Stoppage of the Monthly Flowers, and other Diſeaſes of the Womb; but moſt eſpecially againſt the Yellow Jaundice: This Root is one of the main Ingredients in that Ointment, called *Borbori* by the *Javaneſes*, wherewith they anoint the whole Body. Indian-Saffron, or Borbori.

The *Indian Tree-Houſe-Leak*, grows in the Iſle of *Java*, on the *Mango Trees*, and a certain *Indian-Oak* called *Kyati* by the *Malayans*. The Shrub has long Leaves, in taſte, not unlike our Sorrel, but are more Juicy, and much thicker, like our common Houſe-Leek. It has long round Roots, out of which ſprout forth certain Threads, which faſten to the Trees and Stones, and grow thus till they come to their full Perfection. It has a ſmall white Flower of an Aromatick, approaching to the ſmell of Citrons, for which reaſon the *Malayans* look up it as a great Strengthner of the Sinews and Brains. The Leaves and Flowers made up into a Conſerve, are good againſt the Cramp, and very Cordial, like our *Borage-Flowers*. After the Flower comes the Fruit, of the length of a Finger, and an inſipid taſte, containing *The* Indian Tree-Houſe-Leek.

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taining Seeds as big as our Barley. This Plant has a certain Quality of reſiſting all Putrefactions and Poiſons; for which Reaſon the *Malayan* Phyſicians preſcribe it as an infallible Remedy againſt poiſon'd Wounds, occaſioned by the poiſon'd Darts, and other Weapons of the *Javaneſes*, which they poiſon with the Blood of a certain Newt, call'd *Gekko* by the *Dutch*.

Indian Veronica.

The Fields and Woods of *Java* produce a certain Herb call'd *Veronica* by the *Europeans*, with a white Flower; The *Malayans* and *Javaneſes* call it *Obat Matta*, i. e. *a Remedy for the Eyes*, becauſe its Juice allays the Inflammations and Defluxions in the Eye. The ſame Juice or the Decoction of the Herb, they alſo uſe againſt old Coughs and Conſumptions. By Reaſon of its Diuretick Quality, they alſo preſcribe it for the Gravel and Stone, and the *Gonorvirulenta*. The Leaves bruiſed are alſo apply'd outwardly to Ulcers, as having a ſingular drying Quality.

Kolkas.

The Plant call'd *Kolkas* by the *Arabians* and *Moors*, has a very thick Root, large broad Leaves, and bears a red Fruit growing in Cluſters, not unlike the *Arum*. It contains a ſlimy poiſonous Subſtance, for which Reaſon the *Javaneſes* cut them in Slices, and ſteep them three or four days in River Water; after which they ſqueeze the remaining Juice out by a Preſs, and having laid the Roots to dry, make a kind of Meal ro Flower of it, of which they make Cakes inſtead of Rice. The *Malayans* and *Chineſes* prepare them in the ſame manner. The Bread made of theſe Roots, which the *Javaneſes* of *Mataran* were forced to eat, 1629. at the Siege of *Batavia*, for want of Rice (their Magazine of *Tengal* being deſtroy'd by the *Dutch*) occaſion'd a peſtiferous Bloody-Flux in their Camp; The *Chineſes* and *Malayans* alſo boil theſe Roots, but throw away the firſt Decoction, and putting on freſh Water, boil them again, and afterwards eat them with Vinegar, Oil of Cocoe, and Pepper as we do the Red Beet-Root.

The Indian Betony-tree.

The *Indian Betony-Tree* has ſpeckled Leaves like our *Pedmonaria*. The Flowers ſprout forth like Ears, ſometimes a thouſand in one Ear, of a pale blew Colour, like our Roſemary Flowers. The Decoction of this Plant they account a good Remedy againſt Spitting of Blood, the Conſumption and Coughs, call'd *Sakit Haty*, i. e. *the Diſeaſe of the Heart*, by the *Malayans*, who comprehend the Liver, Lungs, and even the Spleen, under the general Name of the Heart. The *Indian* Women uſe the Juice thereof as an Antidote againſt the Sting of Serpents, Scorpions, and ſuch like venomous Creatures.

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Indian Graſs.

Java produces all ſorts of Graſs, and among the reſt, a peculiar kind, which has four Ears croſwiſe on the Top of the Stalk, the Leaves being for the reſt like thoſe of common Graſs. There alſo grows here another ſort of Graſs, of the ſame kind with ſix or eight Ears, which contain ſmall Seeds. The *Malayan* Phyſicians preſcribe the Root and the Graſs it ſelf for the Bloody Flux, ſtoppage of Urine, Exulcerations and pains of the Kidneys, and to promote the Monthly Times in Women. *Java* produces likewiſe another kind of Graſs differing from the reſt in the Roots, which are three or four ſmall Knots, which when chaw'd, have a Flavour like Cloves, but are not ſo hot in the Mouth.

The Indian Primeprint.

The *Indian Primeprint* has got its Name from its Reſemblance to ours, in its Leaves as well as Flowers; tho' the Leaves thereof have a more odoriferous Scent than our *Primeprint*; and the Flowers, tho' the ſame in ſhape, yet differ in their Colour from ours; thoſe of the *Indian Primeprint* being inclinable to a Blew, whereas ours are as white as Snow; but the Berries of both are black. Like unto this is a certain Shrub call'd *Alkanna* and *Henne* by the *Arabians*, and *Chinnets* by the *Perſians*, except that its Leaves are ſomewhat leſs. The Leaves of *Alkanne* are in great Requeſt throughout the *Indies*, to give their Teeth, Lips, but eſpecially their Nails, a red Tincture, a thing much eſteem'd among the *Moors*. They prepare the Tincture, by ſteeping the Leaves after they have been rubb'd ſmall upon a Marble Stone, in fair Water mixt with a ſmall quantity of Lime; with this the *Turks* and *Perſians* alſo Dye their Horſes Tails. The Leaves chaw'd leave a piquant taſte upon the Tongue, yet without any Sharpneſs. Both theſe Shrubs are in high Eſteem among the *Indian* Women, who uſe the Decoction of the Leaves, in all Diſeaſes of the Womb; and have an Opinion, that it keeps them young; And to confeſs the Truth, they have a peculiar Virtue (if boil'd in Water) to cure the *Indian Gout* or Barrenneſs, call'd *Beriberry*; It grows all over the *Indies*, and the *Malayans* call it *Sagondi*.

The Indian Sage tree.

The *Indian Sage Tree* grows twelve Foot high, whole Woods of them being to

1662. to be ſeen about *Batavia*; and if planted in the Gardens, ſpreads its Roots to that degree, as not to be eaſily rooted out again. The Flowers are white, the Leaves very long and of an agreeable Scent. They Cultivate the Trees in the Gardens by pruning and cutting the Roots and Shoots at certain times, and by this means make it as good and as wholeſome as our Garden Sage. The *Malayan* Women uſe it againſt the Diſtempers of the Womb, mixt with the *Saguadi* and the *Daulontar*, wherewith they bathe themſelves. The Flowers are preſcribed by the Phyſicians to correct the cold Humours of the Brain and Sinews, and by reaſon of their Diuretick Quality are very proper in the Dropſie. Our Garden Sage as well as Roſemary, are a kind of Rarity here, the Exceſſive Heat of this Climate being as unnatural to them, as the Cold is with us in Winter.

The *Indian Verbena* grows alſo in *Java*, being altogether like ours, except that the Ears are ſomewhat longer and harder. They apply the Flowers bruiſed to Exulcerated Legs, by Reaſon of their drying Quality, requiſite in the healing of Wounds, eſpecially at *Batavia*, where the moiſt and hot Climate renders the Cure thereof very difficult. A Spoonful of the Juice of the Leaves taken inwardly, cures the Cholick and Bloody Flux; and the *Indian* Women attribute to this Plant a Secret Virtue againſt Witchcraft.

In the Woods of *Java* grows a certain kind of *Eſula*, which ſhoots up to a great height, with a three corner'd Stalk, ſometimes of the thickneſs of a Man's Leg; It has abundance of thorny Knobs, which being however not very hard, don't prick; The Leaves grow at ſome diſtance from one another, being not unlike thoſe of our *Houſleek*; out of the Stalk, (after an inciſion made) iſſues a milky yellow Juice, of a ſharp taſte. This Juice reduced to the Conſiſtency of an Extract is adminiſtred in the Dropſie, Lameneſs and other Diſtempers proceeding from Cold; it purges both by Stool and Urine. This Plant differs not either in Shape or the Manner of growing from that, which affords that yellow Juice call'd corruptly by the *Apothecaries Gutta Gemon.* and by the *Indians Lonan Kambodia*, becauſe it is of the Product of the Kingdom of *Kambodia*.

In *Java* alſo grows a certain kind of *Mitium Solis*, reſembling ours in its Flowers, Leaves and the Stalk. But the Fruit is much larger, and as hard as a Stone, containing a mealy Pulp. The *Portugueſes* have given it the name of *Terva da Roſarios*, the *Roſary Herb*, becauſe the *Malayan* Women uſe to make their Roſaries of the Fruit, and wear it about the Neck inſtead of Necklaces. Both the Herb and Fruit is proficuous in the Diſtempers of the Kidnies and Bladder. 1662.

The Fruit call'd *Boa Kamba* or *Kanan* by the *Javaneſes*, *Boa binſel* by the *Malayans*, and *Leiſſe* by the *Chineſes*, is by the *Dutch* call'd the *Indian Pear*, by reaſon of its Bigneſs, and Reſemblance to our Pears. When ripe, they are of a pale yellow, with black Spots, hollow within, with blue Seeds, the Pulp adhering cloſe to the Peel. They are ſcarce ever Cultivated in the Gardens of *Batavia*, by Reaſon of their crabbed Taſte, tho' very agreeable to the Eye; They are brought in great Quantities into the Market there, eſpecially in *February*. The Tree grows up to a great height, having a brittle and coarſe Wood and Leaves. Koa Kamba *or* Indian *Pears.*

Rambuſtan or *Rampoſtan* as the *Malayans* call it, is one of thoſe Fruits, which are produced without Flowers, for this comes forth only out of a green Bud. They grow in Cluſters on very ſmall Twigs, of a Tree of the height of our Cherry-trees, are of a Purple Colour, and reſemble at a diſtance our Cheſnuts, whilſt they are hanging on the Trees. Within is a ſlender quantity of a Pulp, of an acid agreeable Taſte, and in this a Stone. They come to Maturity in *February*. There is another kind of *Rambuſtan* growing on ſhorter Twigs than the former, and being cover'd with a hairy Subſtance; But tho' theſe two Fruits are very different in outward appearance, their Taſte is much the ſame. Rambuſtan *or* Rampoſtan.

The Fruit call'd *Satarra* by the *Malayans*, *Gandaria* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Romani* by the *Portugueſes*, reſemble our yellow Plumbs, but are ſomewhat bigger. The inſide is not unlike the *Mangas*, and in Taſte like the *Batſian*, yet not altogether ſo ſour. They are green at firſt, but turn yellow mixt with an Orange Colour; the Pulp is likewiſe yellow. The Inhabitants Pickle and uſe them like as we do Olives; they are of no diſagreeable Taſte, but ſomething more hairy than the *Mangas*. Romani *or* Satarra.

The *Javaneſe Flower* call'd *Fule de Japan* (in the ſame Senſe) by the *Portu-* *The* Javaneſe *Flower.*

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The Tree call'd *Patty* by the *Ma-* [illegible], grows in many Gardens about *Batavia*, being cheriſh'd by the Inhabitants, by Reaſon of its ſpacious Branches and fine Leaves, which afford an agreeable Shade; It riſes up to the height of an Apple-tree, with thin Branches, on which you ſee the Fruit hanging on the [illegible] two and three together, of a crabbed Taſte, and therefore not regarded; they reſemble the Pine Apple on the one ſide, and have a Seed within. The Leaves are of a lively green Colour, and grow very cloſe together.

Mary-golds. The Flowers call'd *Marygolds* by our People, have got their Name rather from their Colour, than any other Reſemblance to ours. The Leaves are dark green, like thoſe of the Apple-tree, but ſomewhat leſs: On the tops of the Twigs ſprout forth certain Orange colour'd Buds, which opening, produce the Orange colour'd Flowers with four Leaves, they have no other uſe than to pleaſe the Eyeſight.

The Huntſmans wild Palm Tree. The *Huntſmans Tree* is a kind of *Wild Palm Tree*, the Stem whereof is covered with a grey Rind or Bark, twiſted about as it were with Circles. The Leaves which are bright Green, grow on long yellowiſh Stalks, the lowermoſt of which, turn yellow by degrees, and hang downwards; being for the reſt very agreeable to the Eye. The Fruit is not near ſo big as the leaſt Coco-Nuts, and has no other uſe, except that the Inhabitants draw a certain Syrup and Sugar, which they ſell to the Neighbouring Countries. The Wood of the Stem is very durable, provided it be kept from the Air, and ſo hard, that they can neither Saw nor Cut it; but are forced to ſplit it by pieces of Wood in it; Some of the *Indians* make their Bows of the [illegible] of this Tree; and the *Chineſes* at [illegible] make of the Leaves and [illegible] Sprouts, Lanes to cool themſelves with. The *Malayans* make uſe of the [illegible] inſtead of Paper, which they [illegible] how to order with a great [illegible] Dexterity; For, the Leaves being about three Inches broad, and above a Yard long, they make Holes at one End of them, and ſo tie as many of them together with a String, as they have occaſion for at a time. They write with an Iron Pencil, wherewith they know how to Imprint and Cut their Characters on the uppermoſt Surface of theſe Leaves, as that it they remain indelible. This they perform for the moſt part without keeping their Eyes ſo cloſe and earneſtly upon them, as we do. Theſe Leaves are alſo very durable, and will not eaſily putrefie, even in Water; I have ſeveral Letters writ to me upon theſe *Olen* or Leaves by Perſons of great Quality among the *Malabars*. This Tree alſo yields a Juice like the Coco-tree, which if boil'd, taſtes very ſweet, and is apt to Inebriate; but if not boil'd, turns ſour immediately. But the chief Uſe they make of it is, to boil it into Sugar. This *Huntſmans Tree* is none of the loweſt Rank among the many kinds of Palm-trees of the *Indies*, being much Eſteem'd and Cultivat d for its Uſefulneſs, eſpecially in the Iſle of *Ceylon* and in *Tanjanapatnam*, where you ſee whole Woods of this Tree.

About *Batavia* grows a Tree of a moſt delightful Aſpect, with moſt pleaſant Leaves, hanging downwards. The Stem, which is very thick, and Branches, ſend forth ſmall ſprouts full of green Buds or Knobs, which produce red Flowers, not unlike a ſmall Lily; after which comes the Fruit, growing in Cluſters, reſembling both in bigneſs and ſhape our ſmall Cucumbers, about the thickneſs of an Inch, and a Fingers length. They have a green rind, and within it a Seed, not unlike that of the Cucumbers, but ſomewhat more round. The *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, call this Fruit *Billingbing* and *Blimbing*. This Tree is among the Trees what the Sheep are among the Beaſts; for they not only rob it of its Flowers and Fruit, but alſo of its Leaves and Rind, ſometimes to the very Root, as having their peculiar uſe in Phyſick: So that this Tree, would make but a very ſlender appearance for the moſt part, were

were it not, that provident Nature, did almoſt cover its Stem and Branches with odoriferous Flowers and well-taſted Fruits. The Fruit is very Juicy and Cooling, but ſomewhat aſtringent; for which reaſon it is ſeldom uſed alone, but in Sauces, to give a good reliſh: The Fruit is alſo preſerved with Sugar. Our Phyſitians there, prepare a Syrup out of the Juice, and preſcribe it in the exceſſive Heat of the Liver and Blood: and this Syrup is alſo mix'd with the Decoction of the Rice, before it is peel'd, called *Cady*, and given in Fevers. This Juice alſo quenches the Thirſt, and has one peculiar quality, that notwithſtanding its aſtringency, it takes away that ſtarſe taſte of divers other Fruits, which ſets the Teeth on edge.

The Herb called *Hounds*, or *Dog's-Tongue*, from its reſemblance to ours, which bears the ſame name, is by the *Javans* alſo called *Sawe*, by the *Malayans*, *Sudu Sudu*, and by the *Chineſes*, *Kautſa*. The Stalk is thick below, but grows thin towards the top. As you pull off the Leaves, you ſee a milky Juice drop out of it; of which two or three drops dropt into the Ear, cures the Ear-Ach; as its uſe is only in Phyſick, it generally grows wild.

The Plant, called *Bitter-Green* by our People, has got its Name from its bitter taſte: It grows in the Gardens of *Batavia*, and creeps up to the next Tree or Stake, almoſt like the Branches of the Cucumbers, but that its Leaves are deeper carved, and more pointed. The Fruit is alſo not unlike a Cucumber, yellow with green Streaks, and a thick Rind, yellow within, with a red Kernel. When it comes to its full Perfection, it is marbled with an Orange colour. The *Indians* make no account of this Fruit, by reaſon of its bitter taſte; but the Inhabitants uſe it in their Sawce called *Kawry*, and put the Root and Leaves in their ordinary Drink, which preſerves it for two or three days, whereas otherwiſe it would turn immediately. They Cure the bitterneſs with Sugar.

Among all the Garden Fruits, there is ſcarce any that exceed the *Durions*; 'Tis true the Scent of it is not unlike that of Rotten Figs, and conſequently not very inviting to ſearch after the Kernel, which makes amends for the ſmell, being of a luſcious taſte. The Tree which produces this Fruit, grows crooked, with abundance of Branches; and very harſh Leaves pointed at the end, of a Palms length, ſometimes grey on the outſide, but bright green on the other ſide. They are not inferiour in height to the talleſt Trees of *Europe*. The Fruit *Durions* grows in Cluſters on the thickeſt ends of the Twigs, and ſprouts forth out of a green Bud, which growing bigger and bigger by degrees, opens at laſt into an Iſabella colour'd Flower, ſurrounded on the outſide with hard Leaves, like a Rind: This Flower produces a thorny Fruit, of the bigneſs of a *Melon*, covered with a thorny Rind, not unlike the Fruit *Jaka*; it is green at firſt, but turns yellow. It has four Partitions within, in each of which you ſee a Stone like a Peach-Stone, of the bigneſs of a Cheſnut, containing a delicious ſweet and white Kernel. Before they take out the Kernels they ſtamp the Fruit under foot, to avoid being wounded by the thorny Prickles. The *Durions* are always Eaten raw, being reckoned one of the wholſomeſt Fruits in the *Indies* if uſed moderately; but if in exceſs, inflame the Blood, and raiſe Pimples in the Face. They ſeem to have an Antipathy againſt the *Betel*, becauſe they will not grow near it, but Dye. They come to Maturity in three Months time, and chiefly in *October* and *November*, tho' I have ſeen them alſo in the Market of *Batavia* in *Auguſt*, for they are to be had all the year round, but not in ſuch Plenty. They grow much about *Bantam*, whence they are brought to *Batavia*. The firſt that I ſaw was in the Grounds of *Captain Chandellow*, near the great River of *Batavia*; and ſince that I have met with them in divers other Places thereabouts; ſo that this Fruit thrives as well here as at *Bantam*, but no where better than near *Malacca*, where the *Durions* are of an exceſſive bigneſs. 1662.

The *Pepper*, called *Lada*, or *Laden*, by the *Malayans*, and *Merrica* by the *Javaneſes*, grows on tender Branches, with abundance of Knots, and creep up along Stalks or Trees like our Hops. Sometimes they will climb beyond the Pinnacle of the higheſt Trees, and afterwards hang downwards. On the Stalks or Twigs of theſe Branches the Pepper grows in ſuch thick Cluſters, that they are ſcarce to be diſcern'd from the leaves. Theſe ſprout forth out of the Buds of the Branches, being green, and interſperſed with Veins, not unlike thoſe of the *Cinnamon*-Tree, pecked at the Extremity, ſometimes of the breadth of a Hand, and long in proportion, of a bitteriſh taſte, and hot upon the Tongue: After the Leaves come forth certain Twigs Pepper.

1662. Twigs or Stalks not unlike thoſe of the Hazel-Nut Trees, on which hangs the Berries, like our red Currents, but in larger Cluſters; theſe Berries turn black as they ripen. The Pepper is one of the chiefeſt Commodities in the Spice-Trade; the beſt grows along the Coaſt of *Malabar*, near *Koylang*, where I uſed to Buy great quantities for the Companies Uſe: The Pepper muſt be Planted in a rich Soil, and bears Fruit within the year. In *Malabar* it ripens chiefly in *January*, but in other Places ſooner or later, according to the difference of the Climate. In the Iſle of *Java* it ripens in *October*, and is gathered in *November* and *December*; and is then green, but turns black, as it is a drying in the Sun; after which it is made up into Balls of 80 or 90 Pounds. The beſt Pepper, is, white, cloſe and biting within: There is alſo a ſort of long Pepper. The *Indians* alſo make a Pickle of green Pepper. Of the *Sagou*-Tree, repreſented in the next Print, we have treated before.

Wild Onions. The *Portugueſes* have given the Name of a *Wild Onion*, or *Subollos de Matte*, to a certain Flower, becauſe its Root reſembles that of an Onion, tho' for the reſt it has not the leaſt congruity with it. The *Javaneſes* and *Malayans* call it *Hakung*, and the *Chineſes*, *Taukio*. This Flower grows in a Bunch on the top of a thin Stalk, but near three foot high. They come forth out of red Buds, are of a high red colour, with Purple colour'd Streaks of a Palm in length; are very delightful to the Eye, and of no diſagreeable ſmell, eſpecially in the morning before the Dew is dry'd up by the Sun-Beams, for which reaſon they are much cheriſhed in the Gardens of *Batavia*. The Leaves of this Plant are above three foot long; and ſpread all round about, being pointed towards the Extremities.

Potatoes. The Roots of *Potato*'s, called *Patattes* by the *Portugueſes*, after the *Braſilians*, are called *Ubi Tora* by the *Malayans*, *Ubi* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Hamſoa* by the *Chineſes*. Theſe Roots grow in the Ground on Branches, with Leaves not unlike the Cucumber Leaves: Some of theſe Branches bearing white, others blue Flowers, ſhaped like Bells. The *Chineſes* cultivate theſe Roots in the Fields near *Batavia*, which muſt be well Dung'd beforehand; They cut the Ranks near the Extremity, which they put into the Ground, and let them grow for ſome time. Then they cover theſe Ranks with rich Earth at a foots diſtance perhaps, into which the ranks ſend forth their Roots, which come to Maturity in a ſhort time, and ſometimes grow to the thickneſs of a Man's Arm, and a Foot long. Some are red on the outſide, and theſe are in greateſt Eſteem at *Batavia*, but don't approach in goodneſs to thoſe of *Braſil*, eſpecially near *Rio St. Franciſco*, where theſe Roots are red both within and without. This Root is frequently Boil'd by the *Dutch* both with Fiſh and Fleſh, excelling in taſte and ſweetneſs much our Parſnip-Roots or Artichokes: They are alſo Eaten raw with Salt, Oil, and Vinegar, like a Salad, but are not of ſo eaſie a Digeſtion then; The beſt way is to Roaſt them in the Aſhes, which makes them taſte like Cheſnuts, and are good to ſtop the Looſeneſs, a Symptom very frequent to thoſe that Inhabit near the Line; for which reaſon this Root is in great Requeſt here, and cultivated with a great deal of Care, which makes them very cheap here; for you may Buy as much for a Half-peny as will ſuffice for a whole Meal. In the Iſle of St. *Thomas* they uſe them inſtead of Bread. They alſo make a kind of Drink of them. They Boil a conſiderable quantity of theſe Roots in a Kettle well covered, till they are ſoft or tender; then they ſtamp them well, and put them in a Veſſel with Water, where they begin to ferment in twice 24 hours, when the Veſſel muſt be ſtopp'd up; which done, it turns clear, and as ſtrong as good Beer.

Beſides the *Potato*'s, there grows another Root about *Batavia*, called *Injames* by the *Portugueſes*, after the *Braſilians*, or Byra by the *Javaneſes* and *Malayans*, *Byra* and *Siatſoa* by the *Chineſes*. It has a very fine green Leaf, and interſperſed with Veins: The Root has commonly five or ſix Inches Diameter, and is one foot and a half long, having a brown Rind, but is white within. The Flower is of a greeniſh colour. Theſe Roots are ſold in the Markets of *Batavia* by the piece, weighing each 15 *Katty*, or thereabouts, a *Katty* being a pound and a quarter, according to our weight, ſo that 30 Perſons may Dine upon one Root. Its taſte is however not near ſo good as the Potato's, and being of a hard Digeſtion and very dry, are not much look'd after by the *Dutch*, but the Natives are very fond of them. Injames, or Byra.

The Tree which bears a kind of Blue Plumbs, ſpreads its Branches very loftily, not unlike the Mulberry-Tree, except that its Leaves are of a different ſhape. You ſee this Tree frequently at one and the Plumbs.

the ſame time, laden with Flowers and Fruit, both ripe and unripe: The Wood is very tough, ſo that you may venture to climb'd up by the ſmalleſt Branches: The Flowers are of an agreeable ſcent, eſpecially in the Morning before the Dew is gone: This Fruit is not regarded at *Batavia*, becauſe the Markets are over-ſtock'd with them by the Country People, who bring them in vaſt quantities thither out of the Mountains; tho' for the reſt it is of an agreeable taſte, ſomewhat like the Dates. They are rarely to be met with here in the Gardens. This Plumb comes forth out of certain Buds, conſiſting of five white Leaves each, and grows on the Twigs like our oval Plumbs. It is green at firſt, but turns to a dark red, but the Pulp is white, within which are three Stones. The *Malayans* and *Javaneſes* call theſe Plumbs *Boa Soa*, or *Sau*, the *Chineſes*, *Theely*, and the *Portugueſes*, *Fruite de Manilha*, i. e. *Fruit of Manilha*. At *Batavia* I never ſaw but one Tree, bearing at the ſame time Flowers and ripe Plumbs.

Oranges. *Java* produces divers ſorts of *Oranges*, among which, three are preferr'd before the reſt, *viz.* the common ones, and thoſe of *Japan* and *China*. The Trees are much of the ſame heighth, but different in their Leaves. Thoſe of *Japan* have broader Leaves than the ordinary ones, and theſe again broader than thoſe of *China*. They all are of a different taſte, yet very agreeable. The *Japaneſe* Oranges, are the biggeſt and moſt Juicy, but ſomewhat inclining to a ſoure taſte; Among the ordinary ones, ſome are exceeding ſweet, others quite Crab-like. The *China Oranges* have a pleaſant taſte, betwixt ſweet and ſoure, being preferr'd here before the reſt, having a very thin rind: They are preſerv'd with Sugar, like the *Portugueſe* Figs, and thus tranſplanted all over the *Indies*.

Wild Jamboe. Tho' this Fruit called the *Wild Jamboe* by our People, and *Jamboe* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, has not the leaſt reſemblance to the *Jamboe* we have given a Deſcription of before, in outward appearance, becauſe that grows upon high Trees, with a moſt delightful Bloſſom; whereas this grows upon a low Tree not unlike our Mulberries, without any Bloſſom, but is produced out of certain green Buds, not unlike the Figs, yet are they the ſame in taſte, and divers other Qualities. Some of them are extreamly well taſted, and quench the Thirſt. Some are dark red, others white, mix'd with red, and that on the ſame Tree; where they grow in Cluſters in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they cover the very Leaves and Twigs, as if they had been ſpread over with a Scarlet Cloth. They are of the bigneſs of a Sugar-Pear. In *Amboina* they grow in ſuch Plenty, that you may ſee the Ground under the Trees covered with them, every one being free to gather them: One reaſon whereof is, that they being uſed there as we do our Acorns, for the fatning of Hogs, which the *Moors* and *Mahometans* abominate, they are not much regarded.

Tobacco. The Weed called *Tobako* by the *Malayans* and *Javaneſes*, after the *Portugueſes*, grows in all parts of the *Indies*; the *Chineſes* call it *Hun*: *Tobacco* being frequently uſed by the Inhabitants, is conſequently in great requeſt, and carefully look'd after; That of *Ternate* being eſteem'd the beſt, is moſt generally made uſe of at *Batavia*. They have a way of tying ſeveral Leaves, weighing about two Pounds together, with ſmall twiſted Canes; each parcel of the beſt being commonly Sold for Six Pence; but you may Buy alſo very good Tobacco at *Batavia*, for Two Pence. In *Amboina* each Family commonly Plants as much *Tobacco* in their Garden as they have occaſion for, not troubling themſelves with any other Plantations. About *Batavia*, the Plantations of *Tobacco* are chiefly managed by the *Chineſes* and *Javaneſes*, and this Weed grows here and Thrives extreamly well, provided it be planted in a rich Soil, when it will grow up to the heighth of eight foot, with Leaves of 18 Inches long and eight broad. The *Indians* don't take *Tobacco* through Pipes, but have a way of rowling one or more Leaves (according as they are big) together, and lighting the ſame at one end, ſuck in the Smoke as we do with our Pipes. The Women commonly take of the worſt ſort, and rowl up their Leaves in a piece of dry'd *Pyſang*.

Fula Mogori. Among all the Flowers of the *Indies*, that call'd *Fula Mogori*, or *Mugri*, i. e. *The Flower Mogori*, by the *Portugueſes*, *Kombans Malati* by the *Javaneſes*, and *Badiboa* by the *Chineſes*, is more eſteem'd by the Inhabitants; which they Plant with ſingular care upon long and well dung'd Beds, with little Walks betwixt them: The Stalk on which this Flower grows, ſeldom exceeds two foot in heighth, and grows like Briars; The Leaves are ſmooth like the Quince-Pear-Tree Leaves, the Flowers exceeding white, conſiſting of four Leaves, which ſeldom open, and imitate in their odo-

1662 riferous Scent our White Lily's, but are no bigger than the Bloſſom of an Apple-Tree. The *Javaneſes* of both Sexes wear theſe Flowers upon Strings on their Feſtival Days. I remember that at a certain Turnament on Horſeback at *Japara*, I ſaw the *Javaneſes* thus adorn'd with theſe Flowers, ſome of which had theſe Strings ty'd ſeveral times round above their Ears, with the two ends hanging down before, upon their Breaſts. They alſo Diſtil a Water out of theſe Flowers, which they eſteem a great Cordial in fainting Fits, eſpecially, much beyond our Roſe-Water; it being reckoned equal with Orange Flower-Water. They preſcribe it in Burning-Fevers, and Head-Achs, proceeding from a hot Cauſe. The *Javaneſes* alſo waſh their Faces with this Water, to make them ſmooth. The Leaves bruiſed are a good Remedy againſt the Rheum or Defluxions of the Eyes: Theſe Flowers grow in vaſt plenty all the year round, and are ſold in the Streets by the Slaves.

The Tree is called the *Melancholy-Tree*, has got its Denomination from its opening its Flowers not till after Sun-ſet, which continues no longer than the night time. Hence the *Portugueſes* have given it the Name of *Arvore da noyte*, i. e. *The Night Tree*: At *Goa* they call it *Pareavtake*, at *Malacca Singadi*, in the Kingdom of *Dekan*, *Pul*, the *Arabians*, *Guart*, the *Perſians* and *Turks*, *Gul*, and the *Malabars*, *Mogli*, i. e. Trees, for its Excellency's Sake; for which reaſon the ſame *Malabars* call the Water Diſtill'd from the Flowers; *Mogli Water*: There is another kind of this Tree, which begins to Bloſſom in the Morning, and is bereaved of its Leaves by night: Theſe Trees grow for the moſt part about *Cochin* and *Malacca*.

Arvore da noyte, or, The Melancholy Trees.

The Plant, called *Boenga Mera*, by the *Malayans*, *Kombang Merak*, by the *Javaneſes*, and *Konkuſiou* by the *Chineſes*, has very fine green Leaves, growing on ſmall Stalks, cloſe together. The Flowers, which are not unlike our Gilliflowers, are high red, but yellowiſh at the Extremities: They no ſooner open, but drop of, leaving commonly ſmall Husks behind them, which contain a kind of Peaſe, but are not Eatable.

Boenga Mera.

Among ſeveral other ſorts of Beans which grow and are Eaten at *Batavia*, thoſe called *Katſiam Goedi* by the *Malayans*, and *Katſian* only by the *Javaneſes*, but by the *Chineſes*, *Lak Goetuin*, exceed the reſt. They grow in the Fields all about *Batavia*, eſpecially in thoſe belonging to the *Chineſes*: The Stalks and Husks of theſe Beans are pale green, and ſomewhat Woolly; but the Leaves are ſmooth, and reſemble thoſe of our *French* Beans, being interſperſed with many Veins. The Bloſſoms are white, and ſprout forth out of green Knobs or Buds. Theſe Beans grow almoſt all the year round, and conſequently are no ſmall advantage to the Inhabitants of *Batavia*, affording very good Food to the Labouring Men; as likewiſe for our Ships, becauſe they will keep a great while at Sea.

Katſian.

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The *Turkey-Wheat*, called *Maiz*, by a general Name among the *Indians*, and *Jangon* by the *Malayans*, *Javaneſes*, and *Chineſes*; grows in many Places in the *Indies*, and in good plenty about *Batavia*, for they take the Corn freſh out of the Ears, and put it into the Ground, which produces freſh Corn in three Months time. It is Boil'd and Roaſted with the Chaff, and look'd upon as a great dainty; ſome of this Corn is white, ſome red. The *Indies* produce alſo Rice, Ginger, Cotton, and Sugar, in many Places, Figs, Quince-Pears, Apples, Lemons, beſides many other Fruits.

Turkey-Wheat, or Maiz.

Thus much concerning the Trees, Fruits, and Plants of the *Indies*, and of *Java* and *Batavia*, in particular; we will now proceed to give ſome account of the Living Creatures of the *Indies*, and begin with the Fiſhes.

The *Sea-Purpoiſe*, or *Hog-Fiſh*, is about 15 or 16 Inches long, and about ſeven in breadth. It has a very thick Skin, and ſuch cloſe and hard Scales, that ſcarce any inſtrument will pierce them; but when Boil'd, the Scales come off with eaſe, and the Skin is very ſoft. Their Fleſh is very white reſembling the Breaſt of a Boil'd Capon; the Mouth is but ſmall in proportion of the reſt of the Body, but is arm'd with two rows of white gliſtering Teeth, one above, the other below. Upon the Back, which is brown, you ſee a ſharp Finn, of half a Fingers length, which the Fiſh can erect at Pleaſure, and ſuch another is below near the Navil. The other Fins are not ſo ſtrong, of a pale blue colour: The Belly is white, and gliſtering like Silver, but the ſides are mix'd with yellow, which by degrees towards the back, turns into an aſh colour. It has large brown ſhining Eyes, and when Boil'd is of a very pleaſant taſte.

The Sea-Purpoiſe, or, Hog-Fiſh, or, Sea-Hog.

The *Amboineſe* Fiſh has got its Name becauſe it is found chiefly in the Rivers of *Amboina*, but being very ſcarce, and

Amboineſe Fiſh.

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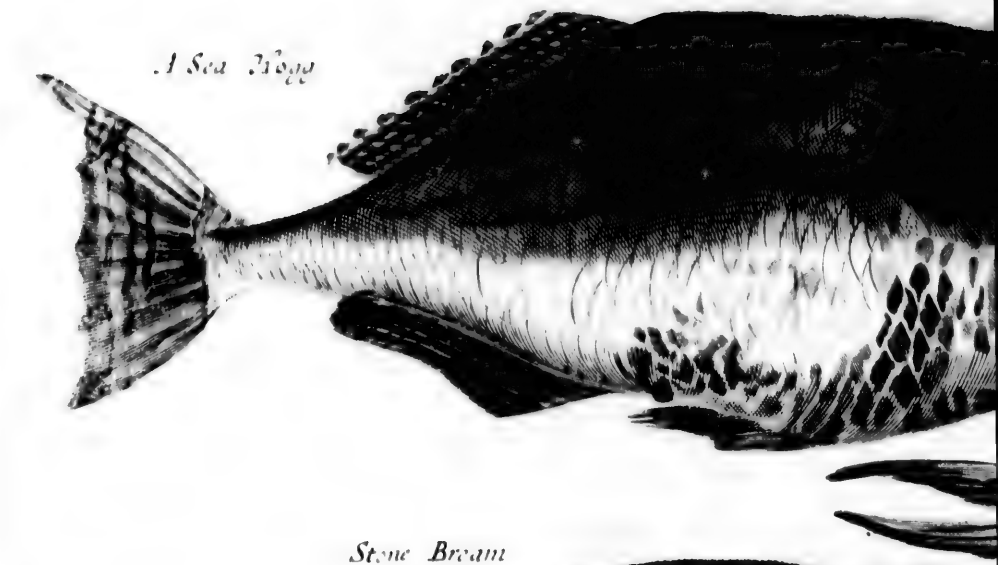
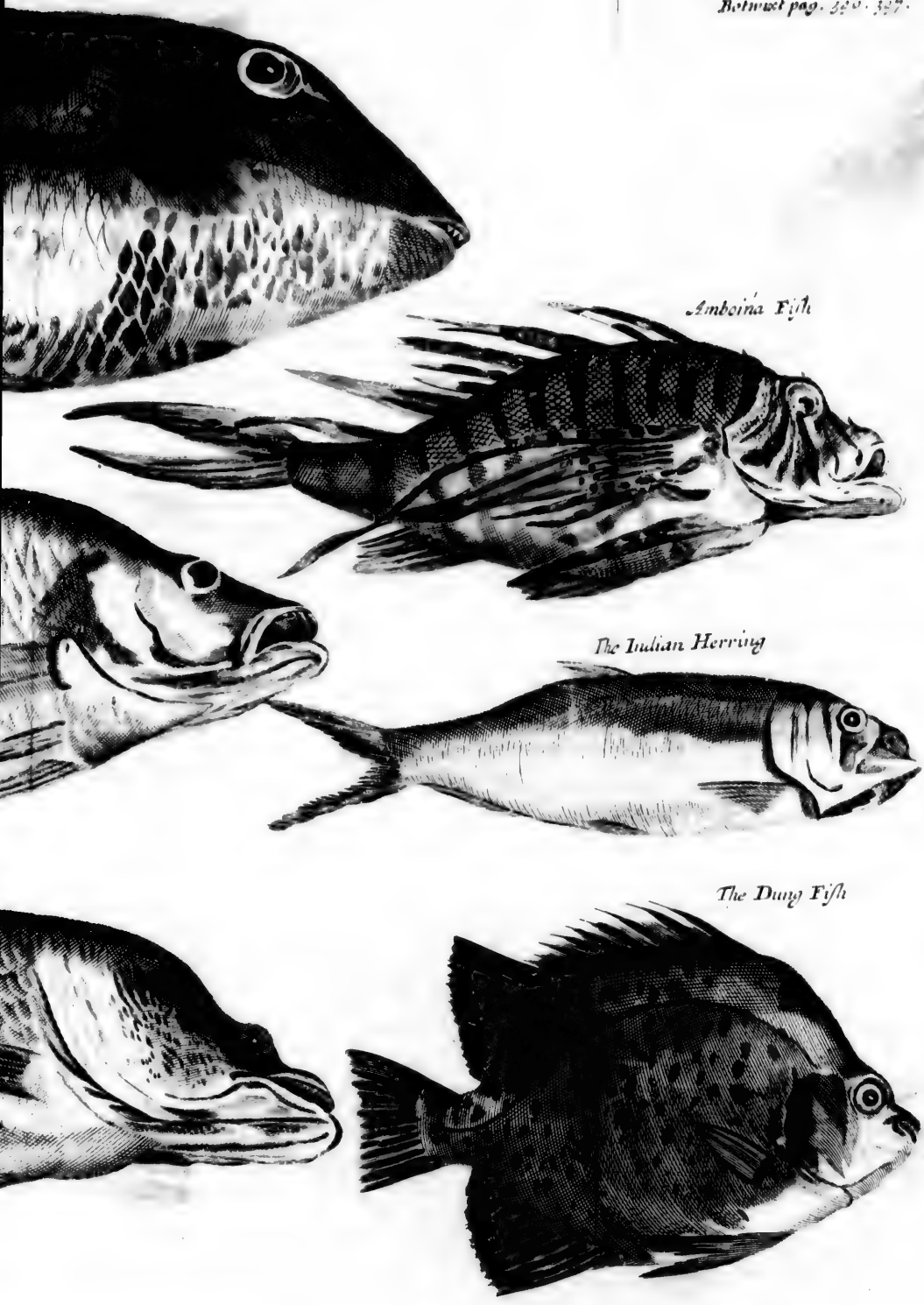


A Sea Hogg

Stone Bream

The Wild goat


Amboina Fish
The Indian Herring
The Dung Fish

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of a very good taſte, is look'd upon as a dainty here. It is about a Span in length, ſomething like our Perch both in ſhape and taſte. Its colour is inclining to brown, with blue Streaks under the Head, the Fins below the Mouth are likewiſe blue, but thoſe on the ſides are green and ſpeckled. It is both a very wholeſome and toothſome Fiſh, eſpecially with a good Sauce. 1662.

The Stone-Bream. The *Stone-Bream* is a moſt excellent Fiſh, ſome of which are four foot long; they reſemble our *Breams*, (which has begot them their name) but are much bigger. Their Eyes are very large, with a large red Mouth, as are alſo the Fins and Extremity of the Tail. They are catch'd at Sea with a Hook, being not eaſily to be taken with the Net; and are Eaten either Broil'd and Boil'd. There is another kind, but not ſo good as the former, the Fleſh of which ſhrinks when they are cut, from whence ſome call them, *Shrinkers*.

The Baldpate. The Fiſh called *Baldpate* has got its Name from its Head and Neck, being without Scales, whereas the reſt of the Body is covered with them. It is of a greyiſh colour, its Mouth, which is very wide, being ſpotted with red. The Eyes are large, yellow, and ſtarting out of the Head: It is one of the beſt ſorts of Fiſh that can be Eaten, of a very agreeable taſte: It is taken both in the Sea and Rivers.

The Sea-Bleak. Among that great variety of Fiſh found in the *Indies*, moſt of which turn immediately after they are catch'd; there are however a few that will take Salt, like our Herrings; ſuch is the *Sea Bleack*, a Fiſh much of the bigneſs of a Herring, but not ſo long, and ſomething broader: It is green on the Back, but white on the Belly, with a forked Tail: The Head is of a very odd ſhape, with a wide Mouth and large Eyes. They are catch'd in prodigious quantities, becauſe they Swim in vaſt Shoals, like the Herrings, eſpecially on the Coaſt of *Malabar*, where they Dung their Rice-Fields with them. They are of a tolerable good taſte, but not ſo good as our Herrings.

The Thurd Fiſh. This Fiſh is called *Thurd* Fiſh, becauſe it delights in naſty Places, tho' otherwiſe it is of no ill taſte, but is not regarded. It is very flat, about a Span in length, and near of the ſame breadth. The Belly is blue, and the Body is full of brown ſpots.

The Yellow Tail. The Fiſh called *Yellow Tail* is in ſhape and bigneſs like a *Bream*, with very ſharp prominent Teeth in the fore part of the Mouth. The Back all along to the Tail is inclining to a yellow, and the Tail very yellow, whence it has got its name. The Belly is blue, inclining to a brown towards the forepart. It has red Fins, and is catch'd with Hooks at Sea near the Rocks: It is both a wholſome and toothſome Fiſh. 1662.

The Kaelt Fiſh. The *Kaelt* Fiſh, as our People call it, is a kind of Pike with a large piked Mouth-full of Teeth, and large bright Eyes. The Belly and Tail is of a Purple colour, but the Back brown: It is very thick and plump, about a foot and an half long, Swims very ſwiftly, and of a good taſte, but ſomewhat hard.

The Raven Fiſh. The *Ravens* Fiſh, has got its Name from its Mouth like a Bill under the Head. It is about a Span in length, red on the Back and Tail, but inclining to yellow on the Belly, and has two yellow Streaks on each ſide which vaniſh by degrees. It is a very firm Fiſh, and very wholeſome to Eat, and is taken in Salt-Waters.

The Kings Fiſh. The *Kings* Fiſh has obtained his Title from its excellent taſte, being one of the beſt and moſt wholſome Fiſhes of the *Indies*. Some are five foot long, and have long forked Tails. The Back and Sides are full of brown ſpots, but the Belly is white. They can open their Mouths very wide, and are very greedy after Carrion.

Eels. The Rivers and ſtanding Pools afford alſo abundance of *Eels*; they are generally black on the Back, which turns pale towards the Belly, and are full of blackiſh Spots. It is the general Opinion here, That they are a kind of Water-Serpents: There is another ſort of a ruddy colour with yellow Streaks, having a ſharp Head with very ſmall Eyes; ſome of them are are a foot and a half long. They are Eaten by none but the Natives.

The Sea-Eel. There is another kind of *Sea-Eels*, or rather *Water-Serpents* in the *Indies*, of about three foot long, of a brown colour, chequered with black ſpots like the Skin of a Serpent. The forepart of the Body is ſlender, but is as thick again towards the Tail. It has a long Head and Mouth with ſharp Teeth, but ſo ſmall as ſcaree to be diſcerned. It delights in Rocky Places, and ſerves the Natives for a dainty. This Fiſh has one peculiar quality, *viz.* That thoſe who kill or exenterate it, are commonly ſeized with a trembling, and ſometimes with fainting; which however continues not long; which ſeems to intimate that this Creature contains ſomething of Poiſon, which

exerts

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exerts its vigour at the time of its Expiration.

The Sea-Cock.

The *Sea-Cock* is a Fiſh of a very odd ſhape, more like a Sea-Monſter than a Fiſh. Some are about two foot long, very broad and thick; a great part whereof is nothing but Head. On the Back it has two long Fins, but one longer than the other; and below three other very long Fins; a forked Tail of a brown colour, but is yellow on the Belley. The Skin is glittering like Silver, and the Fins on both ſides are red: It is catch'd in Salt-Water.

The White Fiſh.

The *White Fiſh* has a thick ſhort Head, a brown Back, and blue Belly, inclining to yellow; It is of a tolerable good taſte, and catch'd in prodigious Quantities in the Sea, near the ſhoar with Nets, but is generally not much regarded.

The Grunting Fiſh.

The *Grunting Fiſh* has got its Name from a certain grumbling Noiſe it makes when it is taken; Croſs the Back run along both ſides two brown and one yellow Streaks; it is very Plump, with little Scales, not above a Span in length; the Head not unlike a *Pope*. It is of an agreeable taſte, and eaten like as we do our Popes or ſmall Perches.

The Sea-Hog.

The *Sea-Hog*, or *Sea-Porpoſe* call'd *Pixoporkas*, in the ſame Senſe by the *Portugueſes*, is of a different kind from the former; this being not above a Span in length, inclining to a green with blackiſh Scales, the Finns and Tail of the ſame Colour; but the Eyes are yellow; It is a Freſh-water-Fiſh, very plump and fat and well taſted.

Another kind of Grunting-Fiſh.

There is alſo another kind of *Grunting-Fiſh*, ſo call'd for the ſame Reaſon with the former; It is almoſt round, with a ſmooth Skin, but full of Knobs and Spots; it is of a browniſh Colour ſtreak'd with black. The Head is very thick, ſhort, and full of Knobs, with a large Mouth and red Eyes. The Tail is alſo very round and ſhort; on each ſide of the Body is a red Fin, and the Fiſh is of a tolerable good taſte.

The Sea-Lowſe.

The *Sea Lowſe* is a ſtrange kind of Fiſh, a kind of Shell-fiſh of above a Foot in length. It appears like a round Lump, with a large Tail, with many Leggs on both ſides. Its Colour is gray inclining to Green. It is catch'd near *Batavia*, but is ſeldom eaten, unleſs it be by the *Javaneſes* and *Chineſes*.

The Lamprey.

The *Lampry* is a kind of an *Eelpoute*, above a Foot long, with a ſmooth Skin, and fat like an Eel, but of a different Shape. It is brown on the Belly, with yellow Spots on the Back, and has purple colour'd Fins under the Belly. The Head is not unlike that of a Snail, with Horns, and its Fins are Venomous. It is catch'd in Ponds and Pools, and eat beſt Stew'd.

1662.

Kabos is a kind of an *Eelpoute*, but bigger than the laſt; theſe being above two Foot long and very fat. The Skin is likewiſe ſmooth, without Scales, of a browniſh Colour, but the Belly is ſomewhat paler, with black Spots. The Head is thick and ſhort, with the Eyes in the Forehead; they are well taſted. Kabos.

The Penſiſh.

The *Penſiſh* is alſo a kind of *Eelpoute*, with a ſmooth Skin without Scales; of of the length of a Foot, the Back brown, and the Belly of a pale blue Colour. The Fins are brown, very ſharp and venomous, ſo that if the leaſt part of it remains in a Wound, it will ſcarce heal; The fiſh is of a good taſte, but unwholſome if eaten in any quantity. It is likewiſe a Freſh-water-Fiſh, and taken in Pools and Ponds.

The Elephants Noſe.

The Fiſh call'd the *Elephants Noſe* is of an odd Shape, its undermoſt Jaw being as ſharp as a Pin. The Body is prettily ſpotted, with a broad Streak running croſs the Middle. It is a very thick Fiſh, which is taken in the Sea, and in bigneſs and taſte is not unlike our large Smelts.

Jacob Evertſon.

The Fiſh call'd *Jacob Evertſon*, is above ten Foot long, weighing ſometimes 400 Pound. It is blue on the Belly, and brown on the Body; with many dark red Spots near the Head and Tail. It has a large white Mouth, with a ſhort brown Tail; and many Fins turning up towards the Back.

The Crooked Back.

The Fiſh *Crooked Back* has got its name from its Shape; It has a ſmooth Skin without Scales, a white Belly, and yellow Tail and Fins. It is in great Requeſt all over the Indies, by Reaſon of its agreeable Taſte; ſome are four Foot long.

Th. Horn-Fiſh.

The *Horn Fiſh* is about a Span in length or ſomething more, with a large Head, but a little Mouth; half of the Body being taken up with the Head. The Skin is very bright; the Back bluiſh, the Belly white, but the Fins and Tail yellow. The Body repreſents it ſelf in various Colours, according to its ſeveral Turnings.

Kneſſen

The Fiſh call'd *Kneſſen*, is a baſtard Carp, about a Span long, and pretty broad with thick Scales. It is a well taſted Freſh-water Fiſh.

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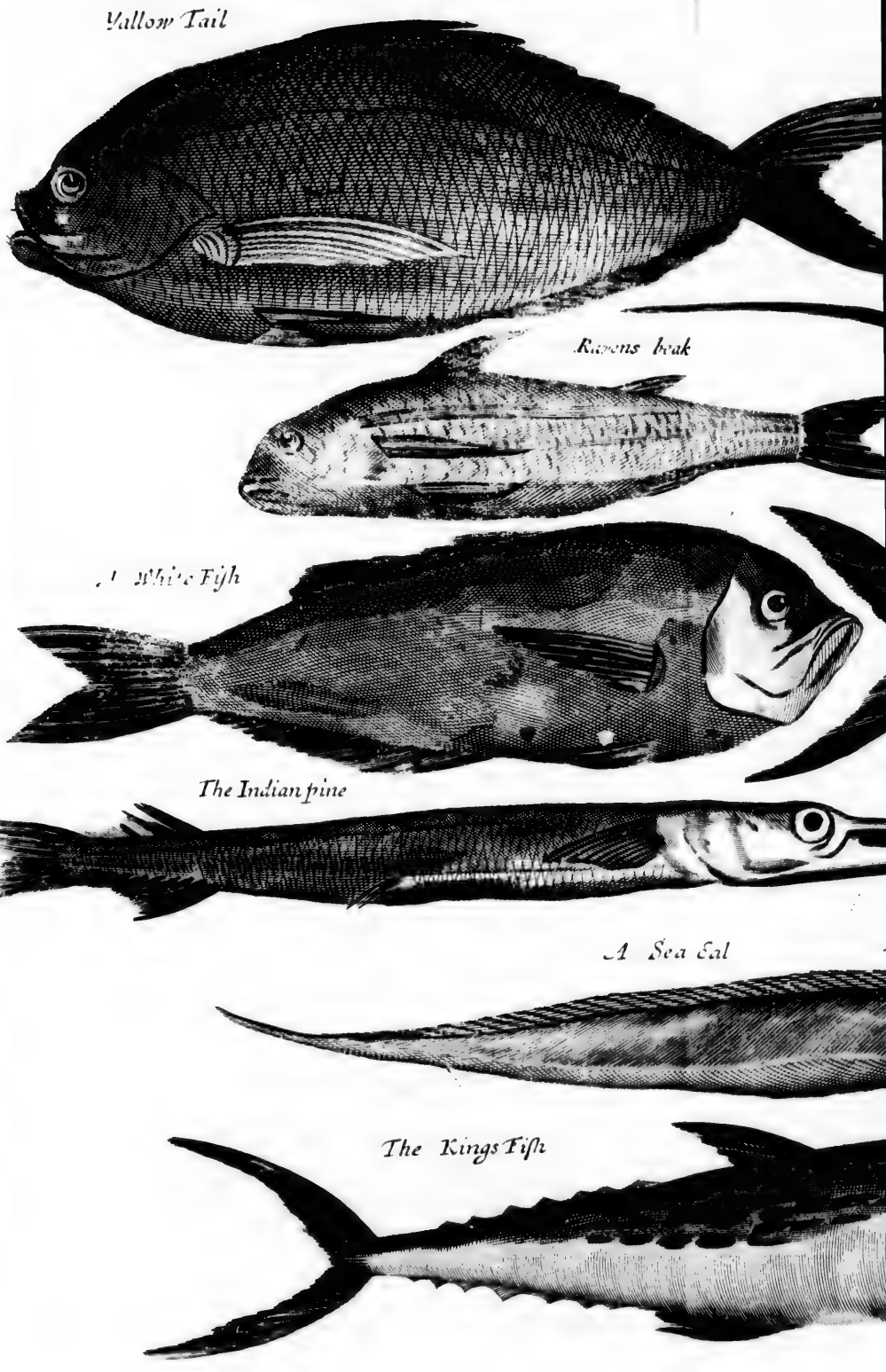
Yallow Tail
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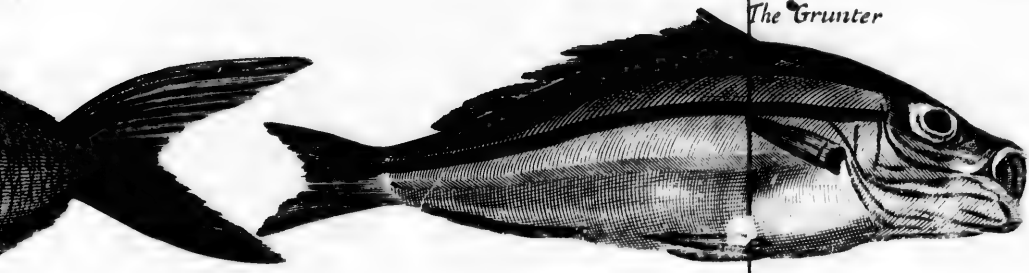
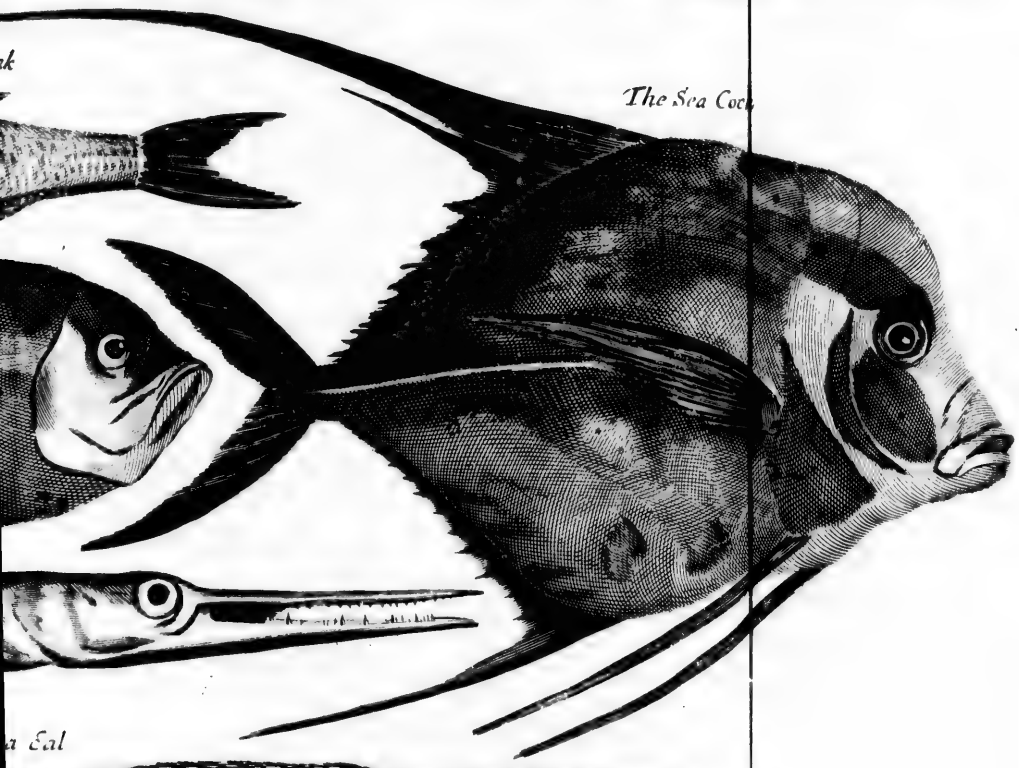
The Grunter





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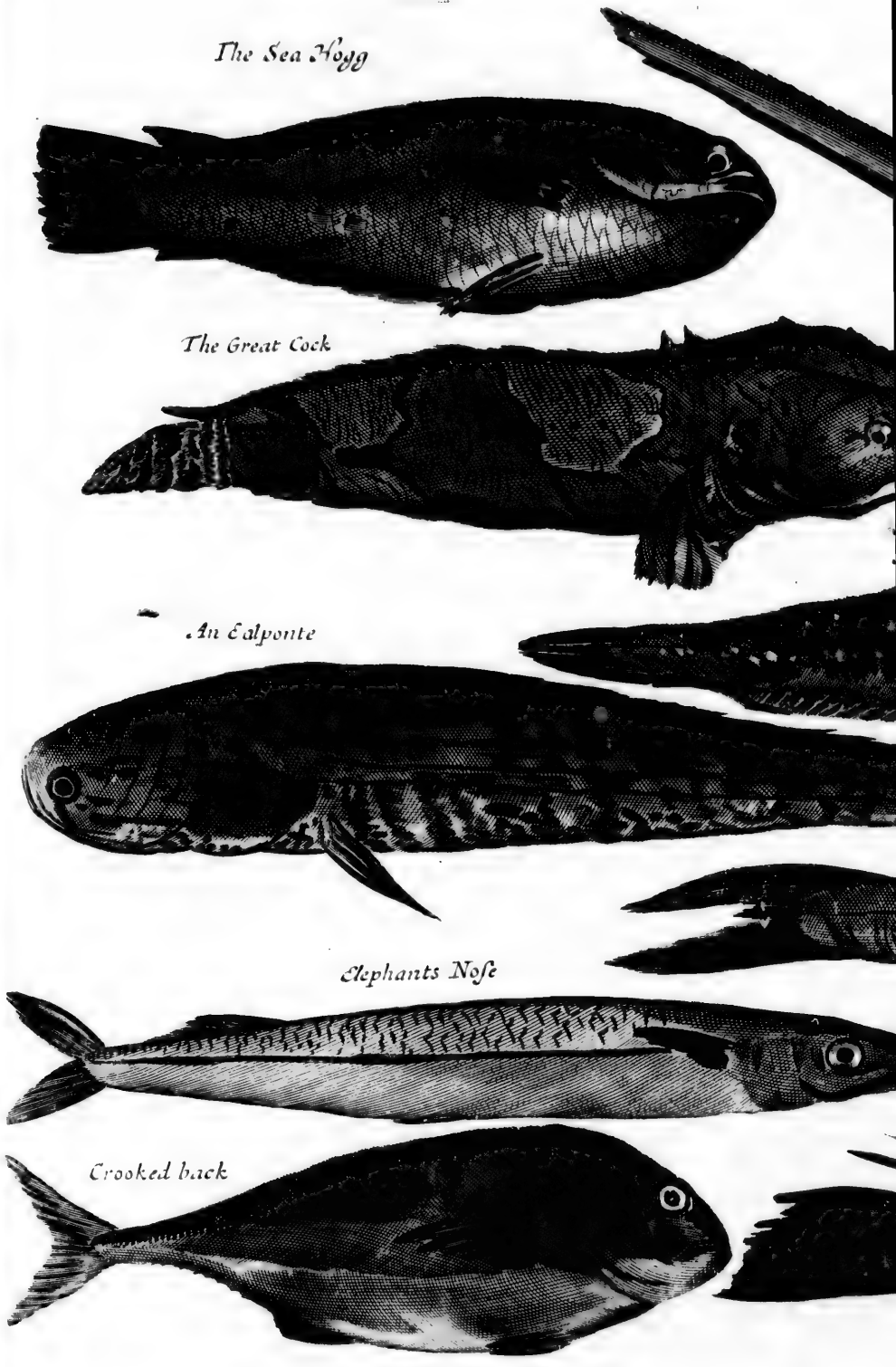
The Sea Hogg
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Crooked back

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1662. Their Flounders are in Shape and Bigneſs like ours, except that they have Teeth, wherewith they take hold of all they light on; They alſo are as well taſted as the *Dutch* Flounders; they have here alſo *Turbutts* and *Soals*, little different from ours both in Shape and Taſte. *The Flounder.*

The *Klip Fiſh* is a kind of Fiſh with a ſmooth Skin without Scales, flat, broad, and of the bigneſs of our *Hake*; It is brown on the Back, ſpotted with white, but very white towards the Belly, with many Streaks of various Colours. The Mouth and Eyes are like thoſe of the Bream, and it is a well taſted Fiſh. *The Klip Fiſh.*

The *Cod Fiſh* here is of the ſame Size and Colour with ours, except that it has very ſharp Fins on the Back and the under part of the Mouth jets out beyond the uppermoſt. *The Cod Fiſh.*

The *Horn Fiſh* has got its name from the Horn upon his Head, and two more underneath, which being very brittle, are alſo very poiſonous, and if part thereof remain in a Wound, will ſcarce admit of a Cure; and if you happen only to be wounded by it, it will Exulcerate immediately. *The Horn Fiſh.*

The *Flat Fiſh* is about a Foot long, with a ſmooth Skin without Scales, and a white Mouth; It gliſters all over like Silver; on the Back it has a ſmall Finn, and one more on each ſide. Underneath the Belly, it has only one Fin which is inſtead of the Tail. It is a Freſh-water Fiſh, of a very good taſte, but full of ſmall Bones, and therefore not much regarded. *The Flat Fiſh.*

The *Red Fiſh* is a kind of a Bream, of a dark red Colour, as are likewiſe the Fins; however the Belly is blew, and has two yellow Finns; It is very thick of Body, and the Head is ſharp at the End, with a large Mouth and yellow Eyes, ſome are four Foot long. *The Red Fiſh.*

The *Bitter Fiſh* is of the Shape and Bigneſs of a *Carpe*, with large Scales and red Fins, and two black Streaks round the Tail. It is a fine well-taſted Fiſh, but being full of ſmall Bones, is not much in Requeſt. *The Bitter Fiſh.*

The *Parrot Fiſh* has got its name from its Mouth, which turns like the Bill of a Parrot. It is a foot long, and ſometimes bigger. It is of a greeniſh colour, marbled or checquered towards the Head with yellow. Both the Fins and Eyes are of a blue colour; the laſt very large and ſprightly, and ſurrounded with a yellow Circle. It has very large Scales, and two rows of very hard Teeth; wherewith they often bite off the Hooks. This Fiſh is very greedy after Muſcles and Oiſters, which it cracks to pieces to come at the Fiſh. It is a very firm Fiſh and of a very good taſte. *The Parrot Fiſh.* 1662.

The *Short Noſe* is a Fiſh like our *Haddock*, having a round Body; It is yellow on the Belly, and the Fins are of the ſame colour. The Mouth is juſt under the Noſe, which is very ſhort; It is a well-taſted Fiſh. *Short-Noſe.*

The *Bone Fiſh* is of the bigneſs and ſhape of our Carps, but flatter, and has another Head: It has large Scales, and a forked Tail; its taſte is very good, but being full of ſmall Bones, is not much regarded. *The Bone Fiſh.*

The *Sand Smelt* reſembles in colour and bigneſs a ſmall *Whiting*, and is round of Body, and inclining to a yellow on the Belly: It is a Sea-Fiſh, and of an excellent Taſte. *The Sand Smelt.*

The *Pock Fiſh* is generally above a foot long, with a ſmooth Skin, without Scales; but being very bright, it varies in colour according to the various Poſition of its Body, appearing ſometimes blue, then green, and ſoon after of a purple, or ſome other colour. It is a long Fiſh, but not broad, not unlike a great *Smelt*, with a forked Tail, and Teeth in its Mouth. Tho' it is a well-taſted Fiſh, yet being full of ſmall Bones, is not Eaten, except by the Natives. *The Pock Fiſh.*

The *Chineſe Fiſh* is round, and about a Span long; The Head is like an *Eel*, with ſmall Eyes, and a long Tail. It is green on the Back, but white on the Belly. It is a freſh Water Fiſh, and well-taſted, but thoſe catch'd in Ponds are accounted unwholeſome. *The Chineſe Fiſh.*

The *Pitt Fiſh* is no bigger than a large *Smelt*, with a round Body, full of green and yellow ſpots, and without Scales. The Eyes, which they can draw in or out, are ſtarting out of the Head. On the Back they have ſharp-pointed Fins; They delight in muddy Places, notwithſtanding which they are well-taſted; They are very nimble, and will leap a great way. *The Pit Fiſh.*

The *Mullet* is a very fine Fiſh, which being catch'd in particular Places only, is dry'd in the Sun, and tranſported all over the *Indies*. It is white of colour, chequered with blue and purple; It Swims with great ſwiftneſs, and is ſo nimble, that it will not only leap over the Net, but even over the Fiſher-Boat. Theſe Fiſhes are of a dainty taſte whilſt in Seaſon, but at certain times they are peſtered with Worms, at which time they *The Mullet.*

1662.

they are neither toothſome nor wholeſome.

The Sea Snipe.

Nothing more common than to give Names to Fiſhes in Foreign Countries from what they moſt reſemble; whence it is, that the *Sea Snipe* has got its Mouth, which is like the Bill of a *Snipe*. Some of them are five foot long, with a Head like that of a Hog, and large bright Eyes: On the Back are large and ſharp Fins, reaching from the Head to the Tail, and full of ſpots.

The Kow.

Some *Kowes* are ſix or ſeven foot long, have large yelloviſh Eyes, and a forked yellow and greyiſh Tail, with yellow Fins; under the Belly, which is blue, inclining to green, and under the Tail, are divers Fins. They are very bright, and ſhine like Silver, when they are catch'd at Sea with Hooks: They are very well taſted and not unwholſome, being ſometimes a great Refreſhment to thoſe Ships that come to theſe Parts.

The Sea-Devil.

This kind of Fiſh has deſervedly got the name of *Sea Devil*, by reaſon of its ugly ſhape; having the Eyes on one ſide, and the Mouth in the Concavity below the Head. Its Tail is like that of a *Roach*, with two Teats on each ſide, pointed towards the end: The Skin on the Head is full of brown ſpots; Some are near ſeven or eight foot long, but afford very coarſe Food.

The Stip.

The *Stip Fiſh* has a Skin full of Spots, is well-taſted, and taken generally with Hooks near the Iſle of St. *Vincent*.

The Sea-Pigeon.

The *Sea Pigeon* has got its name from the reſemblance of its Head to that of a Pigeon; and of its Breaſts protuberating like thoſe Creatures. This Fiſh is without Scales; but not without divers Spots. It is but rarely catch'd, and none of the beſt taſted.

The Sea-Hedge-Hog.

The *Sea Hedge-Hog* is juſtly ſo called from its ſharp Fins about the Head and Mouth, which is round, and has very large Eyes. They can't Swim very ſwiftly, and conſequently would ſoon fall a prey to other Fiſh, were it not that Nature has arm'd them with theſe pointed Fins againſt any attempt.

The Suckers.

The *Suckers* are repreſented at length in the Cut, tho' there are ſome much bigger. They are blue, with bri[gh]t yellow Eyes, a ſmooth Skin without [ſca]les: They have no Teeth, but broad [lip]s, wherewith they will Suck, and a[re]re ſo cloſe to other Fiſh, that they w[ou]rather be kill'd than let go their hold. They will ſtick ſo cloſe to the *Shark* that they are often catch'd with them. They are Eaten ſometimes for want of better Food, but are but of an indifferent taſte.

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The Sharks.

Some *Sharks* are eight, ten, or fourteen foot long: Their Skin is rough and ſharp, and they have a double row of Teeth, and ſome three or four Rows, which are covered with the Gums. Their Eyes lie forward near the Mouth. It is a very pernicious Fiſh, which oftentimes bites off an Arm or a Leg, of thoſe that divert themſelves with Swimming. The *Sharks* bring forth their young ones alive, which follow the She-*Shark* wherever ſhe goes, and in bad Weather creeps into her Belly, and come out again after the Storm is over. It is obſervable that certain Fiſhes of a foot long always Swim after the *Shark*, which are plainly to be ſeen in ſtill Weather.

The Sea-Cat.

The *Sea Cat*, (the Draught whereof you ſee in the Cut) is a very odd Creature, both for its colour and ſhape. The Eyes are exceeding large in proportion of the Body, the Back is of a Purple colour, and the Belly blue, with divers purple ſpots. The Tail is in compariſon of the reſt of the Body, vaſtly large, and pale red, wherewith it Swims, it being deſtitute of Fins. However, juſt on the Front of the Head, it has ſeven Fins, which ſtand out ſtraight forward like thoſe of the *Shrimps*. It affords very good Food, eſpecially if dry'd in the Sun.

Soldiers.

The *Kip Fiſh*, or *Soldiers Fiſh*, is a kind of a Bream, but ſometimes grows not above to the length of a Span: It is flat and of a pale colour: On the Back it has ſharp Fins like a Perch; a ſharp Tail, and yellow Eyes. It is one of the beſt Fiſh in the *Indies*; of a very delicious taſte.

The Sea Eagle.

The *Sea Eagle* is an odd kind of Fiſh: It has a Tail like a Roach, with large Fins like Wings, a thick Head, and taſtes like a Roach.

The Sea-Cat.

The *Sea Cat* is a round Fiſh of a Span in length, of a very odd ſhape; The hindermoſt part of the Body being an oval Lump, on which hangs the Head. It has long and large Eyes, a ſmooth Skin, inclining to blue, but brown upon the Belly. The Intrails of this Fiſh contain a certain Gum, out of which the *Cuneſes* make their Ink. They dry this Fiſh in the Sun, as the *Dutch* do the *Plaiſe*, and are in great Requeſt among the *Indians*, tho' they are of no eaſie Digeſtion.

The Leaping Fiſh.

The *Leaping Fiſh* is ſo called, becauſe they Leap and Play continually upon the Surface of the Water. They are of the bigneſs of a Herring, and are without Fins

Fins on the Back, from the Head to the Tail. They have a knotty Head, and the Body of a greyiſh colour, with black ſpots; but toward the Belly they begin to be white. They look very fiercely before they begin to Leap. They are Sea Fiſhes, and of a very good taſte, eſpecially Broiled. 1662.

Pampus

The Fiſh *Pampus* is above a foot long, and about a Span in breadth; for the reſt in colour and ſhape, not unlike our *Plaiſe*, with a ſmooth Skin: The Eyes ſtand on both ſides, and the Mouth ſtraight forward. It is a well-taſted Fiſh, eſpecially if dry'd and Eaten as the *Dutch* do their *Plaiſe*.

Peyxe Kok, i. e. the *Fiſh Kok*, ſo called by the *Portugueſes*, becauſe when taken it makes a noiſe or ſound like *Kok*. It is taken near the Iſle of St. *Vincent*, and is but an indifferent Fiſh.

The *Blowers* are huge Fiſhes which appear now and then in the open Sea. They have got this Name from their drawing in of the Water, and ſpouting it out again with great force into the Air.

The *White Fiſh* is about the bigneſs of a *Whiting*, with a round hanging Belly, a ſtraight Back, and turn'd up Mouth: Its Tail is forked, it has one large Fin upon the Back, and abundance of ſmall ones betwixt the Belly and the Tail. It is full of Streaks all over the Body, and on the Mouth it has two long Teats: It is of a very good taſte.

The *Five Finger Fiſh* has got its name from five black ſpots on each ſide, reſembling the Prints of Fingers. Its length is about a foot and a half, with a ſmall Head, large Mouth, and brown pointed Fins towards the Tail. It is of a ſhining blue colour mix'd with purple, without Scales. It is of a pretty good taſte, and taken in the Sea all over the *Indies*.

Karappa, or *Round Fiſh*, is not unlike a *Whiting*, of a very good taſte: It has but a ſmall Head and Tail, but a pretty bulky Belly. Below it has ſome Fins not unlike thoſe of an *Eel*.

Some of the *Flying Fiſh* are near as big as a *Corette*, of a bluiſh colour on the Back, but inclining to a brown towards the Tail. They have large Eyes, and large yellowiſh Fins, and reſemble in ſhape our *Smelts*: They are of an agreeable taſte, but not eaſie to be catch'd, except when they Fly againſt the Sails, which they frequently do, and ſo fall upon the Ships Deck.

The *Forck Tail* is a long and round Fiſh, with a very long forked Tail, whence it has got its Name. Its Head is not unlike that of a *Herring*, with a long Teat on the top of it; and two more below near the Mouth, like thoſe of the *Shrimps*, but larger, they keep them cloſe to the Body when they are a Swimming. They are of the bigneſs of a *Mackrel*, but of no extraordinary good taſte. 1662.

Soals

Some *Soals* here are a foot long, of the ſame colour as ours, and as well-taſted; but their Heads are ſtrangely ſhaped, the Mouth turning quite to one ſide, as well as their Eyes.

Bonite

The *Bonite* are not unlike the *Corettes*, but with leſſer Fins and blue Streaks, which vaniſh by degrees towards the Tail. The Back is of a dark brown, and the Belly white, the Eyes blue, ſurrounded with a yellow Circle. Some are a foot and a half long, and very bright when firſt taken, which is done without much difficulty, becauſe they follow the Ships, and are very greedy after a Bait. They Eat beſt if they are Salted a little before they are Broil'd.

The Sword Fiſh.

The *Sword Fiſh* has a very odd Head, not unlike that of an Owl, with a very wide Mouth: The Skin is hard, the Back grey, the Belly white, without any Scales. On each ſide of the Sword, which is above five foot long, are 27 Teeth: Their whole length, including the Sword, is generally 25 foot long, and ſo thick, that ſcarce two Men can graſp them. Near the Eyes they have two Noſtrils, through which they draw the Water in and out.

Soap Soap.

The Fiſh call'd *Soap Soap* by the *Javaneſes*, is a River Fiſh in great requeſt among the *Javaneſes*, and is taken in conſiderable quantity near *Batavia*.

The Pyed Fiſh.

The *Pyed Fiſh* has got its name from its colour; its Tail and Fins being brown, ſpotted with pale blue ſpots: It is about a foot long, and pretty thick, without Scales. The Eyes, which are yellow, are ſurrounded by a blue Circle; underneath the Throat hangs a Crop extending it ſelf to the Tail: It has a little Mouth, and on each ſide a yellow Fin. It is in great Eſteem among the Inhabitants, and well-taſted, but contains a certain venomous matter, which muſt be carefully taken out when they are gutted.

Five Eyes

The *Five Eyes* have got their name from Five Black Eyes, encloſed in yellow Circles, which are in the Fins near the Tail. They are ſmooth and yellow without Scales; pretty thick with a ſmall Head and ſharp Noſe, which turns over the

the Mouth, near which they have two red Fins; they are catch'd in the Rivers and are well-tafted.

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Sea Bat. The *Sea Bat* has got its Name from its reſemblance to a *Bat*: It has two yellowiſh Wings ſtreak'd with three blue ſtreaks; a long Tail, thick Head and large Mouth. By its taſte it ſeems to be a kind of *Thornback*.

The Gudgeon. The *Gudgeons* of *Java* are of the length of a Finger, but ſcarce an Inch thick. They are ſpeckled with pale blue, and other colours, without Scales; they have ſmall fork'd Tails; are catch'd in the Rivers and are exceeding well-tafted. There is another kind of them taken in the Sea, in ſuch prodigious quantities, that they ſell a whole *Canoe* full for eight or ten Pence, and I often their Ducks and Geeſe with them.

Carps. The *Indian Carps* are taken in the Rivers being not in the leaſt different from ours either in ſhape or taſte.

The Sea-Monſter. The *Sea Monſter* is an odd kind of Fiſh, having a knobby Star of eight Tacks upon the Head, and upon that a certain Excreſcency reſembling a Biſhop's Mitre: From the ſides of the Head iſſue two Fins of the ſame length with the Body of the Monſter. It has a very dreadful wide Mouth, and very broad Tail, wherewith it guides it ſelf in Swimming.

Shrimps and Creaſiſhes. They have divers ſorts of *Shrimps* and *Creaſiſhes* in the *Indies*; and of the latter ſort, a certain kind which have Teeth like a Saw on the Back; Some of them are of that bigneſs as to weigh ſix Pounds, of a delicious taſte, and very wholeſome, being accounted good for ſuch as are troubled with the *Aſthma*, or Spit-Blood. The *Sea-Shrimps* are a Salt Water Fiſh, the biggeſt of which are near a Span in length, and have Shells like ours, of a fallow colour with a red fork'd Tail. Out of the Head come forth divers Fins, on which hang two ſmall thin Horns. They are very well tafted, and five or ſix are ſufficient for one Man's Meal. The *River Shrimps* are about the bigneſs of our *Sea Shrimps*, of a blue colour, with a ſmall Head and thick Body. Out of the Head came two long Fins, as fine as a Thread; Their Shell is not ſo hard as the former, neither are they ſo well-tafted. The Rivers here afford alſo abundance of *Creaſiſhes*, which are taken in holes among the Oiſters. They are better tafted than our Lobſters.

The Sea-Star. The *Sea Star* is an odd ſhap'd Fiſh with five Branches or Tacks, like a Star: They are of a pale red colour, an Inch thick, covered with a knobby Skin, underneath which are many ſmall Bones: They have a hole in the middle, through which they draw their Suſtenance: They are never to be ſeen at Sea, except in Calm Weather, and are taken and kept rather for Curioſities ſake than any other uſe.

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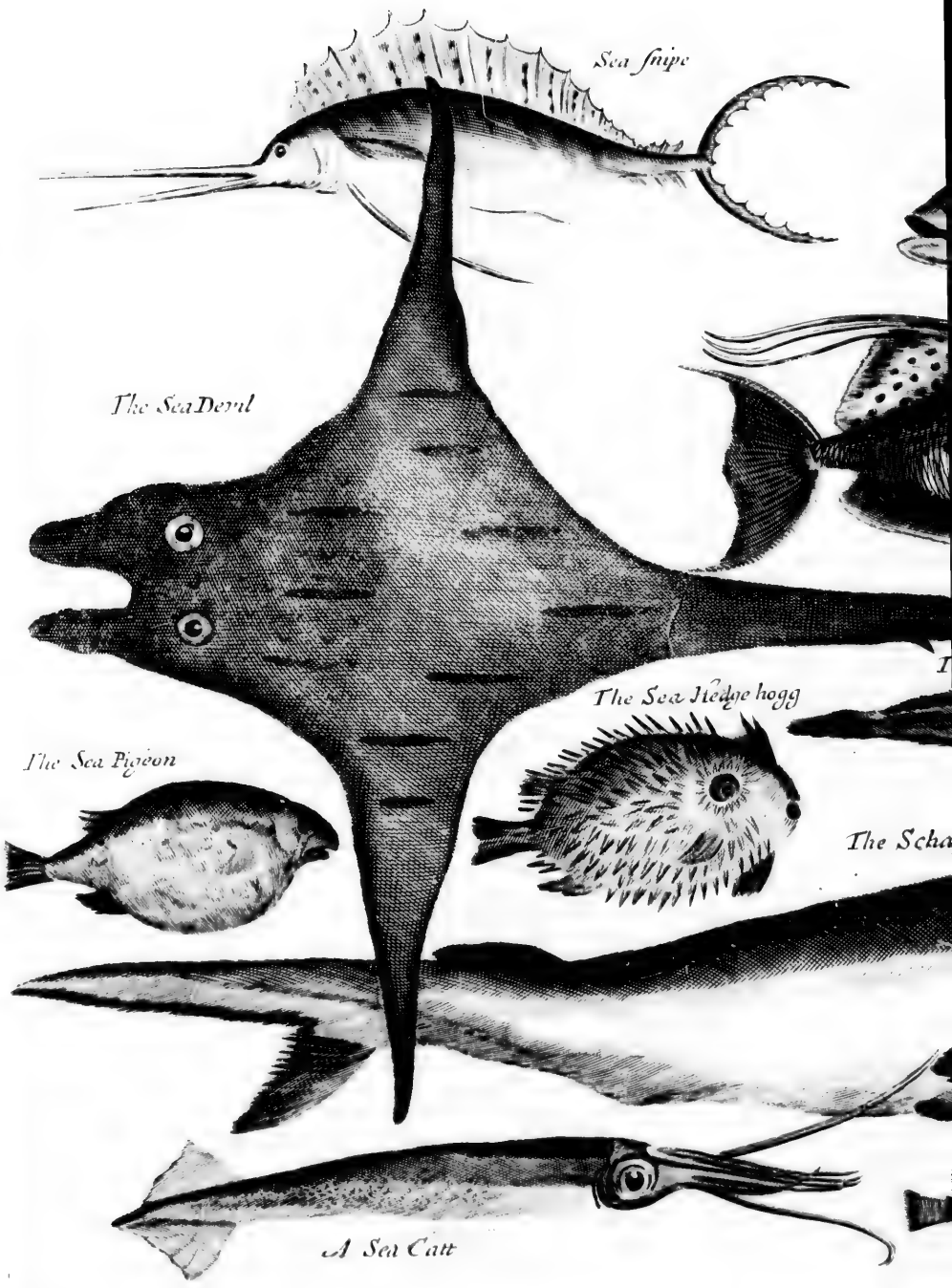
Sea Crabs. The *Sea Crabs* are of about the bigneſs of a Span, of a moſt curious colour, the Shell being ſpeckled with yellow ſpots, beſides which they have three purple ſpots incloſed within white Rings. Their Claws are yellowiſh towards the Body, afterwards white, and at the Extremities of a high Purple colour, their Eyes are fixt upon certain ſmall Tacks an Inch breadth without the Head. There is alſo a kind of *Blue Crabs*, ſome of which are a foot and a half long: They are of a Purple colour ſpotted with white: The Claws are blue, and of a purple colour towards the Body: Their Eyes are fixt upon ſmall Tacks like the former, and ſtand a Fingers length without the Head. They are a Salt-Water Fiſh, and very well-tafted.

Lobſters. There is another kind of Lobſters not quite ſo big as the former, which run very ſwiftly: Their Eyes ſtand likewiſe about two Inches breadth without the Head, eſpecially whilſt they are running, but otherwiſe can draw them back, and lay them cloſe under two Fins. Their Bodies are marbled with divers colours, the Claws of a purple colour; Behind they have two ſmall round and blue Shells, edged with yellow. Some are of a conſiderable bigneſs, and of a very good taſte. There is another ſort of *Sea Crabs*, of the ſame bigneſs as the *Blue Lobſters*, but eaſily to be diſtinguiſh'd from them by their colour, which is inclining to green, with red Claws, and by their taſte, which is exceeding delicious; theſe being the beſt ſort throughout the *Indies*: Their Eyes ſtand likewiſe an Inches breadth without the Head. Some *Sea Crabs* here are of a prodigious bigneſs, and are as well as all other Shell-Fiſh beſt in the Encreaſe of the Moon. Some Crabs here caſt their Shells, and during a certain Seaſon of the year abide under Ground till they grow again. The *Indian* Oiſters are preferr'd before thoſe of *Europe*.

Muſcles. The Muſcles of the *Indies* are like ours, but ſomewhat bigger; The Shell is brown both in and outſide. There is another ſort of *Muſcles* called *Tai Muſcles* by our People; theſe are of a greeniſh colour; they have on that end where they


Sea Snipe
The Sea Devil
The Sea Hedge hogg
The Sea Pigeon
A Sea Catt

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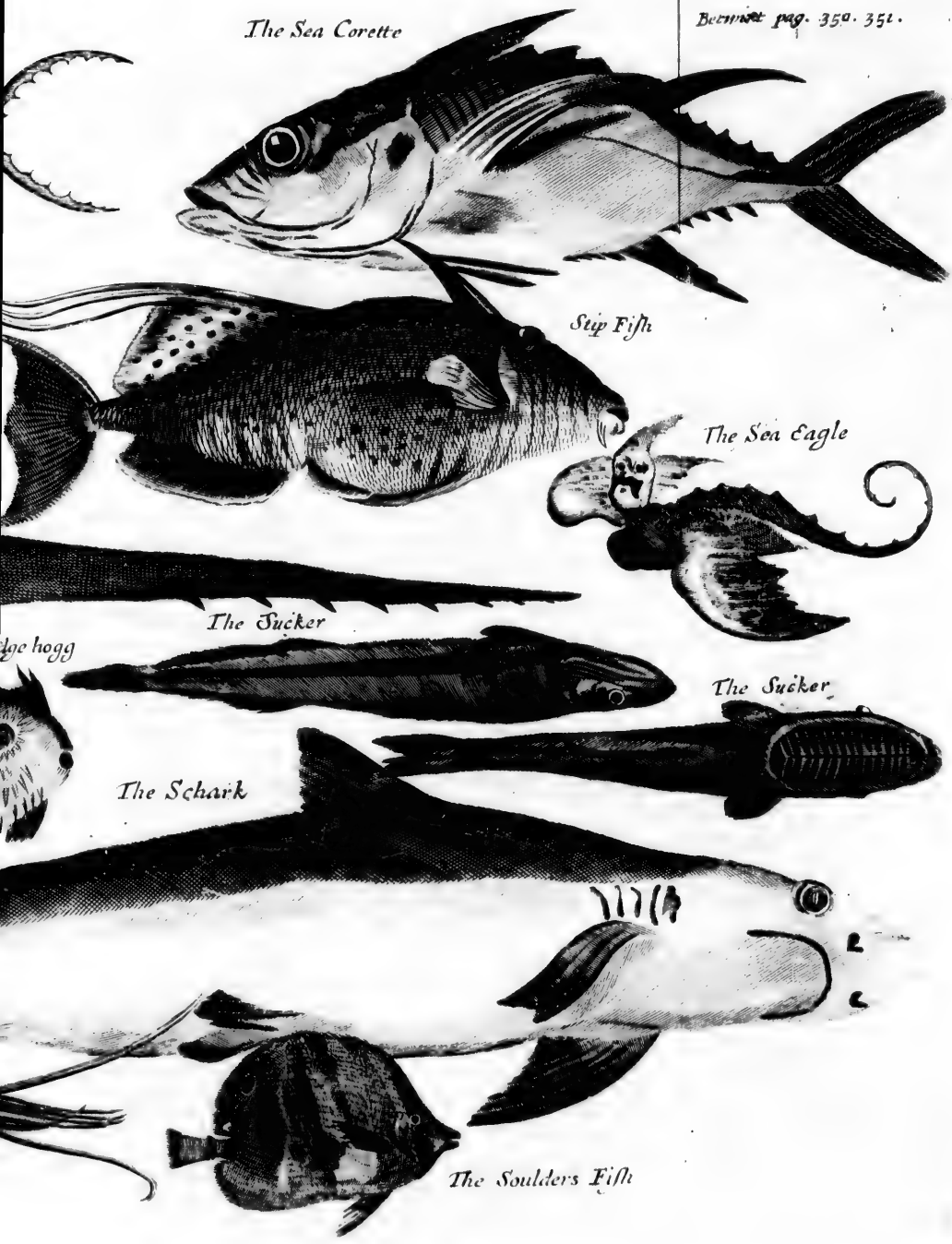

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Sea-Bat

The G
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The Five Eyes
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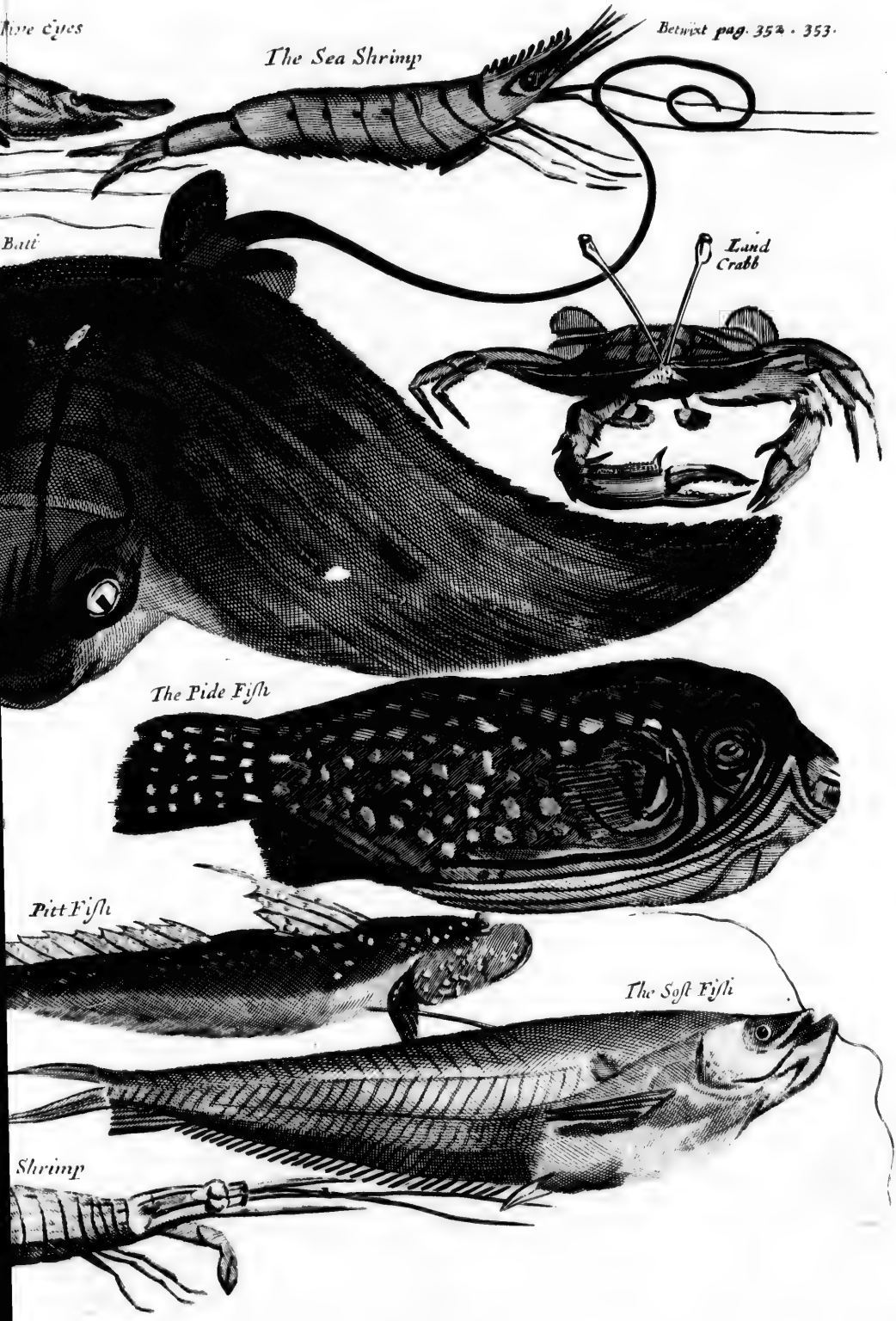

Five eyes
The Sea Shrimp
Batt
Land Crabb
The Pide Fish
Pitt Fish
The Soft Fish
Shrimp

1662. they open two ſharp Horns, and on the other end, a pale yellow Tail, wherewith they can faſten themſelves in the Mud. They are of the ſame taſte, and uſed like ours, as well as thoſe we commonly call St. *James*'s Muſcles. Of Oiſters they have alſo ſeveral ſorts, the biggeſt adhere to the Rocks, ſome to the Roots and Tacks of the Trees; They are all of a very good taſte, and are either Stew'd with Spices, or Eaten raw with Lemon Juice and Pepper.

Purple Snails. Abundance of *Purple Snails* are found in the Iſlands over againſt *Batavia*: The Scallop or Shell is of a yellow colour, of the bigneſs of a good Citron, with curious Windings at one end. Within this Shell is the *Snail*, which is round, plump, and yellow, ſtreak'd with black. They are Boil'd and Eaten by the *Chineſes*, who have a way of poliſhing the Shells, and pick out of the middle of the Snail a certain purple colour'd ſubſtance, which they uſe in colouring and making of red Ink. There is alſo another kind with green Shells, ſtreak'd with black, white within, and of the bigneſs of a Childs-Head: The Snail is of the ſame colour, and is not ill taſted. Another ſort has a Shell pale red marbled with white, and curiouſly twiſted, of the bigneſs of an Orange: The Snail is of the ſame colour, and is Eaten as we do our *Perewinkles*, but is of a hard Digeſtion.

Quallen. The *Quallen* are a certain Product of the Sea, of a mucilaginous ſubſtance, without Head or Tail, or Entrails; they commonly are of the bigneſs of a Trencher, and ſometimes leſſer. They have purple edges all round them, wherewith they Swim. In the midſt is a certain white ſpot, (which is ſometimes bluiſh) wherein perhaps their Victuals are contained. If they are forced aſhore, they are Diſſolved. The *Chineſes* have a way of Diſtilling a certain *Arack* or Strong-Water out of them; which is exceſſive hot, ſharp, and unwholſome, cauſing Exulcerations in the Body. For if this ſubſtance happen to adhere to the bare Skin of a Man in Swimming or otherwiſe, it burns with great Violence, and raiſes Bliſters immediately.

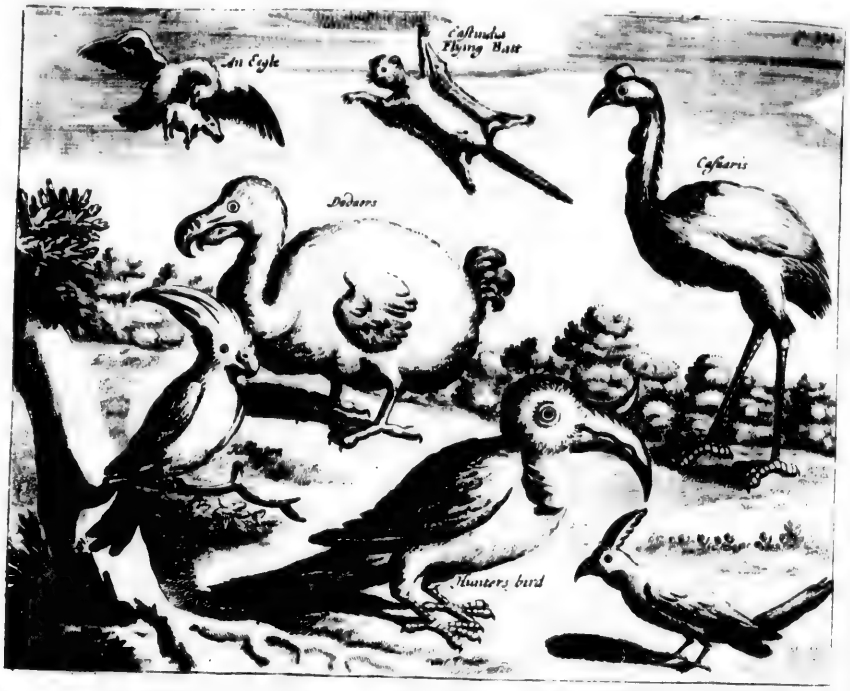
The Dorades. The *Dorades*, by ſome called *Sea-Breams*, are a kind of *Dolphins*. They have long and ſharp Fins on the Back, and a very long Tail; underneath the Belly they have three Fins, the laſt of which extends as far as the Tail. Some are 4 or 5 foot long, and rather broad than thick. They Eat tolerably well, if Salted before they are dreſs'd, but are of a hard Digeſtion: They are ſometimes taken with the Hook, being not eaſily catch'd with the Harpion, by reaſon of their nimbleneſs, which is ſuch, that they will Leap ſometimes five or ſix foot high above the Water, after the *Flying Fiſh*. 1662.

Scates, or Thornbacks. The *Indies* afford exceſſive large *Thornbacks*, ſome of which are as big in circumference as a moderate Table, and will ſuffice to Dine forty People. They have vaſt long Tails, but are of the ſame colour with ours, and of the ſame taſte, but are hard of Digeſtion, but the young ones are much better: Their Fins, which are very large, are of a purple colour: All Fiſh with Scales caſt their Spawn; but thoſe without Scales bring forth their young ones alive.

INDIAN *and* JAVANESE *Birds, and Four Legg'd Beaſts.*

The Bird Emeu. IN the Iſles of *Sumatra*, *Banda*, and the other adjacent *Molucca* Iſlands, is to be found a certain Bird, called *Emeu*, or *Eme* by the Inhabitants, and *Caſuaris*, by the *Dutch*. He walks conſtantly with his Head ſtraight upright, when he is about five foot high, and about three in length from the Breaſt to the Tail. The Head is in proportion of the Body, but ſmall, very ſmooth, and of a dark blue colour. Before on the Neck, hang two red Teats, or Bags. The Eyes are large and fierce, behind which are the Ear holes; and almoſt at the extremity of the Bill two Noſtrils; and from the midſt of the Bill to the crown of the Head, grows a hard yellow Subſtance, like a Cockle-Shell, eſpecially in the Males. They have very long and groſs Legs, covered with a yellowiſh Rind, their Feet are thick, knobby, and without Spurs; inſtead of which they have on the forepart three long horny Claws in which they differ from the Oſtriches; whoſe Feet are cloven both before and behind. They are covered all over with Feathers, or rather with Plumes, of a dark red mix'd with black. Thoſe upon the Breaſt and Thighs, grow two and two together, but thoſe on the Tail are much longer and ſtronger. Underneath the Feathers, which grow on both ſides, are hidden certain Pens, which ſerve them in running, for theſe Birds are ſcarce able to raiſe themſelves from the Ground. They are exceeding greedy, devouring every thing they meet with, even to Iron

and Burning Coals, all which they evacuate backwards without any alteration; nay, they ſometimes throw out what they have Eat, not till a year after, without the leaſt Signs of any Digeſtion. For the reſt they live upon Herbage. Their Strength conſiſts in their Legs and Feet; and run ſo faſt that no Man can overtake them, and when exaſperated, kick with their Feet backwards and ſideways like a Horſe. They lay greeniſh Eggs upon the ground among the Shrubs, ſcarce ſo big as our Hen-Eggs, ſpeckled with dark green ſpots. The Yolks thereof are Eaten by their Inhabitants. They have neither Tongue nor Tail.



Flying-Cat.

Among the ſeveral ſorts of *Flitter-Mice*, or *Bats*, that which by ſome is called a *Flying-Cat*, may well challenge a place; its Head, Tail, nay the whole Body and Bulk reſembling to a Cat. It differs from the *Bats* in this, that whereas they hang on certain Tacks, this hangs on its Claws, and hides it ſelf within its Wings: The Hair brown red, except on the Back, where it is black. Betwixt the fore and hindermoſt Legs grows two Skins, a little Hairy on the outſide, which ſerves them for Wings. There is alſo a ſort of *Flying Apes*, theſe have very ſharp Teeth and Claws, and very lively Eyes.

The Hunters Bird.

In ſome parts of the *Indies* you meet with a certain Bird call'd the *Hunters Bird*. The Breaſt and whole Body is black, but the Tail grayiſh; The Head is dark yellow, but without Feathers; below the Neck hangs a Bag, not unlike thoſe of our *Turkeys*; The Bill is diſtinguiſh'd by certain twiſted Rings, by which they diſcern their Age, every Year producing one like our Oxes Horns. On the top of the Bill grows a horny Subſtance; they are look'd upon as a Rarity; and ſold at a dear Rate.

Dronte, or Dodaers.

In the Iſle of *Mauritius* you meet with a certain Bird call'd *Dronte* by the Inhabitants, and *Dodaers* by the *Dutch*. In bigneſs it is betwixt an *Oſtrich* and a large Turkey, and has alſo ſome Reſemblance to them in his Feathers and Tail. His Head is very large, not unlike that of a Cuckoe, but cover'd all over with a Skin. The Eyes are large and black, the Neck crooked and very thick: The Bill is very long, thick and pale blue, except towards the Extremities, the uppermoſt whereof is blackiſh, and the under-

undermoſt yellowiſh, but both ſharp and ſtrong. He is very thick and round of Body, covered with ſoft grey Feathers, like thoſe of the *Oſtrich*; the Belly and hindermoſt part are ſo thick as to touch almoſt the Ground, which is the reaſon he is eaſily catch'd. On both ſides he has certain Pens inſtead of Wings, of a pale yellow colour, and inſtead of the Tail five curl'd Plumes of the ſame colour. His Legs are ſhort and thick, with four large Claws. The Meat, eſpecially that of the Breaſt, is fat and toothſome enough, and three or four of theſe Creatures, afford a Meal for 100 Perſons. In his Stomach is ſometimes found a certain porous hard Stone.

The *Parroketes* are of a green colour, of the bigneſs of a *Starling*; Their Bills are yellow, the Neck red mix'd with green, and the Wings yellow at the Extremities: They are found in vaſt numbers in the Woods, and are eaſily tamed and taught to Speak. There are divers ſorts of them of different colours.

The *Martins* here are as big as our *Magpies*, of a black colour with a yellow Bill, and a yellow Tuft upon the Head. The midſt of the Wings is white; the Feet yellow, with large crooked Claws. The *Javaneſes* are great admirers of this Bird, and teach him to Whiſtle and Speak, which he does as diſtinctly as a Man, but with ſomewhat a rough Voice. There is another ſort of them not ſo big as theſe; They are found all over the *Indies*, and feed upon Rice and other Fruits of the Earth.

The *Indian Crows* are pale blue, in ſhape betwixt a *Heron* and *Stork*. The Head and Neck is ſomewhat of a darker colour, with a curl'd Tail, and ſharp Bill. They live moſt in Wilderneſſes, and fly (as they ſay) ſometimes, as far as *Europe*, under a certain Leader, who flies ſometimes before and ſometimes behind. Crows.

The Bird *Rubus* is of the bigneſs of a *Starling*, with a blue Bill and Legs, the Back and Tail red, and white and black Wings. The Head is green, and in his Tail he has two large Feathers, like the *Paradiſe Bird*. The Bird Rubus.

In divers parts of the *Indies* are very large *Bats*, exceeding in bigneſs our Cats: In the Iſle of *Java* are ſome of the ordinary ſort, no bigger than a Pigeon; they live in the Woods, and are accounted a dainty by the *Javaneſes*. In the Night time Batts.

1662. time they will get ſometimes into the Chambers if the Windows be left open, and draw Blood from ſuch as are aſleep there.

Gwira. There are two ſorts of the Bird called *Gwira*, they are both white, mix'd with ſome brown Feathers. One ſort has a red Belly, and the other a blue Tail, with one very long Feather in it.

Poero. The *Poero* is a long, but ſlender Bird, of a Span in length including the Bill and Tail. The Bill is ſomewhat crook ed, and the Tail like that of the Bird *Gwira*. His Feathers are bluiſh, mixt with yellow, and his Feet very ſmall. He feeds upon Piſmires.

In *Java*, you meet often with *Cormorants*, not unlike our Geeſe, except that they are much bigger; underneath the Bill hangs a large Bag, which they can extend and draw together at pleaſure, and in it keep ſuch Fiſh as they have ſwallow'd. Their Feet are like thoſe of the *Swan*, and their Bills are crooked towards the Extremities. They are ſo greedy after Prey, that they ruſh out from among the Flags with ſuch violence, that they are eaſily taken by that means. They ſwallow Oiſters with the Shells, and keep them in their Bags till they open, when they Spew them out again and pick out the Oiſter. They are frequently found in the Iſle of *Din Ding*, and ſoon diſcovered by their Noiſe.

Ducks. All over the *Indies* you meet with *Ducks* in great numbers, reſembling ours both in bigneſs and taſte. They are generally dark yellow, with a black Bill and Legs, large Bellies, and Tufts on their Heads. But whereas the *Weſt-India Ducks* have hanging Bellies, theſe carry them more upright. By reaſon of the exceſſive heat they are not eaſily brought to ſit upon their Eggs, which are generally laid under Hens, or fomented in Horſedung or Ovens. Their Meat is very wholſome, provided they are well fed.

Wide-Bill. The *Wide Bill* has got his Name from his Bill, which reaches up on both ſides to the Eyes: He is ſcarce of the bigneſs of a Pigeon of a pale black colour, with black Wings, and underneath the Eyes and Bill white. They are brought to Market in great quantities at *Batavia*, their Meat being well taſted.

The Strand bird, or Ox Eye. The *Strand* Bird is a kind of *Snipe* of the bigneſs of our *Wood-Cocks*. Their Feathers are green mix'd with black, they are ſold in great numbers at *Batavia*, and in taſte are not unlike our *Wood-Snipes*.

Turtles. The *Indian Turtles* are not altogether ſo big as ours; and of a yellowiſh colour mix'd with grey: They have a black Feather in each Wing, and the Tail is black and white; under the Neck they are ſomewhat brighter, and the Breaſt almoſt red. They are taken in great quantities in the Rice-Fields, and are fat and well-taſted. 1662

Geeſe. The *Indian* Geeſe are much finer and larger than the *European* Geeſe, reſembling rather our *Swans*, their Necks being exceſſive long, of a yellowiſh colour, but their Bills black. Along the Back, upon the Wings and Tail they have dark grey Feathers mix'd with ſome light ones; but on the Belly they are white. They have not ſo Shrill a Voice as our Geeſe, but differ not in the leaſt from them either in ſhape or taſte, their Feet being likewiſe red. They have both wild and tame ones.

Birds of Prey. In divers Places of the *Indies* are great quantities of Birds of Prey, as Eagles, Hawks, Kites, and ſuch like, which do prodigious miſchief both among the wild and tame Fowl, and are of ſuch Strength, that they carry ſometimes a young Pig away and devour it in the Woods or among the Rocks. There is a certain Bird of Prey here, which you ſee moving in the Air without moving its Wings; and another called *Jin* by the *Chineſes*, exceeding all the reſt in nimbleneſs: It is greeniſh on the Back, but white on the Belly. The Eyes are quick and red, and the Bill yellow, bent like a Hook at the end. Their Feet are likewiſe yellow, arm'd with long and very ſharp Claws.

Kokoy. The *Kokoy* is a kind of a *Heron*, but much exceeding ours in Beauty, being yellow before and green in the hindermoſt part. On the Head he has a delicious Plume, ſpreading all over the Neck. The young ones Eat tolerably well, but the old ones are tough and taſte much after Fiſh.

Kolibry. *Kolibry* is the leaſt of all the Birds, being no bigger than a Horſe-Fly; it has a very ſharp Bill, wherewith it ſucks its ſuſtenance out of the Flowers, though ſome are of Opinion it feeds upon the Dew. It has all the Colours of the Rainbow, and its Wings are not unlike thoſe of the Pigeons or Ducks: It builds a very Neſt to the South under the Branches of Orange, Limon, or Cotton-Trees, to defend it ſelf againſt the Injuries of the North Winds: Its Eggs are no bigger than Peaſe. There is another which Sings exceeding fine, but is not ſo well colour'd; it weighs not above 24 Grains, and

and is catch'd by throwing hot or any thing elſe upon it.

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In the Woods of *Java* you ſee vaſt Numbers of Birds not unlike our *Quails* or *Throſtles*, but of the bigneſs of our wild Pigeons; Their Bills are however ſomewhat longer than thoſe of our *Quails*, and their Noiſe is very different. They are of ſo cold a Conſtitution, that if expoſed on the cold Ground, they are in danger of periſhing by Cold, for which Reaſon they hide themſelves, cover'd with their Wings in the hollowneſs of Trees, immediately after Sunſet, and at Sun-riſing come forth again and begin to Chirp with a great deal of Chearfulneſs. *Birds like Quails or Throſtles.*

The *Indian Quails* reſemble thoſe of *Europe*; are brown on the back and blue on the belly; they have a yellow Bill, and four Claws, *viz.* three before, and one behind; they don't make any Noiſe, but are very good Meat. *Quails.*

The *Rice-bird* is of the bigneſs of one of our Pullets, but ſomething longer Legg'd, with brown feathers on the Body, a red Head, and very large Claws; they live among the Rice whence they have got their Name, and eat very deliciouſly roaſted. *Rice birds.*

In many Parts of the *Indies* are alſo *Pheaſants* with long and pointed Tails; ſome are white on the Breaſt and about the Eyes. *Pheaſants.*

They have prodigious Numbers of Butterflies of various Colours; They have long Bills, which they can ſtretch out when they ſuck the Juice of the Flowers, or draw back at pleaſure. Some are of a moſt delicious Colour, intermix'd with blue, white and red, beyond what can be expreſs'd. They are generally of the bigneſs of the Palm of the Hand, when their Wings are ſpread; ſome have larger Wings than others, and have two ſmall Feathers on their Heads. *Butterflies.*

The *Indian Wood Pigeons* are of the bigneſs of our Tame Pigeons, with brown Spots on their Backs; a white Belly, purple colour'd Breaſt, and red Feet; They reſemble entirely our *Turtle Doves*, or common Pigeons, live generally in the Woods or in the Rice-fields, and are a moſt delicious Food; when they are Tam'd, they will breed in our Houſes. *Wood-Pigeons.*

The *Lory* Bird is a Bird as big as a Parrot, but of a much finer Colour, with a Lofty round Breaſt, cover'd with yellow Feathers. The Wings are green, the Head black and ſhining, with a yellow Bill. The *Indians* give ſometimes 30 Crowns for ſuch a Bird, becauſe they will Learn and Speak ſeveral Languages, and are very tame; There is another with large and long Tails, ſometimes three quarters of a Yard long, theſe are blue on the Back, and yellow under the Belly, and commonly call'd *Kakkatoars* or *Indian Ravens*. Another kind there is, which is white all over, except a yellow Tuft on the Head, which they ſet upright when they are vexed. They have alſo ſome reſemblance both in ſhape and bigneſs to our *Mag-Pies* or *Blackbirds*; theſe imitate a Man's Voice much more diſtinctly than the Parrots; They are of a bluiſh Colour, mix'd with dark blue Spots and Streaks, they have a yellow Tuft on the Head, which is black, and as ſmooth as Velvet. 1662.

The *Telambres* are as big as our Larks, with a thick Bill and red Feet; their Feathers are yellow chequered with grey, they are catch'd in prodigious Numbers, and ſold in the Markets of *Batavia*; being look'd upon as a Dainty. *The Telambres.*

The *Rice Sparrows* are no bigger than our ordinary *Sparrows*, and of the ſame Colour, except that their Bills are ſomewhat thick, with a few black Feathers near the Tail, and ſome white ones underneath on the Belly, their Feet are blue. They are found in ſuch prodigious quantities, that the Inhabitants are ſcarce able to preſerve the Rice from being devour'd by them. *Rice Sparrows.*

Theſe Birds properly call'd *Parroketts*, are no bigger than our *Larks*, but have a very fine green Head and Wings; the Back underneath the Wings is of a high red Colour, the Breaſt light green, and the Tail of a moſt agreeable Colour; They are found in the Woods in great Numbers, feed upon Rice and Fruits, but will not ſpeak, being kept only for their Feathers ſake. *Parrokeets.*

The *Indian Pullets* are generally white, with long red Tails, and their Feet almoſt cover'd with Feathers, and a bright red Comb on the head. They are not much bigger than our largeſt tame Pigeons, but very well taſted. They were firſt tranſported to *Batavia* from *Siam*. They have alſo a kind of tame fowl with black Feathers, Legs and Fleſh, which however is not ill taſted, and accounted very wholſome; Another kind there is that have Hair inſtead of feathers, others have their feathers turn'd forwards the Head in lieu of declining backwards. *Pullets.*

About *Batavia* and many other parts of the *Indies* abundance of *Herons* are to be ſeen in the low Grounds; They are in bigneſs the ſame with our *Herons*, *Herons.*

1662. with long gray feathers, and black Wings; They are generally ſeen near the Water ſide, where they are looking for their Prey, but build their Neſts in Trees; the Meat is tough, and taſtes much after Fiſh.

The *Jumpers* have got their name from their continual Motion, from branch to branch; They are of the ſame bigneſs with our *Blackbirds*, and will whiſtle like them; they have a black Head, Wings and Tail, but are white on the Breaſt and Belly; I have ſeen them kept at *Batavia* with a Chain to one Leg for Diverſion ſake, and they feed them with boil'd Rice. They are eaſie to be tamed.

The *Stock-Doves* are in ſhape and bigneſs like our *Pigeons*, but of a much finer Colour; the Neck and Breaſt is green, the reſt of the Body purple colour'd, and the Tail and Wings blue with a white Edge. They are catch'd in great Numbers in the Woods near *Batavia*, and eat very well roaſted.

The *Goldfinches* here are very agreeable for their fine Colour'd feathers, being for the reſt no longer than our *Linnets* or *Goldfinches*; Their Bill is pale red, the Head white, the Back and Wings blue, the Belly red, and the Tail dark Blue. They are taken in prodigious Quantities near *Batavia*, and ſometimes kept in Cages; They feed upon Rice.

At *Batavia* you ſee often large *Scorpions*, of a quarter of a yard long; but thoſe of a leſſer Size are ſo frequent, that you can ſcarce move a Stool, Bench, Cheſt, Looking-glaſs or Picture, without being in danger of being ſtung by them, unleſs you be very careful to avoid them. The ſmall ones are about a Fingers length, compoſed of many Joints, of the thickneſs of a Gooſe Quill. They are yellow ſpeckled with brown Streaks; Before they have two Claws, with two ſharp Pinchers; their Tail is long, and lies turn'd upon the Back, at the End of which is the Sting, wherewith they poiſon ſuch as they touch. They have Eight long Legs, not unlike thoſe of a *Creaſiſh*. The Sting of a Scorpion is accounted Mortal, unleſs prevented in a little time; tho' ſome are of Opinion, that the *Scorpions* in the *Indies* are not ſo venomous as thoſe of *Italy* and *Spain*. A Scorpion bruiſed to death, or ſtifled in Oil, and apply'd to the Wound, draws out the Poiſon. They ſay that a Radiſh ſliced and laid upon a Scorpion, kills him in a Minute. They have alſo another Story, *viz.* That the Scorpion is ſometimes ſo peſtred with the *Piſmires*, that he ſtings himſelf to death in the Head with his Tail; and ſo becomes a Prey to the *Piſmires*.

1662. The *Thouſand Legs* are about five or ſix Inches long, of the thickneſs of a Man's Finger, of a ruddy Colour, and compoſed of many Joints and Bones. They have two Claws or Pinchers, wherewith they wound as dangerouſly as the *Scorpions*; occaſioning ſuch violent Pain, as it is almoſt unſpeakable; the Cure is perform'd with ſtifling them in Oils like with the Scorpions; and they are generally found like them, in Holes, and behind old Cheſts or Benches.

Both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* produce *Snakes* of divers Sizes and Colours; Among others they have a certain ſort in the Iſle of *Java*, not exceeding a Foot in length, which are frequently met with in the Fields among the Graſs; They have others with large ſhining Scales on the Back, and their Eyes ſo bright, that in a Sun-ſhiny Day you may ſee them at a great diſtance; Others are ſo full of Spots, that they are terrible to behold. Beſides theſe, they have another kind of *Snakes* much leſſer than the *Field Snakes*, theſe dwell in Houſes, and feed upon Flies, Ants and other Inſects. They will ſtick ſo cloſe to a Wall or Roof, as if they were immoveable, but no ſooner perceive their Prey, but they ſhoot down all on a ſudden to catch it. The Tail of a Snake ſeparated from the Body, will grow to it again. Theſe Snakes are not in the leaſt pernicious, and will paſs over the bare Faces of Perſons ſleeping in their Chambers, without doing the leaſt harm.

In the Woods of *Java*, as likewiſe in the Fens and Pools is found a certain ſort of *Snakes*, or rather a kind of *Crocodile* call'd *Legoaen* by the *Indians*; It reſembles altogether a Crocodile, except that it is leſs, being not above five or ſix Foot long, whereas the Crocodiles are from 15 to 20 Foot; The *Javaneſes* however affirm, that thoſe in the Mountains are much larger. They have a knobby green Skin, but the meat is white, like that of our Rabbets, and very well taſted. They have a long Head, wide Mouth, and a Tail as long as the whole Body; Each Leg has four Paws arm'd with ſharp and long Claws.

In the Woods of *Java* are certain *Flying Snakes*, or rather *Drakes*, they have four Legs, a long Tail, and their Skin ſpeckled with many ſpots; Their Wings are not unlike thoſe of the *Bat*, which they move in Flying, but otherwiſe keep their

them almost unperceived close to the Body. They Fly nimbly, but can't hold it long; so that they Fly from Tree to Tree at about 20 or 30 Paces distance. On the outside of the Throat are two Bladders, which being extended when they Fly serve them instead of a Sail; they feed upon Flies and other Insects: The *Javanese* don't in the least account them poisonous, but handle them just like the common Snakes, without the least danger. 1662.

The *Frogs* here are about the same bigness with ours; of a dark yellow colour, with brown Spots: They are Sold daily in the Markets of *Batavia*, the *Chinese* accounting them a Dainty, but Eat only the hindermost Parts. There is another sort of *Frogs* in *Java* near as big as a Rabbet, but are not Eaten. They make a Noise like the Bellowing of an Oxe.

Fire-Flies. The *Fire Flies* have got their Name, because they appear in the dark, shining like a Light; and are catch'd by means of a Fire or Candle, through which they will Fly till they are taken. They are about an Inch broad and long, and sometimes bigger: The Head, which is brown, has two small Horns; the Neck is red, but their hard Wings brown, underneath which they have two softer Wings, which they make use of in Flying; and then it is you discover that shining Substance, which is contained in a black Bladder on their Backs, which they hide with their Wings whilst they are not a Flying. In the rainy Season they dwell in prodigious Number among the Trees, and draw their chief Sustenance from the Blossom. There are divers sorts of them.

The *Horse-Flies* here are a most pernicious Insect, which Sting most furiously. They are about two Inches broad and long, of a brown colour, with a yellow streak along the Body. They Build their Nests very curiously on the Roof or Rafters, as the *Wasps* do on the Sprigs of Trees: In these they lay their Eggs and hatch their young ones. They Feed upon Fruits, and emit a most nauseous Scent after they are kill'd.

The *Kakkerlakken* are so called by a corrupt Name from the *Portuguese* Word *Kakulakka*, because their Eggs are both in colour and smoothness like to the *Lucca*. They are much of the same bigness with the *Horse-Flies*, of a brown colour, with two long Horns on the Head. They both Run and Fly very nimbly, and are very pernicious, there being no Chest or Trunk so strong, but they will gnaw through it. They are also to be found in Ships, tho' newly built, in their way from *Europe*, especially at the time of their passing under the Line, when the Lice die, these begin to appear; and in their return, as soon as they are pass'd the Line again, and the Lice appear, these begin to vanish by degrees. They are very pernicious to Paper, Linen, and Woollen Cloaths. 1662.

The *Jakalat* is a mischievous Insect, but only in the lower parts of the Houses, its delight being in moist Ground.

Locusts. About *Batavia* you find a kind of *Locusts* of a Fingers length but no thicker than a Pen, or Goose-Quill, distinguish'd by divers Joints. They walk upon 6 Feet, and have two small Horns. The *Locusts* here, are however of divers kinds: Some are yellow on the Belly, with brown Wings, and two Horns on the Head. They can Leap a great way, and Fly together in great numbers. There is another sort of the same shape, but green, and of a Fingers length. These come sometimes in such prodigious Swarms, that they darken the Sky as they pass by, and devour all in those Parts where they settle, so that the Inhabitants are often obliged to change their Habitations for want of Sustenance, as it has happened frequently in *China*, and the Isle of *Tajowak*.

A kind of Spanish Flies. The *Blister-Drawers* are so called, because when they Sting they raise Blisters. They are of divers sorts, different both in colour and bigness, but commonly of the length and breadth of a Finger. They have very large Eyes, and delight in marshy Places. They are most frequent at *Batavia* in *October* and *November*.

Hornets. There is here a kind of *Hornets* that have a certain Claw like a Pincher on the Head, wherewith they Pinch to that degree, that they will not let go their hold unless you cut of their Heads. They are of divers sorts, bigness and shape, some being above five Inches long, of a dark brown colour; They have double Wings; the uppermost are hard, the undermost soft; the last they make use of in Flying, the others being only for the defence of the undermost ones. They feed upon Herbs, and the Fruits of certain Trees, which they know how to choose among all these.

Ants. Of *Ants* or *Pismires* there are in *Java* and throughout all the *Indies* prodigious quantities of divers sorts; Some of them

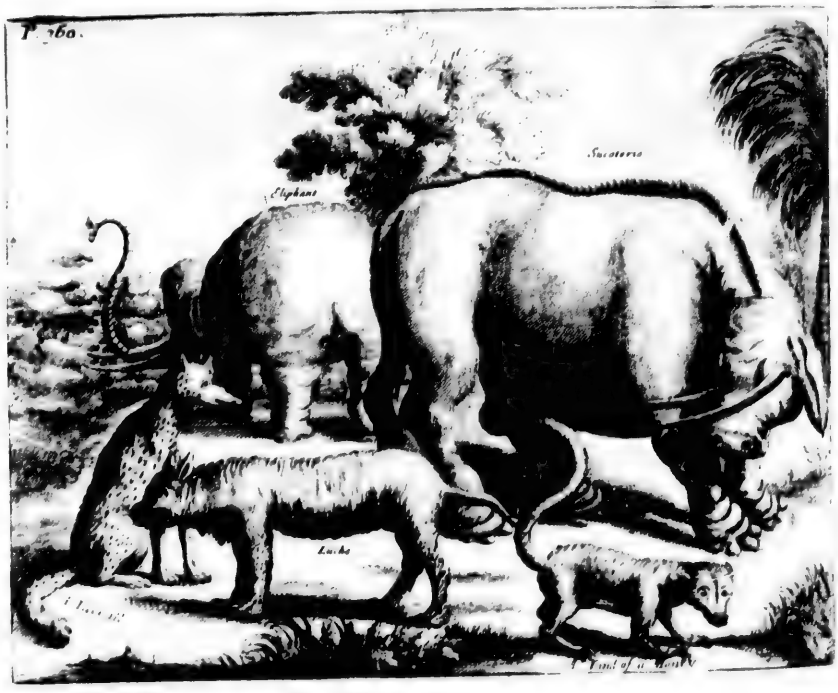
are

1662. are above a Finger in length, of a ruddy colour, inclining to black, some with, others without Wings. They are very pernicious to the Fruits of the Earth; and, even in the Houses, scarce any thing can be preserved against them without a great deal of Care. It is observable, That an *Ant* meeting another with some thing in her Mouth, will give way to her if she be not loaden her self.

The Gardens about *Batavia* are extreamly pestered with *Caterpillars*; they are about five Inches long, with long brown Horns, standing upright on their Heads. The Head and whole Body is yellowish, but the Wings inclining to a green, spotted with yellow. They Feed upon Herbs and Leaves like the Locusts.

This Insect has got its Name from the knotty Composition of its Body; which, as well as the Feet is of a pale-green colour. It has two fore Legs covered with a hard Shell like a *Crab* or *Crea-fish*. It seems to be a kind of *Locust*, and feeds upon greens, but can neither fly nor run very fast. There is another kind, with a monstrous Head and Neck, and a thick Body, on the hindermost part of which are two small Pins like Thorns. The two Fore-feet are enclosed in a hard Shell and of a very odd shape; It has two Wings, but can scarce fly, by Reason of the weight of its Body.

There are many sorts of *Spiders* in the *Indies*, and of a very different Bigness; some are above four Inches long, and have very thick Legs. Others have 8 Feet, a thick speckled Body, and round Head with brown Eyes. These have two Teeth bent like Hooks, wherewith they bite fiercely. I have seen Tooth-picks made of these Teeth.



The *Lynx* is a fierce Creature, of the bigness of a large Dog, and in shape seems to participate both of that and a Cat. He is of a brown colour checquered with Red, with black Streaks; His Tail is very short, and the Ears very black; he lives upon Prey, and is extreamly nimble.

The *Sukotyro*, as the *Chinese* call it, is a very odd shap'd Beast; It is of the bigness of a large Ox, with a Snout like a Hog, two long rough Ears, and a thick bushy Tail. The Eyes are placed upright in the Head, quite different from other Beasts; On the side of the Head next to the Eyes stand two long Horns

1662. or rather Teeth, not quite ſo thick as thoſe of the Elephant; It feeds upon Herbage, and is but ſeldom taken. Of the *Jackall* we have given a Deſcription before.

On the *Cape of Good Hope*, but eſpecially in the Iſle of *Madagaſcar* are certain Oxen with thick Bunches upon their Necks and Shoulders, which being nothing but Fat, is melted and uſed by the Inhabitants like Butter; but theſe Oxen have not ſo great a quantity of Suet about their Kidneys as ours. The Cows of this kind frequently bear two or three Calves at a time. 1662.

The *Macaſſar Fox* has got his name from the Iſle of *Macaſſar*, where he is moſt found. He has an exceſſive long, buſhy Tail, which ſtands upright, flat Feet, long Claws, and ſhort Ears, juſt as he is repreſented in the Cut.

There are divers ſorts of *Apes* and *Monkeys* diſtinguiſh'd by peculiar names. Some are very ſmall, others middle ſized, and others as big as a Boy of eight Years of Age; ſuch an one I ſaw my ſelf once at *Batavia*. In many parts of the *Indies*, where the Inhabitants look it a crime to kill any living Creature, they multiply to a prodigious degree, and are very tame; They live for the moſt part in Woods, and feed upon Fruits. Some are green with a long Beard and large Eye-brow, like an Ancient Man; Some, call'd *Cranik* by the *Indians*, have long buſhy Tails, for which Reaſon they are reckoned by ſome among the Fox kind. There is another ſort call'd *Saragoſe*, with long Tails, which they carry ſtraight upright. Another ſort are call'd *Deaths Heads* by the *Dutch*, from their pale Faces. The *Suri Monkeys* are in Bigneſs and Shape not unlike a Squirrel, but of a yellow colour; they have ſhort and round Ears, large Eyes, and a large buſhy Tail, wherewith they can cover the whole Body. They can leap at a great diſtance from Tree to Tree, and guide themſelves with the Tail ſo exactly, that they ſeem to Fly. There is a certain ſort of *Monkeys* or *Apes*, that are not in the leaſt miſchievous; they are no bigger than a Rat, but have a long Tail, which they carry upright. They have a green, ſoft and woolly Hair, ſomewhat inclining to a grey about the Eyes,

1662. and a little white on the Feet. They have ſhort Ears, a ſharp Mouth, and brown Noſe, the Feet being like thoſe of an Ape. But theſe are very ſcarce. Thoſe call'd *Sanguwyns* are likewiſe of the bigneſs of a Rat, and very nimble; Their Face, Hands and Ears are black, and the reſt of the Body of a Cheſnut colour, except that they have ſome dark yellow Hair along the Back; They have very long Tails, feed upon Fruits, and are very diverting.

The Piſmire eater or Ants-bear.

The *Piſmire eater* or *Ants bear*, is ſo called, becauſe he feeds chiefly upon *Ants*; There are three ſeveral ſorts of them; The firſt is of the bigneſs of a young Hog, , the ſecond ſomewhat leſſer, and the third like a Cat, but longer. They are all of a ruddy Colour like a Fox, with a long ſharp Mouth, ſmall Ears, and a Head like that of a Pig.

Deer.

Abundance of *Deer* or *Stags* are found in the Foreſts of the *Indies*, that eaſily to be tamed here, ſo that they will feed among the Cattel. They are generally red, ſpeckled with white, and much of the ſame bigneſs as ours. They have large Ears, long Legs, and are white underneath the Belly. The Horns of the Male are wrought towards the Head, and brown and very hard towards the Extremities. Their Fleſh is very well taſted. With the Deer Skins a great Traffick uſed to be carried in the Iſle of *Tayowan*, whilſt the *Dutch* were Maſters of it; for they uſed to take many Thouſands of them only for the Skins ſake, which were ſold to the *Japoneſes*; and ſcarce to preſerve any part of their Fleſh, except the Tongue, which is accounted a Dainty here.

The Iron Pig or Porcupine.

About *Batavia*, and in the Woods of *Java* are abundance of *Iron Pigs* or *Porcupines*. They grunt like Hogs, and are covered with a certain painted Pens or Pegs like Iron, whence they got their name. They are of different Sizes, ſome of the bigneſs of a good large Dog, but ſomewhat longer, and more ſhort Legg'd. They are generally brown, with a grey Tuft on the Head, and a Mouth like a Hare, with two great Teeth both below and above, like a Horſe, the two Fore-feet like thoſe of a Deer, and the Hind moſt like a Bear. The Pins or Pegs are very ſharp, a Foot long, and checquered with black and white. When they are at Reſt, they lay them cloſe to the Body, but if they are vexed, they can by contracting themſelves, caſt them forth with ſuch Strength, that they kill Man or Beaſt; Thus ſome years ago, a dead Lyon was found at the *Cape of Good Hope* with a *Porcupines* Pen, ſticking in his Body, wherewith he had doubtleſs been kill'd. In the Winter they retire into Holes, where they remain without either eating or drinking. They feed upon Herbs and Roots, and caſt their Pens as other Creatures do their Hair; In the Stomachs of ſome of theſe Animals grows a certain Stone, which by reaſon of its Sudorifick Quality is accounted very good in Peſtilential Fevers, juſt as the Stone found in the *Veſica Bilearis* or *Gall Bladder* of the *Wild Boars*, is reputed the moſt Sovereign Remedy in that Diſtemper call'd *Morderi* by the *Javaneſes*, and as much dreaded among them as the Plague in *Europe*, becauſe it commonly kills in a few Hours time.

Wild Boar.

There are ſeveral ſorts of Hogs in the *Indies*, ſome with, but the moſt without any Hair; Hogs Fleſh is accounted wholſomer and better than Beef or Mutton, and is by the *Chineſes* preſcrib'd even for ſick Perſons. The Wild Boars feed upon what Roots or Fruits they can meet with, and I remember that I ſaw a conſiderable Number of them ſwim croſs the Water in the Iſle of *Dingding* neer *Malacca*, to look after Proviſions. In the *Gall-Bladder* of the *Indian Wild Boars*, grows a certain porous Stone, call'd thence *Piedra da Puerco*; i. e. *Hogs Stone* by the *Portugueſes*; it is Sudorifick, and Expedient in Malignant Diſtempers; They ſteep it in Wine for twelve hours, and give the Infuſion to the Patients; or they give the Quantity of 25 Grains poudered, in Wine. Women with Child muſt be cautious of it, becauſe it makes them Miſcarry, it being a general Opinion among the *Malayan* Women, that they can procure their monthly Times, with only holding this Stone in their Hands.

Sheep.

The *Javaneſe* Sheep are much of the ſame bigneſs as ours, ſome being white, others pyed, white and red, with ſhort Legs, and little or no Wool. Their Meat is not ſo good as the *European* Mutton, Pork being much preferr'd before it here. The Sheep have ſometimes Teats hanging below their Throats like ſome of our Hogs, others have ſuch long Ears that you may tie them together underneath the Throat. Others have Tails of 20, 30 or 40 pounds, being one Lump of Fat, which eats beſt boil'd. Some have a plain Hair like our Goats, others a curled Wool, like our Sheep, and are milk'd like Cows.

The

1662. The *Goats* here are not near ſo big as the *Sheep*, nor is their Fleſh ſo well taſted, tho' the *Kids* in ſome Parts of the *Indies* afford excellent good Meat. Some are white, ſome pyed, and have generally long Hair. Others have very long Ears, and Horns ſtanding upright on the Head. In ſome Places they bear three or four young ones at a time: They make Cheeſe of their Milk.

Bouffles. The *Bouffles* are Bulkier, and ſtronger than an ordinary Ox; they have no Hair, their Fleſh is very good, but not ſo Juicy nor ſo Digeſtible as Beef, for which reaſon it is moſt uſed among the Slaves, and other labouring People. Their Horns lie cloſe to the Head; ſome of them are black, and when poliſh'd, are very uſeful for ſeveral things to be made out of them. The tame *Bouffles* are uſed in the Sugar-Mills, Plough and Cart: They Guide them by means of a Chain drawn through their Noſtrils: Their Milk is accounted very wholeſome: The wild *Bouffles* that live in the Foreſts are very fierce, and not eaſie to be taken.

Oxen and Cows. Many Places of the *Indies* afford *Oxen* and *Cows*; the Fleſh whereof, as well as the Milk and Butter, are very good: Some are red, others white, others pyed, and of ſeveral other colours. Some have Horns ſtanding upright on the Head, others crooked Horns like ours; and others long Ears hanging downwards. However, the Beef is much better in ſome Places than in others: It is generally Eaten freſh, becauſe it will ſcarce take Salt well in this hot Climate, and is not to be kept above three or four days. They bring a certain kind of *Oxen* from *Suratte* to *Batavia*, not much bigger than a large Dog; they look very fierce, notwithſtanding which they are uſed in ſmall Carts, to draw Children, or any other odd thing.

The *Horſes* here are of different ſorts and colours, ſome black, others of a Cheſnut colour, and others white and grey. The *Javaneſe* Horſes are not very tall, but thick and well-ſet, like the *Norwegian* or *Weſtphalian* Horſes, very ſtrong and hardy; but are not near ſo high-ſpirited as the *Perſian* Horſes, that are tranſported from *Suratte* to *Batavia*, and excel all the reſt in Swiftneſs, Courage, and Beauty. The *Indians* carry on their Wars for the moſt part with Foot Soldiers, and preſerve their Horſes for the Draught and Travelling.

Thus much of the Iſle of *Java*, and the City of *Batavia*, we will now proceed to give an Account of our return into *Holland*.

The Authors Return into Holland. 1662

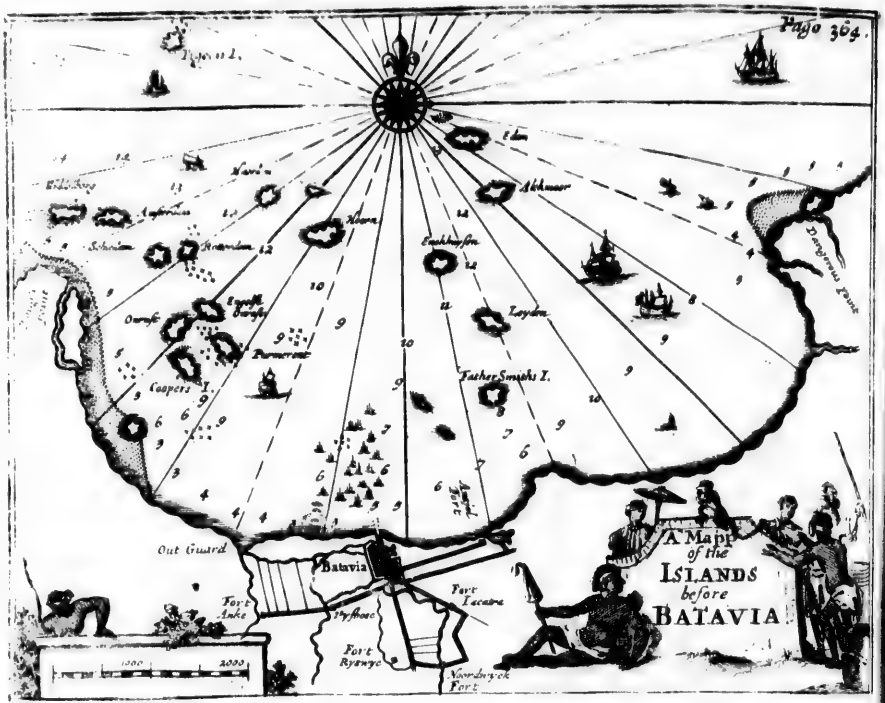
EVery thing being got ready for our Voyage, we weigh'd Anchor in the Road of *Batavia*, the 17th of *December* 1670. and with the Land-Wind, paſs'd betwixt the Iſles to the South of *Batavia*, ſituate betwixt the *Ruigenhoeck*, or *Rough-Point*, and *Karowan*, moſt of which have borrow'd their Names from ſome Place or other in the *United Provinces*; as the *Cooper's Iſle*, the *Schiedam*, *Amſterdam*, *Middleburgh*, *Purmerent*, *Rotterdam*, the *Pigeon Iſland*, the *Harlem*, *Hoorn*, *Enckhuyſen*, *Edam*, *Alcmar*, *&c.* we came the ſame Evening to an Anchor near the Iſle call'd the *Men-Eaters Iſland*, near which the Ship called the *South-Pole*, ſtruck upon the Sands, but got off again. Here a general Review being taken of all the Perſons on Board the Ships, ſuch as were found to be Indebted to the Company, were ſent back to continue in the Service till they had diſcharged their Debts.

Then we ſet Sail again, and had the 19th, the Point of *Bantam* to the Weſt of us, and *Pulo Paly* to the North; but being Becalm'd were forced to come to an Anchor at 15 Fathom Water. The 20th, having received ſome Refreſhments by the *Golden Lion* from *Bantam*, we ſet Sail again, but the Calm obliged us to come to an Anchor again at 15 Fathom. The 21ſt we continued our Voyage, and had the 23d the Point of *Java*, called *Krakketau* to the Eaſt-South-Eaſt, at 23 Fathom Water. The Commodore having by the uſual Signal of the *White Flag* ſummoned all the Commanders of Ships aboard him, to know whether they were provided with what was neceſſary for ſo long a Voyage, the *Golden Lion* was ſent back, and we had the North Point of the *Princes Iſle*, Weſt to the North; and the 25th the South-Point about four Leagues from us.

About Noon the Commodore went aboard and took a view of all the Ships under his Command, and in the Afternoon ſet Sail again; we met with ſeveral fierce but ſhort Travadoes or Storms, at 7 Deg. and 41 Min. Southern Latitude. The 31ſt we had another moſt violent Travado at 9 Deg. 54 Min. but continued not long.

The Iſle of Mony. The Firſt of *January*, one of our Ships Crew died, and we got ſight of Land to the South-Eaſt, which we found to be the Iſle of *Mony*, and that we were 64 Leagues to the South-South-Weſt of the *Princes Iſle*, being forced thus far to the

Eaſt



East by the Tide; we were at the Latitude of 10 Deg. 29 Min. The 2d we had the said Isle to the South-East, and found its Situation to be 52 Min. more to the North than it is placed in the Maps. The 3d, we were within four Leagues of the said Island, at 11 Deg. 15 Min. Hereabouts one of our Ships Crew was found Dead in his Cabin. The 6th we were at 13 Deg. 40 Min. and the 9th at 14 Deg. 17 Min. The same day Mr. *Dirk Indisk* died of a long and lingring Distemper: As he had been Factor and Fiscal at *Suratte*, and was accounted very rich, his Goods were all Sealed up in the Presence of the Commodore and the other Commanders. The next following day we made 32 Leagues, and so continued our Voyage with a prosperous Gale till the 19th, when we found our selves at 20 Deg. 54 Min. of Latitude, and at 105 Deg. 14 Min. Longitude. The 26th, the Commodore having by the usual Signal summon'd the Chief Officers aboard him, to adjust the difference in the Compasses, and the same being found only 1 Deg. 33 Min. no alteration was made therein. 1662.

The 2d of *February* we were at the heighth of 29 Deg. overtaken by a most furious Tempest, with Thunder and Lightning, from the West, and had frequent Travado's till the 4th, and for many days after, had very changeable Weather, sometimes good, sometimes bad. The 26th with break of day we found 112 Fathom depth, but saw no Land; About Noon we found our selves at 35 Deg. 17 Min. steering our course Westward, the Weather being very fair, we saw divers Whale-Fish sporting in the Water, and some Sea-Birds; which, together with the colour of the Water, was a sufficient sign, that we were not very far from Land. The next day we found seven Fathom Water without seeing the Land. 1662.

They discover Land.

The 28th very early in the morning we discovered Land to the North-North-West of us, at 45 Fathom depth, and the next day after Sun-rising at 38, being then within three Leagues of the Shore, which appeared hilly and white. About Noon we were at 34 Deg. 36 Min. the Weather cold and fair. The First of *March*, we found our selves at 35 Deg. and

1662. and steering our Course to the South East in sight of the Land, which was very hilly to the North-East, found 65 Fathom depth at night, in sight of a mountainous Shore. The 4th we still saw Land at 48 Fathom Water, and in the Evening at 20.

Arrive at the Cape of Good Hope.

The 6th before Sun-set, we saw the famous Point of the *Table-Bay* of the *Cape of Good-Hope*, where we cast Anchor before the Fort, at eight Fathom Water. Here we met with three Ships, *viz.* the *Crown'd Peace*, the *Damiata*, and a Yacht bound for the *Indies*; and heard the good News, that the Commodore *Ysbrand Gotske* did come to the Cape, the last 2d of *February*, and thence continued his Voyage with three Ships the 24th for *Holland*. Our Commodore being then Sick, he sent one to the Commander in Chief of the Cape, named Mr. *Hakkius*, to notifie his arrival, and the next day went ashore himself.

The Marquis de Mondevergain arrives at the Cape.

The 8th the *Mary Yacht* arrived at the Cape from the Isle of *Madagascar*, having on Board the Marquis *de Mondevergain*, a *French* Governour of *Madagascar*, and the other adjacent Places under the *French* Jurisdiction. He was a Person of 70 years of Age, and of a goodly Aspect. He sent word to Mr. *Hakkius* Commander in Chief of the Cape, that he should be glad to come ashore, provided he might be sure of a Reception suitable to his Quality: However, he set Sail again on a sudden, without coming ashore, perhaps by reason of the Rumour that was then already spread abroad of a War betwixt *France* and the *Dutch*.

The same Evening the Ship called the *Spanbroeck* came into that Road from *Ceylon*, with Advice, That the *Cingalesses* had taken up Arms under their King *Radya*, and were in the mean while not idle to provide our selves with what Necessaries we could get for the prosecution of our Voyage, till the 17th of *March*, when the Commodore summoning all the Officers aboard him, told them, That he intended to set Sail the next Sunday, *viz.* the 22th of *March*, without staying for the two Ships we left behind, and a War betwixt us and the *French* being then much talk'd of, he ordered every Body to be upon his Guard, and to prepare for a vigorous defence in case of an Attack.

The 20th was spent in letting the Seamen go ashore in their turn.

The 21st the Goods of the beforemention'd Mr. *Indyck*, deceased, were exposed to publick Sale, and 13 Diamonds, besides four more of an extraordinary bigness, with some Bezoar-Stones, being found concealed in a private Pocket in his Breeches, the same were sealed up, seized by the Commodore as Contraband Goods, for the use of the Company. 1663.

They leave the Cape of Good Hope.

The 22d after Dinner, the Commodore having given the signal to Sail to the five Ships, the *Peace*, the *Arms of Veer*, the Count of *Breda*, *South-Pole*, and *Spanbroeck*, they weighed their Anchors, and after Sun-set were about two Leagues and an half from the *Table-Bay*.

The 23d, a Consultation being held aboard the Commodore about Regulating the Compass, and the same being fix'd to 3 Deg. to the West we found our selves that Evening at 33 Deg. and about 18 Leagues to the South-East of the *Table-Mountain*.

Sail to St. Helens Isle.

From hence we Steer'd our Course to the Isle of St. *Helens*, of which we got sight the 12th of *April*, at 16 Deg. 44 Min. without any remarkable Accident.

The 13th with Sun-rising we were within five or six Leagues of the said Isle, when the Commodore Summoned again all the Officers aboard him, in order to Consult what Course they should take towards the *Ascension* Island.

The 24th we were at 4 Deg. 32 Min. and the 27th, at 16 Min. of Southern Latitude, steering our Course North-West to the West with an Easterly-wind and brisk Gale.

The next following day we were at 15 Min. of Northern Latitude; and the 29th at 2 Deg. 38 Min. having been much pestered with sudden Storms and Travadoes.

They pass the Line.

The 14th of *May*, the *Breda* gave a signal, as if they had seen Land, but it proved only a Refraction of the Sun-Beams through the Clouds. The Sea hereabouts seem'd in the Night-time all on Fire, a thing usual in hot Weather.

The 24th, at 25 Deg. 29 Min. we found our selves in the *Kroos* or *Cross Sea*, (so called from a kind of *Water-Cresses*, or *Ducks-Meat* that Floats in prodigious quantity upon the Surface of the Water) and the 25th finding these sort of Herbage encrease, we judged our selves to be more Eastward than we intended. *See the Brasil Voyage.*

The 30th, at 26 Deg. 15 Min. our Constable *Mans Timmer* died, and we were still much pestered with these *Cresses*, which continued the 1st and 2d of *June*.

We continued the same Course till the 13th, when it being agreed to fix the

1662. Compaſs 4 Deg. more to the Weſt, we took our Courſe North to the Eaſt, towards the *Dutch* Coaſt.

The 15th, being a foggy day, we diſcharged every Hour a Muſquet, as a ſignal to the Ships to prevent their being ſeparated from one another.

About Midnight the Commodore ſent for me, and in the preſence of the Maſter of the Ship, *Henry Span*, the firſt Chirurgeon, and the Miniſter, told me, That finding himſelf very ill, he was reſolved to make his laſt Will, which he did accordingly, recommending his Affairs, and what he had of the Companies in his Hands, to our Care.

About ſix in the morning, he ſent for me again, with an Intention to make ſome Alterations in his Teſtament, but before the Clerk could finiſh it, he Expired, without ſigning of it. We took care to Summon immediately the Council of War, where every thing being ſettled for the proſecution of our Voyage, we diſcovered Land the 29th to the North Eaſt at 115 Fathom Water.

The Commodore dies.

The Iſle of Fulo.

The 30th we found our ſelves over againſt the Iſle of *Fulo*, and underſtood by one of their Fiſher-Boats, that the Peace continued betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, and that 14 days before, 11 ſtout Ships paſs'd that way.

Having provided our ſelves with ſome Cods, which we Bought or Exchanged at the rate of two Pence a piece, we gave the Signal by a Cannon ſhot, to our Convoy, which we expected to meet us hereabouts.

The firſt of *July*, meeting a Boat betwixt *Fulo* and *Hitland*, we charged the Maſter thereof with the Body of our deceaſed Commodore, in order to his Burial in *Hitland*: He had ſix Crowns given him for his Pains and Charges, with a promiſe of ſix more, after we had received certain advice, that he had well diſcharged his Truſt. About Noon our two Convoys, the *Middleburgh* and *Leyden* came up with us, and after the uſual Salute, brought us freſh Orders from the Company.

The 2d and 3d of *July*, ſeveral of our Seamen, and among the reſt, the Quartermaſter died of the Droplie, an uſual Diſtemper to thoſe that return from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and many more falling Sick daily, for want of Proviſions; the reſt were hardly put to it, eſpecially in our Ship, which being Leaky, four Men were continually employed at the Pump. 1662.

The 5th we advanced bravely with a very cold Wind and Air.

The 6th it was fair weather, and we had 18 Fathom Water.

The 7th it proved cold and rainy, at 16 Fathom: The ſame Evening the Ship called the *Arms vanter Veer* left us, and ſoon got out of ſight.

The 8th of *July* we got ſight of the the *Dutch* Coaſt, and the Ship *Spanbroeck* having taken its Courſe towards the *Spaniards Gate*, we were forced to lie by till four in the Afternoon, when with the turning of the Tide, we made the *Texel*, where we came to an Anchor the ſame Night.

They arrive in the Texel.

The 9th, Mr. *Silvius*, Mr. *Bekker*, and Mr. *Schagen*, came aboard us, three Directors of the Company; who having given the neceſſary Orders for the Unloading of our Veſſels, and taken the Diamonds belonging to the Company into their Cuſtody, diſcharged the Ship's Crew from their Service; and I Embark'd in a Boat for *Enkhuſen*, and arrived at *Amſterdam* the 11th. Count *Maurice* of *Naſſau* happening to paſs at the ſame time through *Amſterdam* in his way over *Zealand* to *Cleves*, he ſent for me; and I having ſhew'd him my Obſervations and Draughts of *Braſil* and the *Eaſt-Indies*, he engaged me to meet him the next day again at Dinner, at the Houſe of Doctor *William Piſo*, where I took my leave of the ſaid Earl, he being juſt upon his Departure.

Some days after I appear'd in the Aſſembly of the Directors of the Company, unto whom having given a ſatisfactory Account of all my Tranſactions, they return'd me Thanks; and as a Mark of their Satisfaction, beſtow'd upon me another Factors place; ſo that accordingly I undertook my third Voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, in the Ship call'd the *Arrow*, before the Expiration of the year.

Nieuhoff gives an Account to the Company.

The End of the Firſt and Second Sea and Land Voyage.

THE

1672. 1672.

The Third Sea and Land Voyage of Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF *aboard the* Arrow *to the Isles of* Majotte, *upon the* African-Coast *of* Mosambique, *Extracted from his own Journals, and brought over and deliver'd by Cap.* Reiner Klaeson *to his Brother* Henry Nieuhoff.

MR. *John Nieuhoff* having Embark'd aboard the *Arrow*, they pass'd by the *French* Coast the 18*th* of *Decemb.* and the 1*st* of *Jan.* 1672. at 29 Degr. by the *Canary* Isles, about three Leagues off of *Teneriff*, where they met with the *Lyon* bound for the *East-Indies*. They continu'd their Voyage with a prosperous Gale, without any remarkable Accident, and passing the 4th of *Feb.* the Line, and the 16th the high Islands of *John Christian de Akonga* at 36 Deg. 36 Min. Southern Latit. Arriv'd the 8th of *April* within sight of *Cape of Good Hope*, at 33 Degr. 30 Min. Latit. and cast Anchor the same day in the *Table Bay* the same night. Here they met with seventeen Vessels, thirteen of which were bound from the *East-Indies* for *Holland*, and accordingly set Sail the twenty fourth. The Ship the *Arrow* had aboard her a large *Chaloop* or Boat, which being taken to pieces before they left *Amsterdam*, was now set together again, for its more convenient Passage along the Shoar of *Sofala*, *Mosambique* and the Island of *Majotte*.

They come to the Cape of Good Hope.

In this Chaloop (unto which they gave the name of the *Bow*) they Embark'd, and in company of the *Arrow* and another small Vessel call'd the *Goldfinch*, bound for the Isle of St. *Maurice* (having aboard Mr. *Huigens*) Governor of that Isle, set Sail the 30*th* of *April*. The 6th of *June* being at 36 Degr. 3 Min. Lat. the *Goldfinch* Steer'd her Course towards St. *Maurice*, leaving the *Bow* and *Arrow* to prosecute their Voyage towards the Isle of *Madagascar*, which they got first sight of the 20*th*. They kept along the Coast which was high and rocky, and near a large Point of Land found 20 Fathom Water at a Leagues Distance from the Shoar; and near it a long Sand Bank. They were then at 24 Degr. and being by Reason of the Land Wind, obliged to advance sometimes nearer the Shoar, sometimes to keep off at Sea; they at last cast Anchor at 30 Fathom, whereas three Leagues from the Shoar, They could find no Bottom. The *Bow* afterwards followed the *Arrow*, but kept closer to the Shoar.

The twenty second they discovered a small Isle not above half a League from the Shoar; where the *Arrow* cast her Anchor at 17 Fathom; they went a Fishing, and brought back along with them two Canoes belonging to the Inhabitants, loaden with *Coco-Nuts* and *Water Limons*. The *Bow* being sailed before, and come to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Austin* near a small Isle, the *Arrow* followed her thither, and found at the Mouth of the River two white Points of Land jetting out into the Sea.

The Inhabitants brought some Fruits aboard us, and Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went a-shoar the next day, to see whether they could Traffick with them, but could only Exchange a few Slaves with them; however Mr. *Nieuhoff* catch'd abundance of Fish at the Mouth of the River. *They Land at Madagascar.*

The second of *July* the *Bow* sail'd within the Mouth of the River to refit, having received some Damage; they endeavour'd to catch some *Tortoises* but could not take any; About Noon the Captain of the *Madagascarians* came aboard us to Exchange some Slaves; and the seventh the *Bow* in which was Mr. *Nieuhoff*, and the *Arrow* separated, the first some Leagues to the *North*, but were to meet again at the Island of *Majotte*.

The 14th the *Bow* after 17 Leagues Sail was at 16 deg. 56 Min. Latit within sight of the Continent of *Mosambique*, and at 3 Leagues Distance from the Shoar, found 100 Fathom Water, near a Sand Bank: The next day they came within 1½ League off of the Isle of *Paimibris*.

The 18*th* at 16 degr. 15 min. they saw white Downs, and in the Evening cast

1672. caſt Anchor near a Sand-bank at 18 Fathom, whereas at the Stern of the Ship, there were at leaſt 60 Fathoms. The 20th they paſſed by a large Bay, cover'd with a great Sand-bank, which at low water has ſix Fathom Water. The 22d they paſs'd betwixt the Southern Illands of *Moſambique*, named St. *James*'s and St. *Joris*, where coming to an Anchor at nine Fathom, they met here with a ſtout *Portugueſe* Ship at Anchor behind the Fort, having aboard the Governour of *Goa* lately come from *Portugal* with three leſſer Veſſels. The *Arrow* coming likewiſe afterwards to an Anchor here, divers *Portugueſe* Officers came aboard us, to buy certain Commodities, and about the ſame time three other *Portugueſe* Ships, one of which had the Governor of *Moſambique* aboard her, arrived here from *Sofala*. It prov'd a very tempeſtuous Day.

The firſt of *Aug.* the *Bow* and *Arrow* ſet Sail again, ſteering their Courſe *Eaſtward* to the Iſles of *Madagaſcar* and *Maſyeleyn*. The 10th they got ſight of the Shoar of *Madagaſcar* at 15. d. 53 m. and about half a League from a round Mountain caſt Anchor at ten Fathom Water. The *Bow* entred the River, and diſcoved two Boats with Maſts, and divers *Canoes*, but could not come up with them. As the Wind hereabout turns every 24 hours thro' all the Points of the Compaſs, ſo it is eaſie ſailing along this Coaſt. The 12th Mr. *Nieuhoff* in the *Bow* ſail'd towards the Iſles of *Makandavi* and *Magelagie*, taking a *Madagaſcarian* Slave along with him.

The 15th the *Bow* and *Arrow* met again, but had not been able to Traffick much; They ſaw nine Boats with four ſquare Sails paſs in ſight of them, and in a ſmall River met with another Boat, that furniſh'd them with eight Pullets, and told them, that further to the *North* they might meet with freſh Proviſions enough. So they ſet Sail again, and after five days came to a large Bay, where they caſt Anchor at ſeven Fathom. Here they were told, that it was a plentiful Coaſt, and that *Magelage* and the Iſlands of *Makandavi* were further to the *Eaſt*. The 22d they came within a League of an Iſland, where they caſt Anchor at 11 Fathom. The 24th Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſail'd in the *Bow* up the River *Magelagie* and returning the 26th reported, That this was the River upon which *Magelagie* ſtood, a populous and plentiful Place; That he had ſeen there an *Engliſh* Ship, that had brought Slaves there to be carried to *Barbadoes*, beſides ſeveral other *Mooriſh* Veſſels Trading in Slaves. Hereupon Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went thither, and return'd the 30th. About two Leagues into the Country you ſee a high ridge of Land. The 31ſt Mr. *Nieuhoff* carried certain Commodities aſhoar, but could not agree about the Exchange, the Inhabitants offering very little, and holding their Slaves at ſixteen Crowns a piece; However the ſecond of *Septemb.* Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* went a-ſhoar with ſome Cloves, for which the King had offered ſome Money before, but return'd unſucceſsful, and the *Madagaſcarians* (a very malicious Generation) having beſides this ſpoil'd the Ponds, where we uſed to fetch our freſh Water, they ſet Sail again for the River *Manigamdo*, where they caſt Anchor the ninth on the *Eaſt ſide* of the Cape, and met with good freſh Water on the *Weſt* ſide of the Bay. Mr. *Hugo* and Mr. *Nieuhoff* had the good Fortune to exchange ſome of their Commodities with the King of the Place, and brought back 22 Slaves, 13 Cows, ſome Sheep, and other Proviſions, of which they ſtood in great want. The 22d it being reſolved to ſail 36 or 40 Leagues further to the *North*; Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſail'd before with the *Bow* to diſcover the Lands and Rocks, and came into the *Young Man's* Bay, where there is 10, 12 and 15 Fathom Fathom Water. Hence continuing their Voyage, they came the 27th about Noon to the Point or Cape of *Parmita* near one of the Five Illands at 13 Degr. 13 Min. The 29th they were near the Cape of *Konquiſo*, where they ſaw ſome Fiſher Boats. The middlemoſt of theſe Iſlands, is a high, ſteep and unacceſſible Rock, which may be diſcovered a great way at Sea, ſome of the Fiſhermen having ſhew'd them where their King kept his Court, Mr. *Nieuhoff* ſet Sail thither in the *Bow*, leaving the *Arrow* in the Bay, and in Company with the Ships Mate, and ſome few Seamen went aſhore, in hopes to Exchange ſome of his Commodities; But on the 7th, the *Arrow* was much ſurprized to ſee the *Bow* making towards them, and with two Cannon ſhot to give the ſignal of Diſtreſs. They ſent out their Boat to meet them, which returning with the Maſter of the *Bow*, gave an Account, That Mr. *Nieuhoff* being gone aſhore with ſome of the Company in the Bay of *Antegoa*, or *Ant Oſy Sambo*, by ſome ſtiled the *Murtherers Bay*, to Traffick, was not returned, and that therefore the *Bow*, after a ſtay of three whole days, had weigh'd her Anchors, and ſet

1672.

1672. ſail again without them. It was concluded on all hands, that the *Bow* ought to return thither, but Mr. *Hugo* alledging that having at firſt no more than ſix Months Proviſions, they would be in great danger of being ſtarved if they tarried any longer here, he inſiſted upon returning to the Cape firſt, which they did accordingly, and ſet ſail the ſame afternoon at 25 and 30, and again at 20 and 25 Fathom Water. In the Evening they paſs'd near a great Sand-Bank South to the Weſt, and North to the Eaſt, of the biggeſt of the three Iſlands near the Cape of *Koaquiſo*, about three Leagues from the ſaid Iſle, and the Northern Point and the great Iſle of *Nauſſy*.

This was the end of Mr. *John Nieuhoff*, who had ſpent ſo many years in viewing the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies*, and conſequently deſerved a better Fortune. What *Hugo* alledged, concerning their ſcarcity of Proviſions, was indeed true enough; but on the other hand, it is unqueſtionable, they needed not to have beſtow'd much time in looking after him. The *Bow* and *Arrow* proſecuted their Voyage, and on the 8th found themſelves at 12 Deg. 40 Min. Latitude, having the *Weſt Cape* of St. *Sebaſtian*, ſix Leagues to the *North-Eaſt*. The next following Day they came in ſight of a ſmall Iſle full of Trees, about three Leagues from the Cape of St. *Sebaſtian*, near which place being toſs'd to and fro by Tempeſts and contrary Winds, they were reduced to that Extremity, that they were forced to live upon a Spoonful of Rice 24 Hours; So that after having endured a great deal of Miſery, and loſt many of their Men, both the *Bow* and *Arrow* return'd to the *Cape of Good Hope* the 17th of *Decemb.* where Mr. *Hugo* met but with an indifferent Recreation, and the Maſter of the *Bow* was caſhier'd for having not tarried longer near the place where Mr. *Nieuhoff* went a-ſhoar. The firſt of *Jan.* 1673. the *Bow* and *Arrow* being provided with ſufficient Proviſions, ſet Sail again, the firſt for the Bay where they had left Mr. *Nieuhoff*, the ſecond for the Iſle of St. *Maurice*, whither ſhe was to to carry Mr. *Hugo*. After their parting at Sea, no News was heard of the *Bow* for a long time after, till at laſt it was diſcovered that the Ships Crew had Mutinied, and ſold the Veſſel to the *French* at *Moſambique*; ſo that it remains uncertain, whether any of them had any Intelligence concerning Mr. *Nieuhoff*. At the Requeſt of his Brother, Mr. *Henry Nieuhoff*, the Directors of the Chamber of *Amſterdam* diſpatch'd the 2d of *May* 1676. the Yacht called the *Voerhout* from the *Cape of Good Hope*, to the Place where Mr. *Nieuhoff* went aſhore; which returning to the ſaid Cape the 20th of *September* with 250 Slaves, brought no further account than that they had ſeen the King of the Place, and that he had declared to them, that he knew nothing of the matter; ſo that it is very probable, that Mr. *Nieuhoff* and his Company, were at their firſt landing Maſſacred by the barbarous Inhabitants. 1672.

F I N I S.

THE TRUE

TRAVELS, ADVENTURES, AND OBSERVATIONS, OF

Captain *JOHN SMITH*,

INTO

EUROPE, ASIA, AFRICA, and *AMERICA*,

From *Ann. Dom.* 1593. to 1629.

To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM Earl of *PEMBROKE*,
Lord Steward of His Majeſty's moſt Honourable Houſhold.

ROBERT Earl of *LINDSEY*,
Great Chamberlain of *England*,

HENRY Lord *HUNSDON*,
Viſcount *ROCHFORD*, Earl of *DOVER*,

And all your Honourable Friends and Well-willers.

My Lords,

SIR *Robert Cotton*, that moſt Learned Treaſurer of Antiquity, having by peruſal of my General Hiſtory, and others, found that I had likewiſe undergone divers other as hard hazards in the other Parts of the World, requeſted me to fix the whole Courſe of my Paſſages in a Book by it ſelf, whoſe noble Deſire I could not but in part ſatisfie; the rather, becauſe they have acted my fatal Tragedies upon the Stage, and racked my Relations at their Pleaſure. To prevent therefore all future Miſpriſions, I have compiled this true Diſcourſe. Envy hath taxed me to have writ too much, and done too little; but that ſuch ſhould know, how little I eſteem them, I have writ this, more for the ſatisfaction of my Friends, and all generous and well diſpoſed Readers. To ſpeak only of my ſelf were intolerable Ingratitude; becauſe, having had ſo many Co-Partners with me; I cannot make a Monument for my ſelf, and leave them unburied in the Fields, whoſe Lives begot me the Title of a Soldier; for as they were Companions with me in my Dangers, ſo ſhall they be partakers with me in this Tomb.

For my *Sea Grammar* (cauſed to be Printed by my worthy Friend, Sir *Samuel Saltonſtall*) hath found ſuch good Entertainment abroad, that I have been importuned by many noble Perſons, to let this alſo paſs the Preſs. Many of the moſt eminent Warriours, and others, what their Swords did, their Pens writ: Though I be never ſo much their inferiour, yet I hold it no great Errour, to follow good Examples; nor repine at them will do the like.

And now, *My moſt Honourable good Lords*, I know not to whom I may better Preſent it, than to your Lordſhips, whoſe Friendſhips, as I conceive, are as much to each others, as my Duty is to you all; and becauſe you are acquainted both with my Endeavours, and Writings, I doubt not, but your Honours will as well accept of this, as of the reſt, and Patronize it under the ſhadow of your moſt noble Virtues, which I am ever bound in all Duty to Reverence, and under which I hope to have ſhelter, againſt all Storms that dare threaten,

Yours Honours to be Commanded,

John Smith

THE TRUE

TRAVELS, ADVENTURES, AND OBSERVATIONS OF Captain *JOHN SMITH*,

CHAP. I.

His Birth; Apprenticeſhip; Going into France; *His beginning with Ten Shillings and three Pence; His Service in the* Netherlands; *His bad Paſſage into* Scotland; *His return to* Willoughby, *and how he lived in the Woods.*

HE was born in *Willoughby* in *Lincoln-ſhire*, and a Scholar in the two Free-Schools of *Alford* and *Louth*. His Father antiently deſcended from the ancient *Smiths* of *Cudley* in *Lancaſhire*; his Mother from the *Rickands* at Great *Heck* in *York-ſhire*. His Parents dying when he was about Thirteen Years of Age, left him a competent Means, which he not being capable to manage, little regarded; his Mind being even then ſet upon brave Adventures, ſold his Satchel, Books, and all he had, intending ſecretly to get to Sea, but that his Fathers Death ſtay'd him. But now the Guardians of his Eſtate more regarding it than him, he had liberty enough, though no Means, to get beyond the Sea. About the Age of Fifteen Years, he was bound an Apprentice to Mr. *Thomas Sendall* of *Linne*, the greateſt Merchant of all thoſe Parts; but becauſe he would not preſently ſend him to Sea, he never ſaw his Maſter in Eight Years after. At laſt he found Means to attend Mr. *Peregrine Bertu* into *France*, ſecond Son to the Right Honourable *Peregrine*, that generous Lord *Willoughby*, and famous Soldier; where coming to his Brother *Robert*, then at *Ortenns*, now Earl of *Lindſey*, and Lord Great Chamberlain of *England*; being then but little Youths under Tutorage: His Service being needleſs, within a Month or ſix Weeks they ſent him back again to his Friends; who when he came from *London*, they liberally gave him (but out of his own Eſtate) Ten Shillings to be rid of him; ſuch oft is the ſhare of Fatherleſs Children: But thoſe two Honourable Brethren gave him ſufficient to return for *England*. But it was the leaſt thought of his Determination, for now being freely at liberty in *Paris*, growing acquainted with one Mr. *David Hume*, who making ſome uſe of his Purſe, gave him Letters to his Friends in *Scotland* to prefer him to King *James*. Arriving at *Roan*, he better bethinks himſelf, ſeeing his Money near ſpent, down the River he went to *Haver de grace*, where he firſt began to learn the Life of a Soldier: Peace being concluded in *France*, he went with Captain *Joſeph Duxbury* into the Low-Countries, under whoſe Colours, having ſerved three or four Years, he took his Journey for *Scotland*, to deliver his Letters. At *Ancuſan* he imbark'd himſelf for *Lethe*, but as much danger, as Shipwrack and Sickneſs could endure, he had

had at the Holy Iſle in *Northumberland* near *Berwick*: (being recovered) into *Scotland* he went to deliver his Letters. After much kind uſage among thoſe honeſt *Scots* at *Ripweth* and *Broxmouth*, but neither Money nor Means to make him a Courtier, he returned to *Willoughby* in *Lincoln-ſhire*; where within a ſhort time, being glutted with too much Company, wherein he took ſmall delight, he retired himſelf into a little Woody Paſture, a good way from any Town, invironed with many hundred Acres of other Woods: Here, by a fair Brook he built a Pavillion of Boughs, where only in his Cloths he lay. His Study was *Machiavil's* Art of War, and *Marcus Aurelius*; his exerciſe a good Horſe, with his Lance and Ring; his Food was thought to be more of Veniſon than any thing elſe; what he wanted his Man brought him. The Country wondering at ſuch an Hermite, his Friends perſwaded one *Seignior Theodora Polaloga*, Rider to *Henry* Earl of *Lincoln*, an excellent Horſe Man, and a Noble *Italian* Gentleman, to inſinuate into his Woodiſh Acquaintanc, whoſe Languages and good Diſcourſe, and Exerciſe of Riding drew him to ſtay with him at *Tattersall*. Long theſe Pleaſures could not content him, but he returned again to the Low Countries.

CHAP. II.

The notable Villany of four French *Gallants, and his revenge*; Smith *thrown over-board*; *Captain* La Roche *of Saint* Malo *relieves him.*

A notable Villany of four French Gallants.

THus when *France* and *Netherlands* had taught him to Ride a Horſe, and uſe his Arms, with ſuch Rudiments of War, as his tender Years in thoſe Martial Schools could attain unto; he was deſirous to ſee more of the World, and try his Fortune againſt the *Turks*, both repenting and lamenting to have ſeen ſo many *Chriſtians* ſlaughter one another. Opportunity caſting him into the Company of four *French* Gallants well attended, faining to him the one to be a great Lord, the reſt his Gentlemen, and that they were all devoted that way; over-perſwaded him to go with them into *France*, to the Dutcheſs of *Mercœur*, from whom they ſhould not only have Means, but alſo Letters of Favour to her Noble Duke, then General for the Emperour *Rodolphus* in *Hungary*; which he did, with ſuch ill Weather as Winter affordeth, in the dark Night they arrived in the broad ſhallow In-let of St. *Valleries ſur Soame* in *Picardie*: His *French* Lord knowing he had good Apparel, and better furniſhed with Money than themſelves, ſo Plotted with the Maſter of the Ship, to ſet his and their own Trunks aſhore, leaving *Smith* aboard till the Boat could return, which was the next day after, towards Evening: The reaſon he alledged, was, the Sea went ſo high he could come no ſooner, and that his Lord was gone to *Amiens*, where they would ſtay his coming; which treacherous Villany, when divers other Soldiers, and Paſſengers underſtood, they had like to have ſlain the Maſter, and had they known how, would have run away with the Ship.

Coming on ſhoar, he had but one *Carvalue*, was forced to ſell his Cloak to pay for his Paſſage. One of the Soldiers, called *Curzianvere*, compaſſionating his Injury, aſſured him, this great Lord *Depreau* was only the Son of a Lawyer of *Mortaigne* in baſe *Britany*, and his Attendants *Curſell*, *La Nelie*, and *Monferrat*, three young Citizens, as arrant Cheats as himſelf; but if he would accompany him, he would bring him to their Friends, but in the *interim* ſupplied his wants: Thus Travelling by *Deepe*, *Codebeck*, *Humphla*, *Pount-demer* in *Normandy*, they came to *Caen* in baſe *Normandy*; where both this Noble *Curzianvere*, and the great Prior of the great Abbey of St. *Steven* (where is the ruinous Tomb of *William* the Conqueror) and many other of his Friends kindly welcomed him, and brought him to *Mortaigne*, where he found *Depreau* and the reſt, but to ſmall purpoſe; for Mr. *Curzianvere* was a baniſhed Man, and durſt not be ſeen but to his Friends: yet the bruit of their Cozenage occaſioned the Lady *Cellumber*, the Baron *Larſhan*, the Lord *Shaſghe*, and divers other honourable Perſons, to ſupply his wants, and with them to recreate himſelf ſo long as he would: But ſuch pleaſant pleaſures ſuited little with his poor Eſtate, and his reſtleſs Spirit, that could never find content, to receive ſuch Noble Favours, as he could neither deſerve nor requite: But wandring from Port to Port to find ſome Man of War, ſpent that he had, and in a Foreſt, near dead with grief and cold, a rich Farmer found him by a fair Fountain under a Tree: This kind Peaſant relieved him again to his content, to follow his intent. Not long after, as he paſſed thorow

A Carvalue is in value a penny.

Here he incountred one of the Thieves.

a great Grove of Trees, between *Pounterson* and *Dina* in *Britainy*, it was his chance to meet *Cursell*, more miserable than himself: His piercing Injuries had so small patience, as without any word they both drew, and in a short time *Cursell* fell to the Ground, where, from an old ruinated Tower, the Inhabitants seeing them, were satisfied, when they heard *Cursell* confess what had formerly passed; and that how, in the dividing that they had stolen from him, they fell by the Ears amongst themselves, that were Actors in it; but for his part, he excused himself to be innocent as well of the one, as of the other. In regard of his hurt, *Smith* was glad to be so rid of him, directing his course to an honourable Lord, the Earl of *Ployer*, who during the War in *France*, with his two Brethren, Viscount *Poomory*, and Baron *d'Mercy*, who had been brought up in *England*; by him he was better refurnished than ever. When they had shewed him Saint *Malo* Mount, Saint *Michael*, *Lambal*, *Simbreack*, *Lanion*, and their own fair Castle of *Tuncadeck*, *Gingan*, and divers other places in *Britany* (and their *British Cornwaile*) taking his leave, he took his way to *Raynes*, the *Britains* chief City, and so to *Nants*, *Poyters*, *Rochel*, and *Bourdeaux*. The rumour of the strength of *Bayon* in *Biskay*, caused him to see it; and from thence took his way from *Leskar* in *Bicarne*, and *Paw*, in the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Tolouza* in *Gascoigne*, *Bezers*, and *Carcassone*, *Narbone*, *Montpelier*, *Nimes* in *Languedock*, and thorow the Country of *Avignion*, by *Arles* to *Marseilles* in *Provence*, there imbarking himself for *Italy*; the Ship was inforced to *Tolonne*, and putting again to Sea, ill Weather so grew upon them, that they Anchored close aboard the Shoar, under the little Isle of St. *Mary*, against *Nice* in *Savoy*. Here the inhuman Provincials, with a Rabble of Pilgrims of divers Nations going to *Rome*, hourly cursing him, not only for a *Hugonot*, but his Nation they swore were all Pirats, and so vilely railed on his dread Soveraign Queen *Elizabeth*, and that they never should have fair Weather so long as he was aboard them; their Disputations grew to that Passion, that they threw him over-board, yet God brought him to that little Isle, where was no Inhabitants, but a few Kine and Goats. The next Morning, he espied two Ships more riding by them, put in by the Storm, that fetched him aboard, well refreshed him, and so kindly used him, that he was well contented to try the rest of his Fortune with them. After he had related unto them his former Discourse, what for pity, and the love of the Honourable Earl of *Ployer*, this Noble *Britain* his Neighbour, Captain *la Roche* of Saint *Malo*, regarded and entertained him for his well respected Friend. With the next fair Wind, they Sailed along by the Coast of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and crossing the Gulf of *Tunis*, passed by *Cape Bona* to the Isle of *Lampadosa*, leaving the Coast of *Barbary* till they came at *Cape Rosata*, and so along the *African* Shoar, for *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*. There delivering their Fraught, they went to *Scandaroone*, rather to view what Ships were in the Road, than any thing else: keeping their Course by *Cypres*, and the Coast of *Asia*, Sailing by *Rhodes*, the *Archipelagus*, *Candia*, and the Coast of *Græcia*, and the Isle of *Zefalonia*. They lay to and again a few days, betwixt the Isle of *Corfue*, and the *Cape* of *Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Entrance of the *Adriatick* Sea.

Ice nobleness of the Earl of Ployer.

An inhuman act of the Provincials in casting him over-board.

Capt. La Roche relieves him.

CHAP. III.

A desperate Sea Fight in the Streights; His Passage to Rome, Naples, *and the view of* Italy.

A desperate Sea Fight.

BEtwixt the two *Capes*, they met with an *Argosie* of *Venice*; it seemed the Captain desired to speak with them, whose untoward answer was such, as slew them a Man; whereupon the *Britain* presently gave them the Broad-side, then his Stern, and his other Broad-side also, and continued the Chase, with his chase Pieces, till he gave them so many Broad-sides one after another, that the *Argosies* Sails and Tackling was so torn, she stood to her defence, and made shot for shot; twice in one hour and a half the *Britaine* boarded her, yet they cleared themselves, but clapping her aboard again, the *Argosie* fired him, which with much danger to them both was presently quenched. This rather augmented the *Britaine*'s rage, than abated his courage; for having reaccommodated himself again, shot her so oft between Wind and Water, she was ready to sink, then they yielded; the *Britain* lost fifteen Men, she twenty, besides divers were hurt, the rest went to Work on all hands; some to stop the Leaks, others

others to guard the Priſoners that were chained, the reſt to rifle her. The Silks, Velvets, Cloth of Gold, and Tiſſue, Piaſters, Chicqueens and Sultanies, which is Gold and Silver, they unloaded in four and twenty hours, was wonderful, whereof having ſufficient, and tired with toil, they caſt her off with her Company, with as much good Merchandize as would have fraughted ſuch another *Britain*, that was but two Hundred Tuns, ſhe four or five Hundred.

To repair his Defects, he ſtood for the Coaſt of *Calabria*, but hearing there was ſix or ſeven Galleys at *Meſſina*, he departed thence for *Malta*; but the Wind coming fair, he kept his courſe along the Coaſt of the Kingdom of *Sicilia*, by *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, till he came to the Road of *Antibe* in *Peamon*, where he ſet *Smith* on ſhoar with five Hundred Chicqueens, and a little Box God ſent him worth near as much more. Here he left this Noble *Britaine*, and embarked himſelf for *Legorn*, being glad to have ſuch opportunity and means to better his Experience by the view of *Italy*; and having paſſed *Tuskany*, and the Country of *Siena*, where he found his dear Friends, the two Honourable Brethren, the Lord *Willoughby*, and his Brother cruelly wounded, in a deſperate fray, yet to their exceeding great Honour. Then to *Viterbo* and many other Cities he came to *Rome*, where it was his chance to ſee Pope *Clement* the VIII. with many Cardinals, creep up the Holy Stairs, which they ſay, are thoſe our Saviour Chriſt went up to *Pontius Pilate*, where blood falling from his Head, being pricked with his Crown of Thorns, the drops are marked with Nails of Steel, upon them none dare go but in that manner, ſaying ſo many *Ave-Maries* and *Pater-Noſters*, as is their Devotion, and to kiſs the Nails of Steel: But on each ſide, is a pair of ſuch like Stairs, upon which you may go, ſtand, or kneel, but divided from the Holy Stairs by two Walls: Right againſt them is a Chappel, where hangs a great Silver Lamp, which burneth continually; yet they ſay, the Oil neither increaſeth nor diminiſheth. A little diſtant is the ancient Church of Saint *John de Lateran*, where he ſaw him ſay Maſs, which commonly he doth upon ſome Friday once a Month. Having ſaluted Father *Parſons*, that famous *Engliſh* Jeſuit, and ſatisfied himſelf with the Rarities of *Rome*, he went down the River of *Tile* to *Civita Vechia*, where he embarked himſelf, to ſatisfie his Eye with the fair City of *Naples*, and her Kingdoms Nobility; returning by *Capua*, *Rome* and *Siena*, he paſſed by that admired City of *Florence*, the Cities and Countreys of *Bolonia*, *Ferrara*, *Mantua*, *Padua* and *Venice*, whoſe Gulf he paſſed from *Malamoco* and the *Adriatick* Sea for *Ragouza*, ſpending ſome time to ſee that barren, broken Coaſt of *Albania* and *Dalmatia*, to *Capo de Iſtria*, Travelling the main of poor *Sclavonia* by *Lubbiano*, till he came to *Grates* in *Styria*, the Seat of *Ferdinando*, Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, now Emperour of *Almania*: where he met an *Engliſh* Man, and an *Iriſh* Jeſuit, who acquainted him with many brave Gentlemen of good Quality, eſpecially with the Lord *Ebersbaught*, with whom, trying ſuch Concluſions, as he projected to undertake, preferred him to Baron *Kiſell*, General of the Artillery, and he to a worthy Colonel, the Earl of *Meldritch*, with whom, going to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, under whoſe Regiment, in what Service, and how he ſpent his time, this enſuing Diſcourſe will declare.

The Popes holy Stairs brought from Jeruſalem, whereon (they ſay) Chriſt went up to Pontius Pilate.

An excellent Stratagem.

CHAP. IV.

The Siege of Olumpagh; *An excellent Stratagem by* Smith; *Another not much worſe.*

The Siege of Olumpagh.

After the loſs of *Caniza*, the *Turks* with Twenty thouſand beſieged the ſtrong Town of *Olumpagh* ſo ſtraitly, as they were cut off from all intelligence and hope of ſuccour; till *John Smith*, this *Engliſh* Gentleman, acquainted Baron *Kiſell*, General of the Arch-dukes Artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy Friend, ſuch a Rule, that he would undertake to make him know any thing he intended, and have his anſwer, would they bring him but to ſome place where he might make the Flame of a Torch ſeen to the Town; *Kiſell* inflamed with this ſtrange Invention, *Smith* made it ſo plain, that forthwith he gave him Guides, who in the dark Night brought him to a Mountain, where he ſhewed three Torches equidiſtant from the other, which plainly appearing to the Town, the Governour preſently apprehended, and anſwered again with three other fires in like manner; each knowing the

the others being and intent; *Smith*, though diſtant ſeven Miles, ſignified to him theſe Words: *On Thurſday at Night I will charge on the Eaſt, at the Alarum, ſalley you*; Ebersbaught anſwered, *he would*, and thus it was done: Firſt he writ his Meſſage as brief, you ſee, as could be, then divided the Alphabet into two parts thus;

A. b. c. d. e. f. g. h. i. k. l.
1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

m. n. o. p. q. r. ſ. t. v. w. x.
2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2. 2.
y. z.
2. 2.

An excellent Stratagem.

The firſt part from *A.* to *L.* is ſignified by ſhewing and hiding one link, ſo oft as there is Letters from *A.* to that Letter you mean; the other part from *M.* to *Z.* is mentioned by two Lights in like manner. The end of a Word is ſignified by ſhewing of three Lights, ever ſtaying your Light at that Letter you mean, till the other may write it in a Paper, and anſwer by his ſignal, which is one Light, it is done, beginning to count the Letters by the Lights, every time from *A.* to *M.* by this means alſo the other returned his anſwer, whereby each did underſtand other. The Guides all this time having well viewed the Camp, returned to *Kiſel*; who, doubting of his power, being but Ten thouſand, was animated by the Guides, how the *Turks* were ſo divided by the River in two parts, they could not eaſily ſecond each other. To which *Smith* added this concluſion; that two or three thouſand pieces of Match faſtened to divers ſmall Lines of an hundred Fathom in length, being armed with Powder, might all be fired and ſtretched at an inſtant before the Alarum, upon the Plain of *Hyſnaburg*, ſupported by two Staves, at each lines end, in that manner would ſeem like ſo many Musketteers; which was put in Practice; and being diſcovered by the *Turks*, they prepared to encounter theſe falſe fires, thinking there had been ſome great Army: whilſt *Kiſell* with his Ten thouſand being entred the *Turks* quarters, who ran up and down as Men amazed, it was not long ere *Ebershaught* was pell-mell with them in their Trenches; in which diſtracted confuſion, a third part of the *Turks* that beſieged that ſide towards *Knoubruck*, were ſlain; many of the reſt drowned, but all fled. The other part of the Army was ſo buſied to reſiſt the falſe fires, that *Kiſel* before the Morning put two thouſand good Soldiers in the Town, and with ſmall loſs was retired; the Garriſon was well relieved with what they found in the *Turks* Quarters, which cauſed the *Turks* to raiſe their Siege and return to *Caniza*: and *Kiſel* with much honour was received at *Kerment*, and occaſioned the Author a good Reward and Preferment, to be Captain of Two hundred and fifty Horſe-men, under the conduct of Colonel *Voldo*, Earl of *Meldritch*.

Another Stratagem.

CHAP. V.

The Siege of Stoll-weiſſenburg; *The effects of* Smith's *Fire-works*; *A worthy Exploit of Earl* Roſworme; *Earl* Meldritch *takes the* Baſhaw *Priſoner.*

A General rumour of a general Peace, now ſpred it ſelf over all the face of thoſe tormented Countries: but the *Turk* intended no ſuch matter, but levied Soldiers from all Parts he could. The Emperour alſo, by the aſſiſtance of the *Chriſtian* Princes, provided three Armies, the one led by the Arch-duke *Matthias*, the Emperour's Brother, and his Lieutenant Duke *Merceur* to defend Low *Hungary*; the ſecond, by *Ferdinando* the Arch-duke of *Styria*, and the Duke of *Mantua* his Lieutenant to regain *Caniza*; the third by *Gonzago*, Governour of High *Hungary*, to joyn with *Georgio Buſca* to make an abſolute conqueſt of *Tranſilvania*.

Duke *Merceur* with an Army of Thirty thouſand, whereof near Ten thouſand were *French*, beſieged *Stoll-weiſſenburg*, otherwiſe called *Alba Regalis*, a place ſo ſtrong by Art and Nature, that it was thought impregnable. At his firſt coming, The *Turks* ſallied upon the *German* Quarter, ſlew near five hundred, and returned before they were thought on. The next Night in like manner, they did near as much to the *Bemers*, and *Hungarians*; of which, Fortune ſtill preſuming, thinking to have found the *French* quarter as careleſs, Eight or Nine hundred of them were cut in pieces and taken Priſoners. In this Encounter Monſieur *Grandvile*, a brave *French* Colonel, received ſeven or eight cruel Wounds, yet followed the Enemy to the Ports; he came off alive, but within three or four days died.

The Siege of Alba-Regalis.

The effect of good Fireworks.

Earl *Meldritch*, by the Information of three or four *Chriſtians*, (eſcaped out of the Town) upon every Alarum, where there was greateſt Aſſemblies and throng of People, cauſed Captain *Swith* to put in practice his fiery Dragons, he had demonſtrated unto him, and the Earl *Von Sulch* at *Comora*, which he thus performed: Having prepared forty or fifty round-bellied Earthen Pots, and filled them with hand Gun-powder, then covered them with Pitch, mingled with Brimſtone and Turpentine; and quartering as many Muſket-bullets, that hung together but only at the Center of the diviſion, ſtuck them round in the mixture about the Pots, and covered them again with the ſame mixture, over that a ſtrong Searcloth, then over all, a good thickneſs of Towze-match, well tempered with Oyl of Lin-ſeed, Camphire, and Powder of Brimſtone, theſe he fitly placed in Slings, graduated ſo near as they could to the places of theſe Aſſemblies. At mid-night upon the Alarum, it was a fearful ſight to ſee the ſhort flaming courſe of their flight in the Air, but preſently after their fall, the lamentable noiſe of the miſerable ſlaughtered *Turks* was moſt wonderful to hear: Beſides, they had fired that Suburb at the Port of *Buda* in two or three places, which ſo troubled the *Turks* to quench, that had there been any means to have aſſaulted them, they could hardly have reſiſted the fire, and their Enemies. The Earl *Roſworme*, contrary to the opinion of all Men, would needs undertake to find means to ſurprize the Segeth and Suburb of the City, ſtrongly defended by a muddy Lake, which was thought unpaſſable.

A worthy Exploit of Earl Roſworme.

The Duke having planted his Ordnance, battered the other ſide, whilſt *Roſworme* in the dark Night, with every Man a bundle of Sedge and Bavins ſtill thrown before them, ſo laded up the Lake, as they ſurpriſed that unregarded Suburb before they were diſcovered: Upon which unexpected Alarum, the *Turks* fled into the City, and the other Suburb not knowing the matter, got into the City alſo, leaving their Suburb for the Duke, who, with no great reſiſtance, took it, with many Pieces of Ordnance; the City, being of no ſuch ſtrength as the Suburbs, with their own Ordnance was ſo battered, that it was taken by force, with ſuch a mercileſs Execution, as was moſt pitiful to behold. The *Baſhaw* notwithſtanding, drew together a Party of Five hundred before his own Palace, where he intended to die; but ſeeing moſt of his Men ſlain before him, by the valiant Captain, Earl *Meldritch*, who took him Priſoner with his own hands; and with the hazard of himſelf ſaved him from the fury of other Troops, that did pull down his Palace, and would have rent him in pieces, had he not been thus preſerved. The Duke thought his Victory much honoured with ſuch a Priſoner; took order, he ſhould be uſed like a Prince, and with all expedition gave charge preſently to repair the Breaches, and the Ruins of this famous City, that had been in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks* near threeſcore years.

Earl Meldritch takes the Baſhaw Priſoner.

CHAP. VI.

A brave Encounter of the Turks *Army with the* Chriſtians; *Duke* Merceur *overthroweth* Aſſan Baſhaw; *He divides the* Chriſtian *Army*; *His Nobleneſs and Death.*

Mahomet the Great *Turk*, during the Siege, had raiſed an Army of Sixty thouſand Men to have relieved it; but hearing it was loſt, he ſent *Aſſan Baſhaw*, General of his Army, the *Baſhaw* of *Buda*, *Baſhaw Amarez*, to ſee if it were poſſible to regain it; The Duke underſtanding there could be no great experience in ſuch a new levied Army as *Aſſan* had, having put a ſtrong Garriſon into it, and with the brave Colonel *Roſworme*, *Culnits*, *Meldritch*, the *Rhine Grave*, *Vahan*, and many others, with Twenty thouſand good Soldiers, ſet forward to meet the *Turk* in the Plains of *Girk*. Thoſe two Armies encountred as they marched, where began a hot and bloody Skirmiſh betwixt them, Regiment againſt Regiment, as they came in order, till the night parted them: Here Earl *Meldritch* was ſo inviron-ed among thoſe half circular Regiments of *Turks*, they ſuppoſed him their Priſoner, and his Regiment loſt; but his two moſt coura-gious Friends, *Vahan* and *Culnits*, made ſuch a Paſſage amongſt them, that it was a terror to ſee how Horſe and Man lay ſprawling and tumbling, ſome one way, ſome another on the Ground. The Earl there at that time made his valour ſhine more bright than his Armour, which ſeemed then painted with *Turkiſh* Blood; he ſlew the brave *Zanzack Bugola*, and made his Paſſage to his Friends, but near half his Regiment was

A brave Encounter of the Turks Army with the Chriſtians.

ſlain. Captain *Smith* had his Horſe ſlain under him, and himſelf ſore wounded; but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of Horſes, that wanted Maſters. The *Turk* thinking the Victory ſure againſt the Duke, whoſe Army, by the Siege and the Garriſon, he had left behind him, was much weakned, would not be content with one, but he would have all; and leſt the Duke ſhould return to *Alba Regalis*, he ſent that Night Twenty thouſand to beſiege the City, aſſuring them, he would keep the Duke or any other from relieving them. Two or three days they lay each by other, entrenching themſelves; the *Turks* daring the Duke daily to a ſett Battle, who at length drew out his Army, led by the *Rhine-Grave*, *Culmits*, and *Meldritch*; who upon their firſt Encounter, charged with that reſolute and valiant courage, as diſordered not only the foremoſt Squadrons of the *Turks*, but enforced all the whole Army to retire to the Camp, with the loſs of five or ſix thouſand, with the *Baſhaw* of *Buda*, and four or five *Zanzacks*, with divers other great Commanders, Two hundred Priſoners, and nine pieces of Ordnance. At that inſtant appeared, as it were, another Army coming out of a Valley over a plain Hill, that cauſed the Duke at that time to be contented, and to retire to his Trenches; which gave time to *Aſſan*, to reorder his diſordered Squadrons: Here they lay nine or ten days, and more Supplies repaired to them, expecting to try the event in a ſett Battle; but the Soldiers on both Parties, by reaſon of their great Wants, and approach of Winter, grew ſo diſcontented, that they were ready of themſelves to break up the Leager; the *Baſhaw* retiring himſelf to *Buda*, had ſome of the Rear Troops cut off. *Amarez Baſhaw* hearing of this, found ſuch bad welcome at *Alba Regalis*, and the Town ſo ſtrongly repaired with ſo brave a Garriſon, raiſed his Siege, and retired to *Zigetum*.

Duke Merceur overthrows the Baſhaw.

The Duke underſtanding, that the Arch-duke *Ferdinando*, had ſo reſolutely beſieged *Caniza*, as what by the loſs of *Alba Regalis*, and the *Turks* retreat to *Buda*, being void of hope of any relief, doubted not, but it would become again the *Chriſtians*. To the furtherance whereof, the Duke divided his Army into three parts. The Earl of *Roſworme* went with Seven thouſand to *Caniza*; the Earl of *Meldritch* with Six thouſand he ſent to aſſiſt *Georgio Buſca* againſt the *Tranſilvanians*, the reſt went with himſelf to the Garriſons of *Strigonium* and *Komara*; having thus worthily behaved himſelf, he arrived at *Vienne*, where the Arch-dukes and the Nobility with as much honour received him, as if he had conquered all *Hungaria*; his very Picture they eſteemed would make them fortunate, which thouſands kept as curiouſly as a precious relique. To requite this honour, preparing himſelf to return into *France*, to raiſe new Forces againſt the next year, with the two Arch-dukes, *Matthias* and *Maximilian*, and divers others of the Nobility, was with great Magnificence conducted to *Nurenburg*, there by them royally feaſted, (how it chanced is not known;) but the next Morning he was found dead, and his Brother in Law died two days after; whoſe hearts, after this great Triumph, with much ſorrow were carried into *France*.

Duke Merceur divideth his Army.

Duke Merceur and his Brother in Law die ſuddenly.

CHAP. VII.

The unhappy Siege of Caniza; *Earl* Meldritch *ſerveth Prince* Sigiſmundus; *Prince* Moyſes *beſiegeth* Regall; Smith's *three ſingle Combats*; *His Patent from* Sigiſmundus, *and Reward.*

The unhappy Siege of Caniza.

THE Worthy Lord *Roſworme* had not a worſe Journey to the miſerable Siege of *Caniza*, (whereby the extremity of an extraordinary continuing Tempeſt of Hail, Wind, Froſt and Snow, inſomuch that the *Chriſtians* were forced to leave their Tents and Artillery, and what they had; it being ſo cold, that three or four hundred of them were frozen to Death in a Night, and two or three thouſand loſt in that miſerable flight in the Snowy Tempeſt, though they did know no Enemy at all to follow them) than the Noble Earl of *Meldritch* had to *Tranſilvania*, where hearing of the Death of *Michael*, and the brave Duke *Merceur*, and knowing the Policy of *Buſca*, and the Prince his Royalty, being now beyond all belief of Men, in Poſſeſſion of the beſt part of *Tranſilvania*, perſwaded his Troops, in ſo honeſt a Cauſe, to aſſiſt the Prince againſt the *Turks* father than *Buſca* againſt the Prince.

Earl Meldritch ſerveth Prince Sigiſmundus.

The Soldiers being worn out with thoſe hard Pays and Travels, upon hope to have free liberty to make booty upon what they could get Poſſeſſion of from the *Turks*, were eaſily perſwaded to follow him whitherſoever. Now this Noble Earl was a *Tranſil-*

vanian

zanian born, and his Fathers Country yet Inhabited by the *Turks*; for *Tranſilvania* was yet in three Diviſions, though the Prince had the Hearts both of Country and People; yet the Frontiers had a Garriſon amongſt the unpaſſable Mountains, ſome for the Emperour, ſome for the Prince, and ſome for the *Turk*: To regain which ſmall Eſtate, he deſired leave of the Prince to try his Fortunes, and to make uſe of that experience, the time of twenty years had taught him in the Emperours ſervice, promiſing to ſpend the reſt of his days, for his Countrys defence in his Excellencies Service. The Prince glad of ſo brave a Commander, and ſo many expert and ancient Soldiers, made him Camp Maſter of his Army, gave him all neceſſary relief for his Troops, and what freedom they deſired to plunder the *Turks*.

Earl Meldritch *maketh incurſions to diſcover* Regall.

The Earl having made many Incurſions into the Land of *Zarkam*, among thoſe Rocky Mountains, where were ſome *Turks*, ſome *Tartars*, but moſt *Banditoes*, *Renegadoes*, and ſuch like, which ſometimes he forced into the Plains of *Regall*, where is a City, not only of Men and Fortifications, ſtrong of it ſelf, but ſo environed with Mountains, that made the Paſſages ſo difficult, that in all theſe Wars, no attempt had been made upon it to any purpoſe: Having ſatisfied himſelf with the Situation, and the moſt convenient Paſſages to bring his Army unto it: The Earth no ſooner put on her green Habit, than the Earl overſpread her with his armed Troops. To poſſeſs himſelf firſt of the moſt convenient Paſſage, which was a narrow Valley betwixt two high Mountains; he ſent Colonel *Veltus* with his Regiment, diſperſed in Companies to lie in *Ambuſcado*, as he had directed them, and in the Morning to drive all the Cattel they could find before a Fort in that Paſſage, whom he ſuppoſed would ſally, ſeeing but ſome ſmall Party to recover their prey; which took ſuch good ſucceſs, that the Garriſon was cut off by the *Ambuſcado*, and *Veltus* ſeized on the Skonces, which were abandoned. *Meldritch* glad of ſo fortunate a beginning, it was ſix days ere he could with ſix thouſand Pioneers make paſſage for his Ordnance: The *Turks* having ſuch warning, ſtrengthned the Town ſo with Men and Proviſion, that they made a ſcorn of ſo ſmall a number as *Meldritch* brought with him before the City, which was but eight thouſand. Before they had pitched their Tents, the *Turks* ſallied in ſuch abundance, as for an hour, they had rather a bloody Battel than a Skirmiſh, but with the loſs of near Fifteen hundred on both ſides. The *Turks* were chaſed till the Cities Ordnance cauſed the Earl to retire. The next day *Zachel Moyſes*, General of the Army, pitched alſo his Tents with nine thouſand Foot and Horſe, and ſix and twenty Pieces of Ordnance; but in regard of the Situation of this ſtrong Fortreſs, they did neither fear them nor hurt them, being upon the point of a fair Promontory, environed on the one ſide within half a Mile with an un-uſeful Mountain, and on the other ſide with a fair Plain, where the *Chriſtians* encamped, but ſo commanded by their Ordnance, they ſpent near a Month in entrenching themſelves, and raiſing their Mounts to plant their Batteries; which ſlow proceedings the *Turks* oft derided, that their Ordnance were at pawn, and how they grew fat for want of Exerciſe, and fearing leſt they ſhould depart ere they could aſſault their City, ſent this Challenge to any Captain in the Army.

Moyſes beſieged Regall.

That to delight the Ladies, who did long to ſee ſome Court-like paſtime, the Lord *Turbaſhaw* did defie any Captain, that had the command of a Company, who durſt Combate with him for his Head: The matter being diſcuſſed, it was accepted, but ſo many Queſtions grew for the undertaking, it was decided by Lots, which fell upon Captain *Smith*, before ſpoken of.

Truce being made for that time, the Rampires all beſet with fair Dames, and Men in Arms, the *Chriſtians* in *Battalia*; *Turbaſhaw* with a noiſe of Haut-boys entred the Field well mounted and armed; on his ſhoulders were fixed a pair of great Wings, compacted of Eagles Feathers, within a ridge of Silver, richly garniſhed with Gold and precious Stones, a *Janizary* before him, bearing his Lance, on each ſide another leading his Horſe; where long he ſtayed not, ere *Smith* with a noiſe of Trumpets, only a Page bearing his Lance, paſſing by him with a courteous Salute, took his Ground with ſuch good ſucceſs, that at the ſound of the charge, he paſſed the *Turk* thorow the ſight of his Beaver, Face, Head and all, that he fell dead to the Ground, where alighting and unbracing his Helmet, cut off his Head, and the *Turks* took his Body; and ſo returned without any hurt at all. The Head he preſented to the Lord *Moyſes*, the General, who kindly accepted it, and with joy to the whole Army he was generally welcomed.

Three ſeve-rale Combates.

The Death of this Captain ſo ſwelled in the Heart of one *Grualgo*, his vowed Friend, as rather inraged with madneſs than choler, he directed a particular challenge to the Conqueror, to regain his Friends Head, or loſe his own, with his Horſe and Armour for advantage, which according to his deſire, was the next day undertaken:

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as before upon the ſound of the Trumpets, their Lances flew in pieces upon a clear Paſſage, but the *Turk* was near unhorſed. Their Piſtols was the next, which marked *Smith* upon the Placard; but the next ſhot the *Turk* was ſo Wounded in the left Arm, that being not able to rule his Horſe, and defend himſelf, he was thrown to the ground, and ſo bruiſed with the fall, that he loſt his Head, as his Friend before him, with his Horſe and Armour; but his Body, and his rich Apparel were ſent back to the Town.

Every day the *Turks* made ſome Sallies, but few Skirmiſhes would they endure to any purpoſe. Our Works and Approaches being not yet advanced to that heighth and effect, which was of neceſſity to be performed; to delude time, *Smith* with ſo many incontradictible perſwading Reaſons, obtained leave, that the Ladies might know he was not ſo much enamoured of their Servants Heads; but if any *Turk* of their rank would come to the place of Combate to redeem them, ſhould have his alſo upon the like conditions, if he could win it.

The challenge preſently was accepted by *Bonny Mulgro*. The next day, both the Champions entring the Field as before, each diſcharging their Piſtol, having no Lances, but ſuch martial Weapons as the Defendant appointed, no hurt was done; their Battle-Axes was the next, whoſe piercing Bills made ſometime the one, ſometime the other to have ſcarce ſenſe to keep their Saddles, ſpecially the *Chriſtian* received ſuch a blow, that he loſt his Battle axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it, whereat the ſuppoſed conquering *Turk*, had a great ſhout from the Rampires. The *Turk* proſecuted his advantage to the uttermoſt of his power; yet the other, what by the readineſs of his Horſe, and his judgement and dexterity in ſuch a buſineſs, beyond all Mens expectation, by God's aſſiſtance, not only avoided the *Turks* violence, but having drawn his Faulchion, pierced the *Turk* ſo under the Culets, thorow back and body, that altho' he alighted from his Horſe, he ſtood not long ere he loſt his Head, as the reſt had done.

CHAP. VIII.

Georgio Buſca *an* Albane, *his ingratitude to Prince* Sigiſmundus; *Prince* Moyſes *his Lieutenant, is overthrown by* Buſca, *General for the Emperour* Rodulphus; Sigiſmundus *yieldeth his Country to* Rodulphus; Buſca *aſſiſteth Prince* Rodol *in* Wallachia.

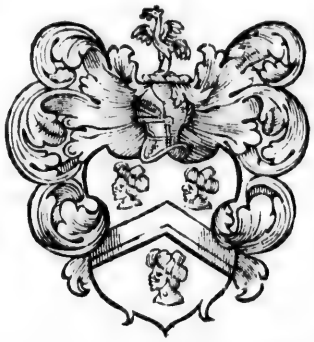
THis good ſucceſs gave ſuch great encouragement to the whole Army, that with a Guard of ſix thouſand, three ſpare Horſes, before each a *Turks* Head upon a Lance, he was conducted to the Generals Pavilion with his Preſents. *Moyſes* received both him and them, with as much reſpect as the occaſion deſerved, embracing him in his Arms, gave him a fair Horſe, richly furniſhed, a Scimitar and Belt worth Three hundred Ducats; and *Meldritch* made him Sergeant Major of his Regiment. But now to the Siege, having mounted ſix and twenty pieces of Ordnance, fifty or ſixty Foot above the Plain, made them ſo plainly tell his meaning, that within fifteen days two Breaches were made, which the *Turks* as valiantly defended as Men could; that day was made a darkſome Night, but by the light that proceeded from the murdering Muskets, and peace-making Canon, wherein their ſlothful Governour lay in a Caſtle on the top of a high Mountain, and like a Valiant Prince asketh what's the matter, when horror and death ſtood amazed each at other, to ſee who ſhould prevail to make him victorious: *Moyſes* commanding a general aſſault upon the ſloping front of the high Promontory, where the Barons of *Budendorfe* and *Oberwin*, loſt near half their Regiments, by Logs, Bags of Powder, and ſuch like, tumbling down the Hill, they were to mount ere they could come to the breach; notwithſtanding with an incredible courage, they advanced to the puſh of the Pike with the Defendants, that with the like courage repulſed, till the Earl *Meldritch*, *Beckſefield* and *Zavvana*, with their freſh Regiments ſeconded them with that fury, that the *Turks* retired and fled into the Caſtle, from whence by a Flag of truce they deſired compoſition. The Earl remembring his Fathers Death, battered it with all the Ordnance in the Town, and the next day took it; all he found could bear Arms, he put to the Sword, and ſet their Heads upon Stakes round about the Walls, in the ſame manner they had uſed the *Chriſtians*, when they took it. *Moyſes* having repaired the Rampires, and thrown down the Work in his Camp, he put in it a ſtrong Garriſon, though the pillage he had gotten in the

Regal aſſaulted and taken.

Town was much, having been for a long time an impregnable den of Thieves; yet the loss of the Army so intermingled the sowre with the sweet, as forced *Moyses* to seek a further revenge, that he sacked *Veratio*, *Solmos*, and *Kupronka*, and with two thousand Prisoners, most Women and Children, came to *Esenberg*, not far from the Princes Palace, where he there Encamped.

Sigismundus coming to view his Army, was presented with the Prisoners, and six and thirty Ensigns; where celebrating thanks to Almighty God in triumph of those Victories, he was made acquainted with the service *Smith* had done at *Olumpagh*, *Stoll-Weissenburgh* and *Regal*; for which, with great honour, he gave him three *Turks* Heads in a Shield for his Arms, by Patent, under his Hand and Seal, with an Oath ever to wear them in his Colours, his Picture in Gold, and three hundred Ducats yearly for a Pension.

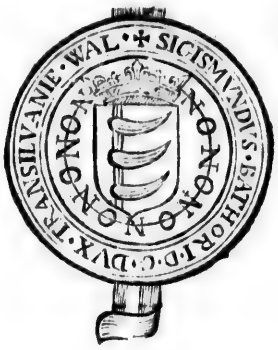
The Patent.



SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI, *Dei Gratia, Dux* Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ, & Vandalorum; *Comes* Anchard, Salford, Growenda; *Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem* Johanni Smith, *natione* Anglo *Generoso*, 250. *militum Capitaneo sub Illustrissimi & Gravissimi* Henrici Volda, *Comitis de* Meldri, Salmariæ, & Peldoiæ *primario, ex* 1000 *equitibus &* 1500. *peditibus bello* Ungarico *conductione in Provincias supra scriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servituti omni laude, perpetuaq; memoria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris & focis decet. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, & in Sigillum illius tria* Turcica *Capita designare & deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad Urben* Regalem *in singulari prælio vicit, mactavit, atq; decollavit in* Transilvaniæ *Provincia: Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsq; sit idem forte fortuito in* Wallachiæ *Provincia, Anno Domini* 1602. *die Mensis Novembris* 18. *cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus & aliis quibusdam militibus captus est à Domino* Bascha *electo ex* Cambia *regionis* Tartariæ, *cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quæsivit, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, & ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, & hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam: Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confinitimos, Duces, Principes, Comites, Barones, Gubernatores Urbium & Navium in eadem Regione & cæterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes pergratum nobis feceritis. Signatum* Lesprizia *in* Misnia *die Mensis Decembris* 9. *Anno Domini* 1603.

Cum

Cum Privilegio propria Majeſtatis.



SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.

UNIVERSIS, *& ſinguln, cujuscunq; loci, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit*, Gulielmus Segar, *Eques auratus aliàs dictus Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum* Anglicorum, *Salutem.* Sciatis, *quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, teſtatumque facio, quod Patentem ſupraſcriptum, cum manu propria prædicti Ducis* Tranſilvaniæ *ſubſignatum, & Sigillo ſuo affixum, Vidi: & Copiam veram ejuſdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) tranſcripſi, & recordavi in Archivis, & Regiſtris Officii Armorum. Datum* Londini 19. *die Auguſti, Anno Domini* 1625. *Annoque Regni Domini noſtri* CAROLI *Dei gratia Magnæ* Britanniæ, Franciæ, *&* Hiberniæ *Regis, Fidei Defenſoris*, &c. *Primo*

GULIELMUS SEGAR, Garterus.

The ſame in Engliſh.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI, by the Grace of God, Duke of *Tranſilvania*, *Wallachia*, and *Moldavia*, Earl of *Anchand*, *Salford* and *Grovenda*; to whom this Writing may come or appear. Know that We have given Leave and Licence to *John Smith* an *Engliſh* Gentleman, Captain of 250 Soldiers, under the moſt Generous and Honourable *Henry Volda*, Earl of *Meldritch*, *Salmaria*, and *Peldoia*, Colonel of a thouſand Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, in the Wars of *Hungary*, and in the Provinces aforeſaid under our Authority; whoſe Service doth deſerve all praiſe, and perpetual Memory towards us, as a Man that did for God and his Country overcome his Enemies: Wherefore out of our Love and Favour, according to the Law of Arms, We have ordained, and given him in his Shield of Arms, the Figure and Deſcription of three *Turks* Heads, which with his Sword before the Town of *Regal*, in ſingle Combat he did overcome, kill, and cut off, in the Province of *Tranſilvania*. But Fortune, as ſhe is very variable, ſo it chanced and happened to him in the Province of *Wallachia*, in the year of Our Lord 1602. the 18th day of *November*, with many others, as well Noble Men as alſo divers other Soldiers, were taken Priſoners by the Lord *Baſſaw* of *Cambia*, a Country of *Tartaria*; whoſe cruelty brought him ſuch good Fortune, by the Help and Power of Almighty God, that he delivered himſelf, and returned again to his Company and fellow Soldiers, of whom We do diſcharge him, and this he hath in Witneſs thereof, being much more worthy of a better Reward; and now intends to return to his own ſweet Country. We deſire therefore all Our loving and kind Kinſmen, Dukes, Princes, Earls, Barons, Governours of Towns, Cities, or Ships, in this Kingdom, or any other Provinces he ſhall come in, that you freely let paſs this the aforeſaid Captain, without any hinderance or moleſtation, and this doing, with all kindneſs, we are always ready to do the like for you. Sealed at *Lipſwick* in *Miſenland*, the ninth of *December*, in the year of our Lord, 1603.

With

With the proper privilege of his Majesty.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.

TO all and singular, in what Place, State, Degree, Order, or Condition whatsoever, to whom this present Writing shall come: I *William Segar*, Knight, otherwise Garter, and principal King of Arms of *England*, with health. Know, that I the aforesaid Garter, do witness and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seen, Signed, and Sealed, under the proper Hand and Seal Manuel of the said Duke of *Transilvania*, and a true Copy of the same, as a thing for perpetual memory, I have Subscribed and Recorded in the Register, and Office of the Heralds of Arms. Dated at *London*, the nineteenth day of *August*, in the year of Our Lord, 1625, and in the first year of our Soveraign Lord *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of great *Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.

CHAP. IX.

Sigismundus *sends Ambassadours unto the Emperour. The Conditions re-assured. He yieldeth up all to* Busca, *and returneth to* Prague.

Busca having all this time been raising new Forces, was commanded from the Emperour again to invade *Transilvania*, which being one of the fruitfullest and strongest Countries in those Parts, was now rather a Desart, or the very Spectacle of Desolation; their Fruits and Fields overgrown with Weeds, their Churches and battered Palaces, and best Buildings, as for fear, hid with Moss and Ivy; being the very Bulwark and Rampire of a great part of *Europe*, most fit by all Christians to have been supplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruin by them, it most concerned to support it. But alas, what is it, when the Power of Majesty pampered in all delights of pleasant Vanity, neither knowing, nor considering the labour of the Plough-man, the hazard of the Merchant, the oppression of Statesmen, nor feeling the piercing Torments of broken Limbs, and inveterate Wounds, the toilsome Marches, the bad Lodging, the hungry Diet, and the extream misery that Soldiers endure to secure all those Estates, and yet by the spight of malicious detraction, starves for want of their Reward and Recompences, whilst the politique Courtier, that commonly aims more at his own Honours and Ends, than his Countries good, or his Princes Glory, Honour, or Security, as this worthy Prince too well could testifie. But the Emperor being certified how weak and desperate his Estate was, sent *Busca* again with a great Army, to try his fortune once more in *Transilvania*. The Prince considering how his Country and Subjects were consumed, the small means he had any longer to defend his Estate, both against the cruelty of the *Turk*, and the power of the Emperor, and the small care the *Polanders* had in supplying him, as they had promised, sent to *Busca* to have truce, till Messengers might be sent to the Emperour for some better agreement, wherewith *Busca* was contented. The Ambassadors so prevailed, that the Emperour re-assured unto them the conditions he had promised the Prince at their confederacy for the Lands in *Silesia*, with 60000 Ducats presently in hand, and 50000 Ducats yearly as a Pension. When this conclusion was known to *Moyses*, his Lieutenant then in the Field with the Army, that would do any thing, rather than come in subjection to the *Germans*, he encouraged his Soldiers, and without any more ado, marched to encounter *Busca*, whom he found much better provided than he expected; so that betwixt them, in six or seven hours, more than five or six thousand, on both sides, lay dead in the field. *Moyses* thus overthrown, fled to the *Turks* at *Temeswar*, and his scattered Troops, some one way, some another.

Busca in *Transilvania* overthroweth *Moyses*.

The Prince understanding of this so sudden and unexpected Accident, only accompanied with an hundred of his Gentry and Nobility, went into the Camp to *Busca*, to let him know how ignorant he was of his Lieutenants error, that he had done [illegible] out his direction or knowledge [illegible] ring to perform what was conc[illegible]ed by his Ambassadors with the Emperor [illegible] and so [illegible] causing all his Garrisons to come out of their strong Holds, he delivered all to *Busca* for the Emperor, and so went to *Prague*, where he was honourably received, and established in his Possessions, as his Imperial Majesty had promised. *Busca* assembling all th[illegible]

the Nobility, took their Oaths of Allegiance and Fidelity, and thus their Prince being gone *Transilvania* became again subject to the Emperor.

Busca assisteth Rodol in Wallachia.

Now after the Death of *Michael*, Vavoid of *Wallachia*, the *Turk* sent one *Jeremy* to be their Vavoid or Prince; whose insulting Tyranny caused the People to take Arms against him, so that he was forced to flie into the Confines of *Moldavia*; and *Busca* in the behalf of the Emperor, proclaimed the Lord *Rodol* in his stead. But *Jeremy* having assembled an Army of forty thousand *Turks*, *Tartars*, and *Moldavians*, returned into *Wallachia*. *Rodol* not yet able to raise such a power, fled into *Transilvania* to *Busca*, his ancient Friend; who considering well of the matter, and how good it would be for his own security, to have *Wallachia* subject to the Emperor, or at least such an Employment for the remainders of the old Regiments of *Sigismundus*, (of whose Greatness and true Affection he was very suspicious) sent them with *Rodol* to recover *Wallachia*, conducted by the Valiant Captains, the Earl *Meldritch*, Earl *Veltus*, Earl *Nederspolt*, Earl *Zarvana*, the Lord *Becklefield*, the Lord *Budendorfe*, with their Regiments, and divers others of great rank and quality, the greatest Friends and Alliances the Prince had; who with Thirty thousand, marched along by the River *Altus*, to the Streights of *Rebrink*, where they entred *Wallachia*, encamping at *Raza*; *Jeremy* lying at *Argish*, drew his Army into his old Camp, in the Plains of *Peteske*, and with his best diligence fortified it, intending to defend himself, till more power came to him from the *Crim-Tartar*. Many small Parties that came to his Camp, *Rodol* cut off, and in the nights would cause their Heads to be thrown up and down before the Trenches Seven of their Porters were taken, whom *Jeremy* commanded to be flayed quick, and after hung their Skins upon Poles, and their Carcases and Heads on Stakes by them.

CHAP. X.

The Battle of Rottenton; *a pretty Stratagem of Fire-works by* Smith.

Busca in Transilvania overthroweth Moyses.

Rodol not knowing how to draw the Enemy to Battel, raised his Army, burning and spoiling all where he came, and returned again towards *Rebrink* in the night, as if he had fled upon the general rumour of the *Crim-Tartars* coming, which so inflamed the *Turks* of a happy Victory, they urged *Jeremy* against his Will to follow them. *Rodol* seeing his Plot fell out as he desired, so ordered the matter, that having regained the Streights, he put his Army in order, that had been near two days pursued with continual Skirmishes in his Rear, which now making Head against the Enemy, that followed with their whole Army in the best manner they could, was furiously charged with six thousand *Heydukes*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavians*, led by three Colonels, *Overfall*, *Dubras*, and *Calab*, to entertain the time till the rest came up; *Veltus* and *Nederspolt* with their Regiments, entertained them with the like courage, till the Zanzacke *Hamesbeg*, with six thousand more, came with a fresh charge, which *Meldritch* and *Budendorfe*, rather like enraged Lions, than Men, so bravely encountred, as if in them only had consisted the Victory. *Meldritch*'s Horse being slain under him, the *Turks* pressed what they could to have taken him Prisoner, but being remounted, it was thought with his own hand he slew the valiant Zanzacke, whereupon his Troops retiring, the two proud *Bashawes*, *Aladin*, and *Zizimmus*, brought up in front of the body of their Battle. *Veltus*, and *Nederspolt* having breathed, and joyning their Troops with *Becklefield* and *Zarvana*, with such an incredible courage, charged the left flank of *Zizimmus*, as put them all in disorder, where *Zizimmus* the *Bashaw* was taken Prisoner, but died presently upon his Wounds. *Jeremy* seeing now the main Battel of *Rodol* advance, being thus constrained, like a Valiant Prince in his front of the Vantgard, by his example so bravely encouraged his Soldiers, that *Rodol* found no great assurance of the Victory. Thus being joyned in this bloody Massacre, that there was scarce Ground to stand upon, but upon the dead Carcases, which in less than an hour, were so mingled, as if each Regiment had singled out other. The admired *Aladin* that day did leave behind him a glorious name for his Valour, whose Death, many of his Enemies did lament after the Victory, which at that instant fell to *Rodol*. It was reported, *Jeremy* was also slain; but it was not so, but fled with the remainder of his Army to *Moldavia*, leaving five and twenty thousand dead in the Field, of both Armies. And thus *Rodol* was seated again in his Soveraignty, and *Wallachia* became subject to the Emperour.

A Battle betwixt Rodol and Jeremy.

Wallachia subjected to the Emperour.

But long he rested not to settle his new Estate, but there came News, that certain Regiments of straggling *Tartars*, were foraging those Parts towards *Moldavia*. *Meldritch* with thirteen thousand Men was sent against them, but when they heard it was the *Crim-Tartar*, and his two Sons, with an Army of thirty thousand; and *Jeremy*, that had escaped with fourteen or fifteen thousand, lay in ambush for them about *Langanaw*, he retired towards *Rottenton*, a strong Garrison for *Rebel*; but they were so invironed with these hellish numbers, they could make no great hast for skirmishing with their Scouts, Foragers, and small Parties that did encountred them. But one night amongst the rest, having made a passage through a Wood, with an incredible expedition, cutting Trees thwart each other to hinder their passage, in a thick Fogg, early in the Morning, unexpectedly they met two thousand loaded with Pillage, and two or three hundred Horse and Cattel; the most of them were slain and taken Prisoners, who told them where *Jeremy* lay in the passage, expecting the *Crim-Tartar* that was not far from him. *Meldritch* intending to make his passage by force, was advised of a pretty Stratagem, by the English *Smith*, which presently he thus accomplished; for having accommodated two or three hundred Trunks with wild-fire, upon the Heads of Lances, and charging the Enemy in the night, gave fire to the Trunks, which blazed forth such Flames and Sparkles, that it so amazed not only their Horses, but their Foot also; that by the means of this flaming Encounter, their own Horses turned Tails with such fury, as by their violence overthrew *Jeremy* and his Army, without any loss at all to speak of to *Meldritch*. But of this Victory, long they triumphed not, for being within three Leagues of *Rottenton*, the *Tartar*, with near forty thousand so beset them, that they must either fight, or be cut in pieces flying. Here *Busca*, and the Emperour had their desire; for the Sun no sooner displayed his Beams, than the *Tartar* his Colours; where at mid-day he stayed a while, to see the Passage of a tyrannical and treacherous imposture, till the Earth did blush with the blood of Honesty, that the Sun for shame did hide himself, from so monstrous sight of a cowardly Calamity. It was a most brave sight to see the Banners and Ensigns streaming in the Air, the glittering of Armour, the variety of Colours, the motion of Plumes, the forests of Lances, and the thickness of shorter Weapons, till the silent Expedition of the bloody blast from the murdering Ordnance, whose roaring Voice is not so soon heard, as felt by the aimed at Object, which made among them a most lamentable slaughter.

CHAP. XI.

The names of the Englisn *that were slain in the Battel of* Rottenton; *and how Captain* Smith *was taken Prisoner, and sold for a Slave.*

IN the valley of *Veisthorne*, betwixt the River of *Altus*, and the Mountain of *Rottenton*, was this bloody Encounter, where the most of the dearest Friends of the noble Prince *Sigismundus* perished. *Meldritch* having ordered his Eleven thousand in the best manner he could, at the Foot of the Mountain upon his Flanks, and before his front, he had pitched sharp Stakes, their Heads hardned in the fire, and bent against the Enemy, as three Battalion of Pikes, amongst the which also, there was digged many small [illegible] holes. Amongst those Stakes was ranged [illegible] Foot-men, that upon the charge was to retire, as there was occasion. The *Tartar* having ordered his [illegible] for his best advantage, appointed *Mustapha Bashaw* to begin the Battel, with a general Shout, all their Ensigns displaying, Drums beating, Trumpets and Haut-boys sounding. *Nederstolt* and *Mavazo* with their Regiments of Horse most valiantly encountred, and forced them to retire; the *Tartar Begolgi* with his Squadrons, darkning the Skies with their flights of numberless Arrows, who was as bravely encountred by *Veltus* and *Oberwin*, which bloody slaughter continued more than an hour, till the matchless multitude of the *Tartars* so increased, that they retired within their Squadrons of Stakes, as was directed. The bloody *Tartar*, as scorning he should stay so long for the Victory, with his massie Troops prosecuted the Charge. But it was a wonder to see how Horse and Man came to the Ground among the Stakes, whose disordered Troops were there so mangled, that the *Christians* with a loud Shout cried *Victoria*; and with five or six field Pieces, planted upon the rising of the Mountain, did much hurt to the Enemy, that still continued the Battel with that fury, that *Meldritch* seeing there was no pol-

icy

sibility long to prevail, joyned his small Troops in one body, resolved directly to make his passage, or die in the conclusion; and thus in gross gave a general charge, and for more than half an hour, made his way plain before him, till the main Battle of the *Crim-Tartar*, with two Regiments of *Turks* and *Janizaries* so overmatched them, that they were overthrown. The night approaching, the Earl with some thirteen or fourteen hundred Horse, swam the River, some were drowned, all the rest slain or taken Prisoners: And thus in this bloody Field, near 30000 lay, some Headless, Armless and Legless, all cut and mangled; where breathing their last, they gave this knowledge to the World, that for the lives of so few, the *Crim-Tartar* never paid dearer. But now the Countries of *Transilvania* and *Wallachia* (subjected to the Emperor) and *Sigismundus*, that brave Prince, his Subject and Pensioner, the most of his Nobility, brave Captains and Soldiers, became a prey to the cruel devouring *Turk*: where, had the Emperour been as ready to have assisted him, and those three Armies led by three such worthy Captains, as *Michael*, *Busca*, and Himself, and had those three Armies joyned to other against the *Turk*, let all Men judge, how happy it might have been for all Christendom: and have either regained *Bulgaria*, or at least have beat him out of *Hungaria*, where he hath taken much more from the Emperour, than hath the Emperour from him.

In this dismal Battel, where *Nedeschpolt*, *Veltus*, *Zarvana*, *Mavazo*, *Bavel*, and many other Earls, Barons, Colonels, Captains, brave Gentlemen, and Soldiers were slain, give me leave to remember the names of our own Country-men, with him in those Exploits, that as resolutely as the best in the defence of *Christ* and his Gospel, ended their days, as *Baskerfield*, *Hardwick*, *Thomas Milemer*, *Robert Mollineux*, *Thomas Bishop*, *Francis Compton*, *George Davison*, *Nicholas Williams*, and one *John* a Scot, did what Men could do, and when they could do no more, left there their Bodies in Testimony of their minds; only Ensign *Charleton*, and Sergeant *Robinson* escaped: But *Smith*, among the slaughtered dead Bodies, and many a gasping Soul, with toil and Wounds lay groaning among the rest, till being found by the Pillagers, he was able to live, and perceiving by his Armour and Habit, his ransom might be better to them than his Death, they led him Prisoner with many others; well they used him till his Wounds were cured, and at *Axopolis* they were all sold for Slaves, like Beasts in a Market-place, where every Merchant, viewing their Limbs and Wounds, caused other Slaves to struggle with them, to try their strength, he fell to the share of *Bashaw Bogal*, who sent him forthwith to *Adrianopolis*, so for *Constantinople* to his fair Mistris for a Slave. By twenty and twenty chained by the Necks, they marched in file to this great City, where they were delivered to their several Masters, and he to the young *Charatza Tragabigzanda*.

The English Men in this Battel.

CHAP. XII.

How Captain Smith *was sent Prisoner thorow the* Black *and* Dissabacca *Sea in* Tartaria; *the Description of those Seas, and his usage.*

THis Noble Gentlewoman took sometime occasion to shew him to some Friends, or rather to speak with him, because she could speak Italian, would feign her self sick when she should go to the *Banians*, or weep over the Graves, to know how *Bogal* took him Prisoner; and if he were as the *Bashaw* writ to her, a *Bohemian* Lord conquered by his Hand, as he had many others, which ere long he would present her, whose Ransomes should adorn her with the glory of his Conquests.

But when she heard him protest he knew no such matter, nor ever saw *Bogal*, till he bought him at *Axopolis*, and that he was an *English-man*, only by his Adventures made a Captain in those Countries. To try the truth, she found means to find out many who could speak *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Italian*, to whom relating most part of these former Passages she thought necessary, which they so honestly reported to her, she took (as it seemed) much compassion on him; but having no use for him, lest her Mother should sell him, she sent him to her Brother, the *Timor Bashaw* of *Nalbrits*, in the Country of *Cambia*, a Province in *Tartaria*.

Here now let us remember his passing, in this speculative course from *Constantinople* by *Sander*, *Screw*, *Panassa*, *Musa*, *Lastilla*, to *Varna*, an ancient City upon the *Black Sea*. In all which Journey, having little more liberty, than his eyes judgment, since his Cap-

How he was sent into Tartaria.

Captivity, he might see the Towns with their short Towers, and a most plain, fertile, and delicate Country, especially that most admired place of *Greece*, now called *Romania*, but from *Varna*, nothing but the *Black Sea* Water, till he came to the two Capes of *Taur* and *Pergilos*, where he passed the Streight of *Niger*, which (as he conjectured) is some ten Leagues long, and three broad, betwixt two Low-lands, the Channel is deep, but at the entrance of the Sea *Dissnbacca*, there are many great Osie-shaulds, and many great black Rocks, which the *Turks* said were Trees, Weeds, and Mud, thrown from the In-land Countries, by the Inundations and violence of the Current, and cast there by the Eddy. They Sailed by many low Isles, and saw many more of those muddy Rocks, and nothing else, but salt Water, till they came betwixt *Susax* and *Curuske*, only two white Towns at the entrance of the River *Bruapo* appeared: In six or seven days Sail, he saw four or five seeming strong Castles of Stone, with flat tops and Battlements about them, but arriving at *Cambia*, he was (according to their custom) well used. The River was there more than half a Mile broad. The Castle was of a large Circumference, fourteen or fifteen foot thick, in the Foundation some six foot from the Wall, is a Pallizado, and then a Ditch of about forty foot broad full of Water. On the West side of it, is a Town, all of low flat Houses, which as he conceived, could be of no great strength, yet it keeps all them barbarous Countreys about it in admiration and subjection. After he had stayed there three days; it was two days more before his Guides brought him to *Nalbrits*, where the *Tymor* was then resident, in a great vast Stone Castle, with many great Courts about it, invironed with high Stone Walls, where was quartered their Arms, when they first subjected those Countries, which only live to labour for those Tyrannical *Turks*.

The Description of the Dissabacca Sea.

To her unkind Brother, this kind Lady writ so much for his good usage, that he half suspected, as much as she intended; for she told him, he should there but sojourn to learn the Language, and what it was to be a *Turk*, till time made her Master of her self. But the *Tymor*, her Brother, diverted all this to the worst of Cruelty; for within an hour after his arrival, he caused his *Drulman* to strip him naked, and shave his Head and Beard so bare as his Hand, a great Ring of Iron, with a long stalk bowed like a Sickle, revitted about his Neck, and a Coat made of Ulgries Hair, guarded about with a piece of an undrest Skin. There were many more Christian Slaves, and near an hundred *Forsados* of *Turks* and *Moors*, and he being the last, was slave of Slaves to them all. Among these slavish Fortunes, there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a Dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet for all their pains and labours, no more regarded than a Beast.

Smith's usage in Tartaria.

The Tartars of Nagi and their manners.

The description of the Cam-Tartar's Court.

CHAP. XIII.

The Turks *diet*; *the Slaves diet*; *the attire of the* Tartars; *and manner of Wars and Religions*, &c.

The Tymor's Diet of Cambia, is as the Turks.

THE *Tymor* and his Friends fed upon Pillaw, which is, boiled Rice and Garnances, with little bits of Mutton or Buckones, which is Roated pieces of Horse, Bull, Ulgrie, or any Beasts. *Samboyses* and *Mussellit* are great Dainties, and yet but round Pies, full of all sorts of Flesh, they can get chopped with variety of Herbs. Their best Drink is Coffee, of a grain they call *Coava*, boiled with Water; and *Sherbeck*, which is only Honey and Water; Mares Milk, or the Milk of any Beast, they hold restorative: but all the Commonalty drink pure Water. Their Bread is made of this *Coava*, which is a kind of black Wheat, and *Cuckus* a small white Seed, like *Millia* in *Bukay*: But our common Victuals, the entrails of Horse and Ulgries; of this cut in small pieces, they will fill a great Cauldron, and being boiled with *Cuckus*, and put in great Bowls in the form of Chasing-dishes, they sit round about it on the Ground, after they have raked it thorow, so oft as they please with their foul Fists, the remainder was for the *Christian* Slaves. Some of this Broth, they would temper with *Cuckus* pounded, and putting the Fire off from the Hearth, pour there a Bowl full, then cover it with Coals till it be baked, which stewed with the remainder of the Broth, and some small pieces of Flesh, was an extraordinary Dainty.

The Slaves diet.

Habitations of Carts.

The better sort are attired like *Turks*, but the plain *Tartar* hath a black Sheeps-skin over his back, and two of the Legs tied about his Neck; the other two about his middle

The attire of the Tartars.

middle, with another over his Belly, and the Legs tied in like manner behind him: Then two more, made like a pair of Baſes, ſerveth him for Breeches; with a little cloſe Cap to his Skull of black Felt, and they uſe exceeding much of this Felt for Carpets, for Bedding, for Coats, and Idols. Their Houſes are much worſe than your *Iriſh*, but the In-land Countries have none but Carts and Tents, which they ever remove from Countrey to Countrey, as they ſee occaſion, driving with them infinite Troops of black Sheep, Cattel and Ulgries, eating all up before them as they go.

The Tartars of Nagi and their manners.

For the *Tartars* of *Nagi*, they have neither Town, nor Houſe, Corn, nor Drink, but Fleſh and Milk. The Milk they keep in great Skins like *Burracho's*, which though it be never ſo ſower, it agreeth well with their ſtrong Stomachs. They live all in *Hordin*, as doth the *Crim-Tartars*, three or four hundred in a Company, in great Carts fifteen or ſixteen foot broad, which are covered with ſmall Rods, wattled together in the form of a Bird's Neſt, turned upwards, and with the Aſhes of Bones, temper'd with Oil, Camels Hair, and a Clay they have, they loam them ſo well, that no Weather can pierce them, and yet very light. Each *Hordia* hath a *Murſe*, which they obey as their King. Their Gods are infinite. One or two thouſand of thoſe glittering white Carts drawn with Camels, Deer, Bulls, and Ulgries, they bring round in a Ring, where they pitch their Camp; and the *Murſe*, with his chief Alliances, are placed in the midſt. They do much hurt, when they can get any *Stroggs*, which are great Boats uſed upon the River *Volga*, (which they call *Edle*) to them that dwell in the Countrey of *Perolog*, and would do much more, were it not for the *Muſcovites* Garriſons that there Inhabit.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Deſcription of the Crim-Tartars; *their Houſes and Carts, their Idolatry in their Lodgings.*

The deſcription of the Crim-Tartar's Cities.

NOW you are to underſtand, *Tartary* and *Scythia* are all one, but ſo large and ſpacious, few, or none, could ever perfectly deſcribe it, nor all the ſeveral kinds of thoſe moſt barbarous People that inhabit it. Thoſe we call the *Crim-Tartars*, border upon *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, *Lithuania*, and *Ruſſia*, are much more regular than the interior parts of *Scythia*. This Great *Tartarian* Prince, that hath ſo troubled all his Neighbours, they always call *Cham*, which ſignifieth Emperour; but we, the *Crim Tartar*. He liveth for the moſt part in the beſt Champion Plains of many Provinces; and his removing Court is like a great City of Houſes and Tents, drawn on Carts, all ſo orderly placed Eaſt and Weſt, on the right and left hand of the Prince's Houſe, which is always in the midſt towards the South, before which, none may pitch their Houſes, every one knowing their Order and Quarter, as in an Army. The Princes Houſes are very artificially wrought, both the Foundation, Sides, and Roof of Wickers, aſcending round to the top like a Dove coat; this they cover with white Salt, or white Earth, temper'd with the Powder of Bones, that it may ſhine the whiter; ſometimes with black Felt, curiouſly painted with Vines, Trees, Birds, and Beaſts; the breadth of the Carts are eighteen or twenty Foot, but the houſe ſtretcheth four or five Foot over each ſide, and is drawn with ten or twelve, or for more ſtate, twenty Camels and Oxen. They have alſo great Baskets, made of ſmaller Wickers, like great Cheſts, with a covering of the ſame, all covered over with black Felt, rubbed over with Tallow and Sheeps Milk, to keep out the Rain; prettily bedecked with Painting or Feathers; in thoſe they put their Houſhold Stuff and Treaſure, drawn upon other Carts for that purpoſe. When they take down their Houſes, they ſet the door always towards the South, and their Carts thirty or forty Foot diſtant on each ſide, East and Weſt, as if they were two Walls: The Women alſo have moſt curious Carts; every one of his Wives hath a great one for her ſelf, and ſo many other for her Attendants, that they ſeem as many Courts as he hath Wives. One great *Tartar* or Nobleman, will have for his particular, more than an hundred of thoſe Houſes and Carts, for his ſeveral Offices and Uſes, but ſet ſo far from each other, they will ſeem like a great Village. Having taken their Houſes from the Carts, they place the Maſter always towards the North; over whoſe head is always an Image like a Puppet, made of Felt, which they call his Brother; the Women on his left hand, and

Houſes and Carts.

Baskets.

Their Idolatry in their Lodgings.

over the chief Mistriss her Head, such another Brother, and between them a little one, which is the keeper of the House; at the good Wive's Beds-feet is a Kids Skin, stuffed with Wooll, and near it a Puppet looking towards the Maids; next the door another, with a dried Cows Udder, for the Women that Milk the Kine, because only the Men Milk Mares; every Morning those Images in their orders, they besprinkle with that they drink, be it Cossmos, or whatsoever, but all the white Mares Milk is reserved for the Prince. Then without the door, thrice to the South, every one bowing his knee in honour of the Fire; then the like to the East, in honour of the Air; then to the West, in honour of the Water; and lastly to the North, in behalf of the dead. After the Servant hath done this duty to the four quarters of the World, he returns into the House, where his Fellows stand waiting, ready with two Cups, and two Basons, to give their Master, and his Wife that lay with him that Night, to wash and drink, who must keep him company all the day following, and all his other Wives come thither to drink, where he keeps his House that day; and all the Gifts presented him till night, are laid up in her Chests; and at the door a Bench full of Cups, and drink for any of them to make merry.

Cossmos is Mares Milk.

CHAP. XV.

Their Feasts, common Diet, Princes Estate, Buildings, Tributes, Laws, Slaves, Entertainment of Ambassadors.

Their Feasts.

FOR their Feasts, they have all sorts of Beasts, Birds, Fish, Fruits, and Herbs they can get, but the more variety of wild ones is the best; to which they have excellent Drink made of Rice, Millet, and Honey, like Wine; they have also Wine, but in Summer they drink most Cossmos, that standeth ready always at the entrance of the door, and by it a Fidler; when the Master of the House beginneth to drink, they all cry, ha, ha, and the Filder plays, then they all clap their Hands and dance, the Men before their Masters, the Women before their Mistresses; and ever when he drinks, they cry as before; then the Fidler stayeth till they drink all round; sometimes they will drink for the Victory; and to provoke one to drink, they will pull him by the Ears, and lug and draw him, to stretch and heat him, clapping their Hands, stamping with their Feet, and dancing before the Champions, offering them Cups, then draw them back again to increase their Appetite; and thus continue till they be drunk, or their drink done, which they hold an honour, and no Infirmity.

Their common diet.

Though the Ground be fertile, they sow little Corn, yet the Gentlemen have Bread and Hony-wine; Grapes they have plenty, and Wine privately, and good Flesh and Fish, but the common sort stamped Millet, mingled with Milk and Water. They call Cassa for Meat, and drink any thing; also any Beast unprofitable for service they kill, when they are like to die, or however they die, they will eat them, Guts, Liver and all; but the most fleshy parts they cut in thin slices, and hang it up in the Sun and Wind without salting, where it will dry so hard, it will not putrifie in a long time. A Ramm they esteem a great Feast among forty or fifty, which they cut in pieces boiled or roasted, puts it in a great Bowl, with Salt and Water, for other Sawce they have none, the Master of the Feast giveth every one a piece, which he eateth by himself, or carrieth away with him. Thus their hard fare makes them so infinite in Cattel, and their great number of Captived Women to breed upon, makes them so populous. But near the Christian Frontiers, the baser sort make little Cottages of Wood, called *Vlusi*, daubed over with dirt, and Beasts dung covered with sedge; yet in Summer they leave them, beginning their Progress in *April*, with their Wives, Children, and Slaves, in their Carted Houses, scarce convenient for four or five Persons; driving their Flocks towards *Precopia*, and sometimes into *Taurica*, or *Osow*, a Town upon the River *Tanais*, which is great and swift, where the *Turk* hath a Garrison; and in *October* return again to their Cottages. Their Clothes are the Skins of Dogs, Goats, and Sheep, lined with Cotton Cloath, made of their finest Wooll, for of their worst they make their Felt, which they use in abundance, as well for Shooes and Caps, as Houses, Beds, and Idols; also of the coarse Wooll mingled with Horse hair, they make all their Cordage. Notwithstanding this wandring life, their Princes sit in great State upon Beds, or Carpets, and with great reverence are attended both by Men and Women,

How she becomes populous.

Their Princes State.

men, and richly ſerved in Plate, and great Silver Cups, delivered upon the Knee, attired in rich Furrs, lined with Pluſh, or Taffity, or Robes of Tiſſue. Theſe *Tartars* poſſeſs many large and goodly Plains, wherein feed innumerable Herds of Horſe and Cattel, as well wild as tame; which are Elkes, Biſons, Horſes, Deer, Sheep, Goats, Swine, Bears, and divers others.

Ancient Buildings. In thoſe Countries are the Ruins of many fair Monaſteries, Caſtles, and Cities, as *Bacafaray*, *Salutium*, *Almaſſary*, *Precopia*, *Cremum*, *Sedacom*, *Capha*, and divers others by the Sea, but all kept with ſtrong Garriſons for the Great *Turk*, who yearly by Trade or Traffick, receiveth the chief Commodities thoſe fertile Countries afford, as Bezoar, Rice, Furrs, Hides, Butter, Salt, Cattel, and Slaves, yet by the ſpoils they get from the ſecure and idle Chriſtians, they maintain themſelves in this Pomp. Alſo their Wives, of whom they have as many as they will, very coſtly, yet in a conſtant cuſtom with decency.

Their Intercourſe with the Turks.

Good Laws, yet ill obſerved. They are *Mahometans*, as are the *Turks*, from whom alſo they have their Laws, but no Lawyers, nor Attornies, only Judges, and Juſtices in every Village, or Hordia; but Capital Criminals, or matters of moment, before the Chan himſelf, or Privy Councils, of whom they are always heard, and ſpeedily diſcharged; for any may have acceſs at any time to them, before whom they appear with great Reverence, adoring their Princes as Gods, and their Spiritual Judges as Saints; for Juſtice is with ſuch Integrity and Expedition Executed, without Covetouſneſs, Bribery, Partiality, and Brawling, that in ſix Months they have ſometimes ſcarce ſix Cauſes to hear. About the Princes Court, none but his Guard wear any Weapon, but abroad they go very ſtrong, becauſe there are many Banditos, and Thieves.

Their Slaves. They uſe the *Hungarians*, *Ruſſians*, *Wallachians*, and *Moldavian* Slaves (whereof they have plenty) as Beaſts to every work; and thoſe *Tartars* that ſerve the Chan, or Noblemen, have only Victuals and Apparel, the reſt are generally naſtly, and idle, naturally miſerable, and in their Wars better Thieves than Soldiers.

His Entertainment of Ambaſſadours. This Chan hath yearly a Donative from the King of *Poland*, the Dukes of *Lithuania*, *Moldavia*, and *Nagayon Tartars*; their Meſſengers commonly he uſeth bountifully, and very nobly, but ſometimes moſt cruelly; when any of them do bring their Preſents, by his Houſhold Officers, they are entertained in a plain Field, with a moderate proportion of Fleſh, Bread and Wine, for once; but when they come before him, the *Sultans*, *Tuians*, *Ulans*, *Marbies*, his chief Officers and Councellors attend, one Man only bringeth the Ambaſſadour to the Court Gate, but to the Chan he is led between two Councellors; where ſaluting him upon their bended knees, declaring their meſſage, are admitted to eat with him, and preſented with a great Silver Cup full of Mead from his own hand, but they drink it upon their Knees: when they are diſpatched, he invites them again, the Feaſt ended, they go back a little from the Palace door, and rewarded with Silk Veſtures, wrought with Gold down to their Anckles, with an Horſe or two, and ſometimes a Slave of their own Nation; in them Robes preſently they come to him again, to give him thanks, take their leave, and ſo depart.

CHAP. XVI.

How he levieth an Army; their Arms and Proviſion; how he divideth the Spoil, and his Service to the Great Turk.

How he leviеth an Army. WHen he intends any Wars, he muſt firſt have leave of the Great *Turk*, whom he is bound to aſſiſt when he commandeth, receiving daily for himſelf and chief of his Nobility, Penſions from the *Turk*, that holds all Kings but Slaves, that pay Tribute, or are ſubject to any: ſignifying his intent to all his Subjects, within a Month commonly he raiſeth his Army, and every Man is to furniſh himſelf for three Months Victuals, which is parched *Millet*, or ground to Meal, which they ordinarily mingle with Water (as is ſaid) hard Cheeſe or Curds dried, and beaten to powder, a little will make much Water like Milk, and dried Fleſh, this they put alſo up in Sacks: The Chan and his Nobles have ſome Bread and *Aquavitæ*, and quick Cattel to kill when they pleaſe, wherewith very ſparingly they are contented. Being provided with expert Guides, and got into the Country he intends to Invade, he ſends forth his Scouts to bring in what Priſoners they can, from whom he will wreſt the utmoſt of their Knowledge fit for his purpoſe: having adviſed with his Council, what is moſt fit

to

to be done, the Nobility, according to their Antiquity, doth march; then moves he with his whole Army: if he find there is no Enemy to oppose him, he adviseth how far they shall Invade, commanding every Man (upon pain of his Life) to kill all the obvious Rusticks; but not to hurt any Women, or Children.

The manner of his Wars.

Ten, or fifteen thousand, he commonly placeth, where he findeth most convenient for his standing Camp; the rest of his Army he divides in several Troops, bearing ten or twelve Miles square before them, and ever within three or four days return to their Camp, putting all to Fire and Sword, but that they carry with them back to their Camp; and in this scattering manner he will invade a Country, and be gone with his Prey, with an incredible Expedition. But if he understand of an Enemy, he will either fight in Ambuscado, or flie; for he will never fight any Battel if he can chuse, but upon treble advantage; yet by his innumerable flights of Arrows, I have seen flie from his flying Troops, we could not well judge, whether his fighting or flying was most dangerous, so good is his Horse, and so expert his Bow-men; but if they be so intangled they must fight, there is none can be more hardy, or resolute in their defences.

How he divides the spoil.

Regaining his own Borders, he takes the tenth of the principal Captives, Man, Woman, Child, or Beast (but his Captains that take them, will accept of some particular Person they best like for themselves) the rest are divided amongst the whole Army, according to every Mans Desert and Quality; that they keep them, or sell them to who will give most; but they will not forget to use all the means they can, to know their Estates, Friends, and Quality, and the better they find you, the worse they will use you, till you do agree to pay such a Ransome, as they will impose upon you; therefore many great Persons have endured much misery to conceal themselves, because their Ransoms are so intolerable: their best hope is of some Christian Agent, that many times cometh to redeem Slaves, either with Money, or Man for Man; those Agents knowing so well the extream covetousness of the *Tartars*, do use to bribe some Jew or Merchant, that feigning they will sell them again to some other Nation, are oft redeemed for a very small Ransom.

[illegible] the Chan doth [illegible] the [illegible]

But to this *Tartarian* Army, when the *Turk* commands, he goeth with some small Artillery; and the *Nagayans*, *Precopens*, *Crims*, *Olocens*, and *Circassians*, are his Tributaries: but the *Petigorves*, *Oczaconians*, *Blaiogoraens*, and *Dobrucen Tartars*, the *Turk* by Covenant commands to follow him, so that from all those *Tartars* he hath had an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand excellent, swift, stomackfull *Tartarian* Horse, for foot they have none. Now the Chan, his Sultans and Nobility, use *Turkish*, *Caramanian*, *Arabian*, *Parthian*, and other strange *Tartarian* Horses; the swiftest they esteem the best; seldom they feed any more at home, than they have present use for, but upon their Plains is a short Wood-like Heath, in some Countries like Gail, full of Berries, much better than any Grass.

Their Arms.

Their Arms are such, as they have surprised or got from the *Christians* or *Persians*, both Brest-plates, Swords, Scimitars, and Helmets; Bows and Arrows they make most themselves, also their Bridles and Saddles are indifferent, but the Nobility are very handsome, and well armed like the *Turks*, in whom consisteth their greatest Glory; the ordinary sort have little Armour, some a plain young Pole unshaven, headed with a piece of Iron for a Lance; some an old *Christian* Pike, or a *Turks* Cavarine; yet those Tattertimallions will have two or three Horses, some four or five, as well for service, as for to eat; which makes their Armies seem thrice so many as there are Soldiers. The Chan himself hath about his Person, Ten thousand chosen *Tartars* and *Janizaries*, some small Ordnance, and a white Mares Tail, with a piece of green Taffity on a great Pike, is carried before him for a Standard; because they hold no Beast so precious as a white Mare, whose Milk is only for the King and Nobility, and to Sacrifice to their Idols; but the rest have Ensigns of divers Colours.

For all this miserable Knowledge, Furniture, and Equipage, the mischief they do in *Christendom* is wonderful, by reason of their hardness of Life and Constitution, Obedience, Agility, and their Emperours Bounty, Honours, Grace, and Dignities he ever bestoweth upon those, that have done him any memorable Service in the face of his Enemies.

A [illegible] of the Caspian Sea.

The *Caspian* Sea, most Men agree that have passed it, to be in length about 200 Leagues, and in breadth an hundred and fifty, environed to the East, with the great Desarts of the *Tartars* of *Turkomania*; to the West, by the *Circasses*, and the Mountain *Caucasus*; to the North, by the River *Volga*, and the Land of *Nagay*; and to the South, by *Media*, and *Persia*: This Sea is fresh Water in many places, in others as salt as the great Ocean; it hath many great Rivers which fall into it, as the mighty River of *Volga*, which is like a Sea, running near Two thousand Miles, through many great

great and large Countries, that ſend into it many other great Rivers; alſo out of *Saberia*, *Taick*, and *Tem*, out of the great Mountain *Caucaſus*, the River *Sirus*, *Araſo*, and divers others, yet no Sea nearer it than the black Sea, which is at leaſt an hundred Leagues diſtant: In which Country live the *Georgians*, now part *Armenians*, part *Neſtorians*; it is neither found to increaſe or diminiſh, or empty it ſelf any way, except it be under Ground, and in ſome places they can find no Ground at Two hundred Fathom.

Many other moſt ſtrange and wonderful things are in the Land of *Cathay*, towards the North-eaſt, and *China* towards the South-eaſt, where are many of the moſt famous Kingdoms in the World, where moſt Arts, Plenty, and Curioſities are in ſuch abundance, as might ſeem incredible, which hereafter I will relate, as I have briefly gathered from ſuch Authors as have lived there.

CHAP. XVII.

How Captain Smith *eſcaped his Captivity; ſlew the* Baſhaw *of* Nalbrits *in* Cambia; *his Paſſage to* Ruſſia, Tranſilvania, *and the middeſt of* Europe *to* Africa.

How Smith eſcaped his Captivity.

ALL the hope he had ever to be delivered from this Thraldom, was only the love of *Tragabigzanda*, who ſurely was ignorant of his bad uſage; for although he had often debated the matter with ſome Chriſtians, that had been there a long time Slaves, they could not find how to make an eſcape, by any reaſon or poſſibility; but God beyond Man's Expectation or Imagination helpeth his Servants, when they leaſt think of help, as it hapned to him. So long he lived in this miſerable Eſtate, as he became a Threſher at a grange in a great Field, more than a League from the *Timors*'s Houſe; the *Baſhaw*, as he oft uſed to viſit his Granges, viſited him, and took occaſion ſo to beat, ſpurn, and revile him, that forgetting all reaſon, he beat out the *Timors* Brains with his Threſhing Bat, for they have no Flails; and ſeeing his Eſtate could be no worſe than it was, clothed himſelf in his Clothes, hid his Body under the Straw, filled his Knapſack with Corn, ſhut the doors, mounted his Horſe, and ran into the Deſart at all adventure; two or three days, thus fearfully wandring he knew not whither, and well it was, he met not any to ask the way; being even as taking leave of this miſerable World, God did direct him to the great way or Caſtragan, as they call it, which doth croſs thoſe large Territories, and generally known among them by theſe marks.

Their Cuſtoms in croſſe-ways.

In every croſſing of this great way is planted a Poſt, and in it ſo many bobs with broad ends, as there be ways, and every bob the Figure painted on it, that demonſtrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the *Crim*'s Country, is marked with a half Moon, if towards the *Georgians* and *Perſia*, a black Man, full of white ſpots, if towards *China*, the Picture of the Sun, if towards *Muſcovia*, the Sign of a Croſs, if towards the Habitation of any other Prince, the Figure whereby his Standard is known. To his dying Spirits thus God added ſome comfort in this melancholy Journey, wherein if he had met any of that vile Generation, they had made him their Slave, or knowing the Figure Engraven in the Iron about his Neck, (as all Slaves have) he had been ſent back again to his Maſter; ſixteen days he travelled in this fear and torment, after the Croſs, till he arrived at *Ægopolis*, upon the River *Don*, a Garriſon of the *Muſcovites*. The Governour after due Examination of thoſe his hard events, took off his Irons, and ſo kindly uſed him, he thought himſelf new riſen from the Dead, and the good Lady *Calamata*, largely ſupplied all his wants.

The deſcription of Cambia, *and his paſſage to* Ruſſia.

This is as much as he could learn of thoſe wild Countries, that the Country of *Cambia* is two days Journey from the Head of the great River *Bruapo*, which ſpringeth from many places of the Mountains of *Inagachi*, that joyn themſelves together in the Pool *Kerkus*; which they account for the Head, and falleth into the Sea *Diſſalacca*, called by ſome the Lake *Mæotis*, which receiveth alſo the River *Tanais*, and all the Rivers that fall from the great Countries of the *Circaſſi*, the *Cartaches*, and many from the *Tauricaes*, *Precopes*, *Cummani*, *Coſſunka*, and the *Crim*; through which Sea he Sailed, and up the River *Bruapo* to *Nalbrits*, and thence through the Deſarts of *Circaſſi* to *Ægopolis*, as is related; where he ſtayed with the Governour, till the Convoy went to *Caragnaw*; then with his Certificate how he found him, and had examined with his friendly Letters, ſent him by *Zumalack* to *Caragnaw*, whoſe Governour in like manner ſo kindly uſed him, that by this means he went with a ſafe conduct to *Letch*, and *Don-*

ko, in *Cologorske*, and thence to *Bermuke*, and *Newgrod* in *Siberia*, by *Rezechica*, upon the River *Nieper*, in the confines of *Lithuania*; from whence with as much kindneſs, he was convoyed in like manner by *Coreski*, *Dubereske*, *Duzibell*, *Drohobus*, and *Oſtroge* in *Volonia*; *Saſſaw*, and *Laſco* in *Podolia*; *Halico* and *Collonia* in *Polonia*; and ſo to *Hermonſtat* in *Tranſilvania*. In all this his life, he ſeldom met with more Reſpect, Mirth, Content and Entertainment; and not any Governour where he came, but gave him ſomewhat as a Preſent, beſides his Charges; ſeeing themſelves as ſubject to the like Calamity. Through thoſe poor continually Forraged Countries, there is no paſſage, but with the Caravans or Convoys; for they are Countries rather to be pitied than envied; and it is a wonder any ſhould make Wars for them. The Villages are only here and there, a few Houſes of ſtreight Firr Trees, laid heads and points above one another, made faſt by notches at the ends, more than a Man's heighth, and with broad ſplit Boards, pinned together with woodden Pins, as thatched for coverture. In ten Villages you ſhall ſcarce find ten Iron Nails, except it be in ſome extraordinary Man's Houſe. For their Towns, *Æcopolis*, *Letch*, and *Donko*, have Rampires made of that woodden Walled faſhion, double, and betwixt them Earth and Stones, but ſo latched with croſs Timber, they are very ſtrong againſt any thing but Fire; and about them a deep Ditch, and a Palizado of young Firr Trees; but moſt of the reſt have only a great Ditch caſt about them, and the Ditches Earth, is all their Rampire; but round, well environed with Palizadoes. Some have ſome few ſmall pieces of ſmall Ordnance, and Slings, Calievers, and Muskets, but their generaleſt Weapons are the *Ruſſe* Bows and Arrows; you ſhall find Pavements over Bogs, only of young Firr-Trees, laid croſs one over another, for two or three hours Journey, or as the Paſſage requires, and yet in two days Travel, you ſhall ſcarce ſee ſix Habitations. Notwithſtanding to ſee how their Lords, Governours, and Captains are civilized, well attired and accoutred with Jewels, Sables, and Horſes, and after their manner with curious Furniture, it is wonderful; but they are all Lords or Slaves, which makes them ſo ſubject to every Invaſion.

The Obſervations in his Journey to Tranſilvania, through the midſt of Europe.

In *Tranſilvania*, he found ſo many good Friends, that but to ſee, and rejoyce himſelf (after all thoſe Encounters) in his Native Country, he would ever hardly have left them, though the mirrour of vertue their Prince was abſent. Being thus glutted with content, and near drowned with Joy, he paſſed high *Hungaria* by *Filecke*, *Tocka*, *Caſſovia*, and *Underoroway*, by *Olmicke* in *Moravia*, to *Prague* in *Bohemia*; at laſt he found the moſt gracious Prince *Sigiſmundus*, with his Colonel at *Lipſwick* in *Miſenland*, who gave him his Paſs, intimating the ſervice he had done, and the Honours he had received, with fifteen hundred Ducats of Gold to repair his Loſſes. With this he ſpent ſome time to viſit the fair Cities and Countries of *Dreſden* in *Saxony*, *Magdeburgh* and *Brunſwick*; *Caſſel* in *Heſſen*; *Wittenberg*, *Vlum*, and *Minekin* in *Bavaria*; *Augiburg*, and her Univerſities; *Hama*, *Frankford*, *Mentz*, the *Palatinate*; *Worms*, *Spires*, and *Straſburg*; paſſing *Nancie* in *Lorain*, and *France* by *Parn* to *Orleans*, he went down the River of *Loyer*, to *Angiers*, and imbarked himſelf at *Nantz* in *Britain*, for *Bilbao* in *Biskay*, to ſee *Burgos-Valladolid*, the admired Monaſtery of the *Eſcurial*, *Madrid*, *Toledo*, *Corduba*, *Cuedyrial*, *Sivil*, *Cheries*, *Cales*, and St. *Lucas* in *Spain*

CHAP. XVIII.

The Obſervations of Captain Smith; *Mr.* Henry Archer, *and others in* Barbary.

BEing thus ſatisfied with *Europe* and *Aſia*, underſtanding of the Wars in *Barbary*, he went from *Gibralter* to *Ceuta* and *Tangier*, thence to *Saffee*, where growing into Acquaintance with a French Man of War, the Captain and ſome twelve more went to *Morocco*, to ſee the ancient Monuments of that large renowned City: It was once the principal City in *Barbary*, ſituated in a goodly plain Country, 14 Miles from the great Mount *Atlas*, and ſixty Miles from the *Atlantick* Sea; but now little remaining, but the King's Palace, which is like a City of it ſelf, and the Chriſtian Church, on whoſe flat, ſquare Steeple is a great broach of Iron, whereon is placed the three Golden Balls of *Africa*: The firſt is near three Ells in Circumference, the next above it ſomewhat leſs, the uppermoſt the leaſt over them, as it were an half Ball, and over all a pretty gilded

The three Golden Balls of Africa.

gilded *Pyramid.* Against those Golden Balls hath been shot many a shot, their weight is recorded 700 weight of pure Gold, hollow within, yet no shot did ever hit them, nor could ever any Conspirator attain that Honour as to get them down. They report, the Prince of *Morocco* bethrothed himself to the King's Daughter of *Æthiopia*, he dying before their Marriage, she caused those three Golden Balls to be set up for his Monument, and vowed Virginity all her Life.

The description of Morocco.

The *Alfantica* is also a place of note, because it is invironed with a great Wall, wherein lie the Goods of all the Merchants securely guarded. The *Inderea* is also (as it were) a City of it self, where dwell the Jews: The rest for the most part is defaced; but by the many Pinnacles and Towers, with Balls on their tops, hath much appearance of much sumptuousness and curiosity. There have been many famous Universities, which are now but Stables for Fowls, and Beasts, and the Houses in most parts lie tumbled one above another; the Walls of Earth are with the great fresh Flouds washed to the ground; nor is there any Village in it, but Tents for Strangers, *Larbes* and *Moors.* Strange Tales they will tell of a great Garden, wherein were all sorts of Birds, Fishes, Beasts, Fruits, and Fountains, which for Beauty, Art and Pleasure, exceeded any place known in the World, though now nothing but Dung-hills, Pigeon-Houses, Shrubs and Bushes. There are yet many excellent Fountains, adorned with Marble, and many Arches, Pillars, Towers, Ports, and Temples; but most only reliques of lamentable Ruins and sad Desolation.

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When *Muly Hamet* Reigned in *Barbary*, he had three Sons, *Muly Sheck*, *Muly Sidan*, and *Muly Befferres*, he a most good and noble King, that governed well with Peace and Plenty, till his Empress, more cruel than any Beast in *Africa*, poisoned him, her own Daughter, *Muly Sheck*, his eldest Son, born of a *Portugal* Lady, and his Daughter, to bring *Muly Sidan*, to the Crown now reigning, which was the cause of all those brawls, and Wars that followed betwixt those Brothers, their Children, and a Saint that started up, but he played the Devil.

King Muly Hamet, or the Great Zeriff of Barbary.

King *Muly Hamet* was not black, as many suppose, but *Molata*, or tawny, as are the most of his Subjects; every way noble, kind and friendly, very rich and pompous in State and Majesty, though he sitteth not upon a Throne nor Chair of state, but cross Leg'd upon a rich Carpet, as doth the *Turk*, whose Religion of *Mahomet*, with an incredible miserable Curiosity they observe. His ordinary Guard is at least 5000, but in Progress, he goeth not with less than 20000 Horse-men, himself as rich in all his Equipage, as any Prince in Christendom, and yet a Contributor to the *Turk.* In all his Kingdom were so few good Artificers, that he entertained from *England*, Goldsmiths, Plummers, Carvers, and Polishers of Stone, and Watch-makers, so much he delighted in the Reformation of Workmanship, he allowed each of them ten Shillings a day standing Fee, Linen, Woollen, Silks, and what they would for Diet and Apparel, and Custom-free to transport, or import what they would; for there were scarce any of those qualities in his Kingdom, but those, of which there are divers of them, living at this present in *London.* Amongst the rest, one Mr. *Henry Archer*, a Watch-maker, walking in *Morocco*, from the *Alfantica* to the *Juderea*, the way being very foul, met a great Priest, or a *Sante* (as they call all great Clergy-men) who would have thrust him into the dirt for the way; but *Archer* not knowing what he was, gave him a box on the Ear, presently he was apprehended, and condemned to have his Tongue cut out, and his Hand cut off: But no sooner it was known at the King's Court, but 300 of his Guard came, and broke open the Prison, and delivered him although the Fact was next degree to Treason.

His great love to English Men.

Concerning this *Archer*, there is one thing more worth noting: Not far from Mount *Atlas*, a great Lioness in the heat of the day, did use to bathe her self, and teach her young Puppies to swim in the River *Cauzef*, of a good breadth; yet she would carry which some *Moors* perceiving, watched their them one after another over the River; opportunity, and when the River was between her and them, stole four of her Whelps, which she perceiving, with all the speed she could passed the River, and coming near them, they let fall a Whelp (and fled with the rest) which she took in her mouth, and so returned to the rest: A Male and a Female of those they gave Mr. *Archer*, who kept them in the King's Garden, till the Male killed the Female, then he brought it up as a Puppy-dog lying upon his Bed, till it grew so great as a Mastiff, and no dog more tame or gentle to them he knew: But being to return for *England*, at *Saffee* he gave him to a Merchant of *Marseilles*, that presented him to the French King, who sent him to King *James*, where it was kept in the Tower seven Years: After one Mr. *John Bull*, then Servant to Mr. *Archer*, with divers of his Friends, went to see the Lions, not knowing any thing at all of him; yet this rare Beast smelled him before he saw him, whining, groaning, and tumbling, with such an

The strange love of a Lion.

an expreſſion of acquaintance, that being informed by the Keepers how he came thither; Mr. *Bull* ſo prevailed, the Keeper opened the Grate, and *Bull* went in: But no Dog could fawn more on his Maſter, than the Lion on him, licking his Feet, Hands, and Face, skipping and tumbling to and fro, to the wonder of all the beholders; being ſatisfied with his acquaintance, he made ſhift to get out of the Grate: But when the Lion ſaw his Friend gone, no Beaſt by bellowing, roaring, ſcratching, and howling, could expreſs more rage and ſorrow, nor in four days after would he either eat or drink.

Another kind Lion in Morocco.

In *Morocco*, the King's Lions are altogether in a Court, invironed with a great high Wall; to thoſe they put a young Puppy-dog: The greateſt Lion had a ſore upon his neck, which this Dog ſo licked, that he was healed: The Lion defended him from the fury of all the reſt, nor durſt they eat till the Dog and he had fed; this Dog grew great, and lived amongſt them many years after.

The deſcription of Fez.

Fez alſo is a moſt large and plentiful Country, the chief City is called *Fez*, divided into two parts; old *Fez*, containing about 80 thouſand Houſholds, the other 4000 pleaſantly ſituated upon a River in the heart of *Barbary*, part upon Hills, part upon Plains, full of people, and all ſorts of Merchandize. The great Temple is called *Carucen*, in breadth ſeventeen Arches, in length 120, born up with 2500 white Marble Pillars: under the chief Arch, where the Tribunal is kept, hangeth a moſt huge Lamp, compaſſed with 110 leſſer, under the other alſo hang great Lamps, and about ſome, are burning fifteen hundred lights, They ſay, they were all made of the Bells the *Arabians* brought from *Spain*. It hath three Gates of notable heighth, Prieſts and Officers ſo many, that the Circuit of the Church, the Yard, and other Houſes, is little leſs than a Mile and half in compaſs, there are in this City 200 Schools, 200 Inns, 400 Water-Mills, 600 Water-Conduits, 700 Temples and Oratories; but 50 of them moſt ſtately and richly furniſhed. Their *Alcazer* or *Burſe* is Walled about, it hath twelve Gates, and fifteen Walks covered with Tents, to keep the Sun from the Merchants, and them that come there. The King's Palace, both for ſtrength and beauty is excellent, and the Citizens have many great Privileges. Thoſe two Countries of *Fez* and *Morocco*, are the beſt part of all *Barbary*, abounding with People, Cattel, and all good Neceſſaries for Man's uſe. For the reſt, as the *Larbs*, or Mountainers, the Kingdoms of *Cocow*, *Algier*, *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, and *Ægypt*; there are many large Hiſtories of them in divers Languages, eſpecially that writ by that moſt excellent Statesman, *John de Leo*, who afterwards turned Chriſtian. The unknown Countries of *Guine* and *Binn*, this ſix and twenty years have been frequented with a few Engliſh Ships only to Trade, eſpecially the River of *Senega*, by Captain *Brimſtead*, Captain *Brockit*, Mr. *Crump*, and divers others. Alſo the great River of *Gambra*, by Captain *Johſon*, who is returned in thither again, in the Year 1626, with Mr. *William Grent*, and thirteen or fourteen others, to ſtay in the Country, to diſcover ſome way to thoſe rich Mines of *Gago* or *Tumbutu*, from whence is ſuppoſed the *Moors* of *Barbary* have their Gold, and the certainty of thoſe ſuppoſed Deſcriptions and Relations of thoſe interiour parts, which daily the more they are ſought into, the more they are corrected: For ſurely, thoſe interiour Parts of *Africa*, are little known to either *Engliſh*, *French*, or *Dutch*, though they uſe much the Coaſt; therefore we will make a little bold with the Obſervations of the *Portugals*.

A brief deſcription of the moſt unknown parts of Africa.

CHAP. XIX.

The ſtrange Diſcoveries and Obſervations of the Portugals *in* Africa.

How the Portugals *coaſted to the* Eaſt-Indies.

THE *Portugals* on thoſe Parts have the glory, who firſt coaſting along this Weſtern Shoar of *Africa*, to find paſſage to the *Eaſt-Indies*, within this hundred and fifty years, even from the Streights of *Gibralter*, about the Cape of *Bone Eſperance* to the *Perſian* Gulf, and thence all along the *Aſian* Coaſt to the *Moluccas*, have ſubjected many great Kingdoms, erected many Common-wealths, built many great and ſtrong Cities; and where is it they have not been by Trade or Force? No not ſo much as *Cape de Verd*, and *Serra leone*; but moſt Bays or Rivers, where there is any Trade to be had, eſpecially Gold, or conveniency for Refreſhment, but they are ſcattered; living ſo amongſt thoſe Blacks, by time and cunning, they ſeem to be naturalized amongſt them. As for the Iſles of the *Canaries*, they have fair Towns, many Villages, and many thouſands of People rich in Commodities.

O 2

Mr. Edward.

Ordoardo Lopez, a noble *Portuguse*, *Anno Dom.* 1578, imbarking himself for *Congo* to Trade, where he found such Entertainment, finding the King much oppressed with Enemies, he found means to bring in the *Portugals* to assist him, whereby he planted there Christian Religion, and spent most of his life to bring those Countries to the Crown of *Portugal*, which he describeth in this manner.

The Kingdom of Congo.

The Kingdom of *Congo* is about 600 Miles Diameter any way, the chief City called St. *Savadore*, seated upon an exceeding high Mountain, 150 Miles from the Sea, very fertile, and Inhabited with more than 100000 Persons, where is an excellent Prospect over all the plain Countries about it, well watered, lying (as it were) in the Center of this Kingdom, over all which the *Portugals* now command, though but an handful in comparison of *Negroes*. They have Flesh and Fruits very plentiful of divers sorts.

Wild Elephants.

This Kingdom is divided into five Provinces, viz. *Bamba*, *Sundi*, *Pango*, *Batta* and *Pembo*; but *Bamba* is the Principal, and can afford 400000 Men of War. Elephants are bred over all those Provinces, and of wonderful greatness; though some report, they cannot kneel, nor lie down, they can do both, and have their Joynts as other Creatures for use: With their Fore-feet they will leap upon Trees to pull down the Boughs, and are of that strength, they will shake a great *Cocao* Tree for the Nuts, and pull down a good Tree with their Tusks, to get the Leaves to eat, as well as Sedge and long Grass, *Cocao* Nuts and Berries, &c. which with their Trunk they put in their Mouth, and chew it with their smaller Teeth; in most of those Provinces, are many rich Mines, but the *Negroes* opposed the *Portugueses* for working in them.

The Kingdom of *Angola* is wonderful populous, and rich in Mines of Silver, Copper, and most other Metals; fruitfull in all manner of Food, and sundry sorts of Cattel, but Dogs Flesh they love better than any other Meat; they use few Clothes, and no Armour; Bows, Arrows, and Clubs are their Weapons. But the *Portugueses* are well armed against those Engines, and do buy yearly of those Blacks more than five thousand Slaves, and many are People exceeding well proportioned.

The *Anchios* are a most valiant Nation, but most strange to all about them. Their Arms are Bows, short and small, wrapped about with Serpents Skins, of divers Colours, but so smooth, you would think them all one with the Wood, and it makes them very strong; their Strings little twigs, but exceeding tough and flexible; their Arrows short, which they shoot with an incredible quickness. They have short Axes of Brass and Copper for Swords, wonderful, loyal and faithful, and exceeding simple, yet so active, they skip amongst the Rocks like Goats. They trade with them of *Nubea*, and *Congo*, for *Lamach*, which is a small kind of Shell-fish, of an excellent azure colour, Male and Female, but the Female they hold most pure; they value them at divers prices, because they are of divers sorts, and those they use for Coin, to buy and sell, as we do Gold and Silver; nor will they have any other Money in all those Countries, for which they give Elephants Teeth; and Slaves for Salt, Silk, Linen Cloth, Glass-beads, and such like *Portugal* Commodities.

A strange Money.

They circumcise themselves, and mark their Faces with sundry flashes from their Infancy. They keep a shambles of Man's Flesh, as if it were Beef, or other Victuals; for when they cannot have a good Market for their Slaves; or their Enemies they take, they kill, and sell them in this manner; some are so resolute, in shewing how much they scorn death, they will offer themselves and Slaves, to this Butchery to their Prince and Friends; and though there be many Nations will eat their Enemies, in *America* and *Asia*, yet none but those are known to be so mad, as to eat their Slaves and Friends also.

A Shambles of Man's Flesh.

Religions and Idols they have as many, as Nations and Humours; but the Devil hath the greatest part of their Devotions, whom all those Blacks do say, is white; for there are no Saints but Blacks.

But besides those great Kingdoms of *Congo*, *Angola*, and *Azichi*, in those unfrequented Parts are the Kingdoms of *Lango*, *Matania*, *Battua*, *Sofola*, *Mozambeche*, *Quivola*, the Isle of St. *Lawrence*, *Mombaza*, *Melinda*, the Empires of *Monomotapa*, *Monemugi*, and *Presbyter John*, with whom they have a kind of Trade, and their Rites, Customs, Climates, Temperatures, and Commodities by Relation. Also of great Lakes, that deserve the Names of Seas, and huge Mountains of divers sorts, as some scorched with heat, some covered with Snow; the Mountains of the Sun, also of the Moon, some of Chrystal, some of Iron, some of Silver, and Mountains of Gold; with the Original of *Nilus*; likewise sundry sorts of Cattel, Fishes, Fowls, strange Beasts, and monstrous Serpents; for *Africa* was always noted to be a fruitful Mother of such terrible Creatures; who meeting at their watering places, which are but Ponds in desart places, in regard of the heat of the Country, and their extremities

Divers Nations yet unknown, and the wonders of Africa.

ties of Nature, make ſtrange Copulations, and ſo ingender thoſe extraordinary Monſters. Of all theſe you may read in the Hiſtory, of this *Edward Lopez*, tranſlated into Engliſh by *Abraham Hartwel*, and dedicated to *John* Lord Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, 1597. But becauſe the Particulars are moſt concerning the converſion of thoſe Pagans, by a good poor Prieſt, that firſt converted a Noble Man, to convert the King, and the reſt of the Nobility; ſent for ſo many Prieſts and Ornaments into *Portugal*, to Solemnize their Baptiſms with ſuch Magnificence, which was performed with ſuch ſtrange Curioſities, that thoſe poor *Negro's* adored them as gods, till the Prieſts grew to that Wealth, a Biſhop was ſent to rule over them, which they would not endure, which endangered to ſpoil all before they could be reconciled. But not to trouble you too long with thoſe Rarities of uncertainties; let us return again to *Barbary*, where the Wars being ended, and *Befferres* poſſeſſed of *Morocco*, and his Fathers Treaſure, a new bruit aroſe amongſt them, that *Muly Sidan* was raiſing an Army againſt him, who after took his Brother *Befferres* Priſoner; but by reaſon of the uncertainty, and the prefidious, treacherous, bloody murthers rather than War, amongſt thoſe perfidious, barbarous Moors, *Smith* returned with *Merham*, and the reſt to *Saffe*, and ſo aboard his Ship, to try ſome other concluſions at Sea.

CHAP. XX.

A brave Sea Fight betwixt to Spaniſh *Men of War, and Captain* Merham *with* Smith.

Merham, a Captain of a Man of War then in the Road, invited Captain *Smith*, and two or three more of them aboard with him, where he ſpared not any thing he had to expreſs his kindneſs, to bid them welcome, till it was too late to go on Shoar, ſo that neceſſity conſtrained them to ſtay aboard; a fairer Evening could not be, yet ere Midnight, ſuch a Storm did ariſe, they were forced to let ſlip Cable, and Anchor, and put to Sea, ſpooning before the Wind, till they were driven to the *Canaries*; in the Calms they accommodated themſelves, hoping this ſtrange accident might yet produce ſome good event; not long it was before they took a ſmall Bark coming from *Tenerif*, loaded with Wine; three or four more they chaſed, two they took, but found little in them, ſave a few Paſſengers, that told them of five *Dutch* Men of War, about the Iſles, ſo that they ſtood for *Boiadora*, upon the *African* Shoar, betwixt which and *Cape Noa*, they deſcryed two Sail. *Merham* intending to know what they were, hailed them; very civilly they danced their Top-ſails, and deſired the Man of War to come aboard them, and take what he would, for they were but two poor diſtreſſed *Biskainers*. But *Merham* the old Fox, ſeeing himſelf in the Lions paws, ſprung his louf, the other tacked after him, and came cloſe up to his nether Quarter, gave his Broad-ſide, and ſo louſed up to Windward, the Vice-Admiral did the like, and at the next bout, the Admiral with a noiſe of Trumpets, and all his Ordnance, Murtherers, and Muskets, boarded him on his Broad-ſide; the other in like manner on his ley Quarter, that it was ſo dark, there was little light, but [illegible] and ſmoak; long he ſtayed not, before [illegible] fell off, leaving 4 or 5 of his Men ſpawling over the Grating; after they had battered *Merham* about an hour, they boarded him again as before, and threw four Kedgars or Grapnels in Iron Chains, then ſhearing off, they thought ſo to have torn down the Grating; but the Admiral's Yard was ſo intangled in their Shrouds, *Merham* had time to diſcharge two croſs barr ſhot amongſt them, and divers Bolts of Iron made for that purpoſe, againſt his Bow, that made ſuch a Breach, he feared they both ſhould have ſunk for Company, ſo that the *Spaniard* was as yare in ſlipping his chained Grapnels, as *Merham* was in cutting the Tackling, kept faſt their Yard in his Shrouds; the Vice-Admiral preſently cleared himſelf, but ſpared neither his Ordnance nor Muskets to keep *Merham* from getting away, till the Admiral had repaired his Leak; from twelve at noon, till ſix at night, they thus interchanged one volly for another; then the Vice-Admiral fell on Stern, ſtaying for the Admiral that came up again to him, and all that night ſtood after *Merham*, that ſhaped his courſe for *Mamora*, but ſuch ſmall way they made, the next Morning they were not three Leagues off from *Cape Noa*. The two *Spaniſh* Men of War, for ſo they were, and well appointed, taking it in ſcorn as it ſeemed, with their Chaſe, Broad-ſide, and Stern, the one after the other, within Muſket ſhot, plying their Ordnance; and after an hours Work, commanded *Merham* amain for the King of *Spain* upon fair Quarter; *Merham* drank to them

them, and ſo diſcharged his Quarter Pieces: Which Pride the *Spaniard* to revenge, boarded him again, and many of them were got to the top to untling the Main-Sail, which the Maſter and ſome others from the Round-Houſe, cauſed to their coſt to come tumbling down; about the Round-Houſe the *Spaniards* ſo peſtred, that they were forced to the great Cablen and blew it up; the ſmoak and fire was ſo vehement, as they thought the Ship on fire; they in the Fore-Caſtle were no leſs aſſaulted, that they blew up a piece of the Grating, with a great many of *Spaniards* more; then they cleared themſelves with all ſpeed, and *Merham* with as much Expedition to quench the Fire with wet Cloaths and Water, which began to grow too faſt. The *Spaniard* ſtill playing upon him with all the ſhot they could; the open Places preſently they covered with old Sails, and prepared themſelves to fight to the laſt Man. The Angry *Spaniard* ſeeing the fire quenched, hung out a Flag of truce to have but a Parley; but that deſperate *Merham* knew there was but one way with him, and would have none, but the report of his Ordnance, which he did know well how to uſe for his beſt Advantage. Thus they ſpent the next Afternoon, and half the Night, when the *Spaniards* either loſt them or left them. Seven and twenty Men *Merham* had ſlain and fifteen wounded, and could find they had received 14 great ſhot. A wounded *Spaniard* they kept alive confeſſed, they had loſt 100 Men in the *Admiral*, which they did fear would ſink ere ſhe could recover a Port. Thus Re-accommodating their Sails, they ſailed for *Santa Cruſe*, *Cape Goa*, and *Magadore*, till they came again to *Saffee*, and then he returned into *England*.

CHAP. XXI.

The continuation of the General Hiſtory of Virginia; *the* Summer Iſles, *and* New England; *with their preſent Eſtate from* 1624. *to this preſent* 1629.

COncerning theſe Countries, I would be ſorry to trouble you with repeating one thing twice, as with their Mapps, Commodities, People, Government and Religion yet known; the beginning of theſe Plantations, their Numbers and Names, with the Names of the Adventures, the Yearly proceedings of every Governour both here and there. As for the Miſpriſions, Neglect, Grievances, and the cauſes of all thoſe Rumours, loſſes and croſſes that have happened; I refer you to the General Hiſtory, where you ſhall find all this at large; eſpecially to thoſe Pages where you may read my Letter of Advice to the Councel and Company, what of neceſſity muſt be done, or loſe all and leave the Country, Pag. 70. what Commodities I ſent home, Pag. 163. my Opinion and offer to the Company, to feed and defend the Colonies, Pag. 150. my Account to them here of my Actions there, Pag. 163. my ſeven Anſwers to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners: Seven Queſtions what hath hindered *Virginia*, and the remedy, Pag. 165. How thoſe Noble Gentlemen ſpent near two Years in peruſing all Letters came from thence; and the differences betwixt many Factions, both here and there, with their Complaints; eſpecially about the Sallery which ſhould have been a new Office in *London*, for the well ordering the ſale of Tobacco, that 2500 Pounds ſhould Yearly have been raiſed out of it, to pay four or five Hundred Pounds Yearly to the Governour of that Company, two or three Hundred to his Deputy; the reſt into Stipends of forty or fifty Pounds Yearly to their Clerks and other Officers which were never there, Pag. 153. but not one Hundred Pounds for all them in *Virginia*, nor any thing for the moſt part of the Adventures in *England*, except the undertakers for the Lotteries, Setters out of Ships, Adventures of Commodities, alſo their Factors and many other Officers, there imployed only by friendſhip to raiſe their Fortunes out of the Labours of the true Induſtrious Planters by the Title of their Office, who under the colour of ſincerity, did pillage and deceive all the reſt moſt cunningly: For more than 150000 Pounds have been ſpent out of the Common Stock, beſides many thouſands have been there Conſumed, and near 7000 People that there died, only for want of good Order and Government, otherwiſe long ere this there would have been more than 20000 People, where after twenty Years ſpent only in Complement and trying new Concluſions, was remaining ſcarce 1500, with ſome few Cattel.

Then the Company diſſolved, but no Account of any thing; ſo that his Majeſty appointed Commiſſioners to overſee, and give Order for their Proceedings. Being thus

thus in a manner left to themselves, since then within these four Years, you shall see how wonderfully they have increased beyond expectation; but so exactly as I desired, I cannot relate unto you: For altho' I have tired my self in seeking and discourfing with those returned thence, more than would a Voyage to *Virginia*; few can tell me any thing, but of that Place or Places they have Inhabited, and he is a great Traveller that hath gone up and down the River of *James* Town, been at *Pamaunke*, *Smith*'s Isles, or *Accomack*; wherein for the most part, they keep one tune of their now particular abundance, and their former wants having been there, some sixteen Years, some twelve, some six, some near twenty, &c. But of their general Estate, or any thing of worth, the most of them doth know very little to any purpose.

Now the most I could understand in general, was from the Relation of Mr. *Nathaniel Causie*, that lived there with me, and returned *Anno Dom.* 1627. and some others affirm; Sir *George Yeardly* was Governour, Captain *Francis West*, Doctor *John Pott*, Captain *Roger Smith*, Captain *Matthews*, Captain *Tucker*, Mr. *Claiborne*, and Mr. *Farrar*, of the Council: their Habitations many. The Governour, with two or three of the Council, are for most part at *James* Town, the rest repair thither as there is occasion; but every three Months they have a general Meeting, to consider of their Publick Affairs. *Anno* 1627.

Their Numbers then were about 1500, some say rather 2000, divided into seventeen or eighteen several Plantations; the greatest part thereof towards the falls, are so inclosed with Pallisadoes they regard not the *Salvages*; and amongst those Plantations above *James* Town, they have now found means to take plenty of Fish, as well with Lines as Nets, and where the Waters are the largest, having Means they need not want. *Their Numbers.*

Upon this River they seldom see any *Salvages*, but in the Woods, many times their Fires: yet some few there are, that upon their opportunity, have slain some few straglers, which have been revenged with the Death of so many of themselves, but no other Attempt hath been made upon them till two or three Years. *Their conditions with the Salvages.*

Their Cattel, Namely, Oxen, Kine, Bulls, [illegible] Goats great [illegible] and great increase, the wild Hogg which were infinite, are destroyed and eaten by the *Salvages*: but no Family is so poor that hath not tame Swine sufficient; and for Poultry, [illegible] very bad [illegible] breedeth not an Hundred in a Year, and the Richer sort doth daily feed on them.

For Bread they have plenty, and so good, that those that make it well, better cannot be: Divers have much *English* Corn, especially Mr. *Abraham Percie*, which prepared this Year to sow two Hundred Acres of *English* Wheat, and as much with Barly, feeding daily about the number of sixty Persons at his own Charges. *Plenty of Corn.*

For Drink, Some Malt the *Indian* Corn, others Barly, of which they make good Ale, both strong and small, and such plenty thereof, few of the Upper Planters drink any Water: but the better sort are well furnished with Sack, *Aquavitæ*, and good *English* Beer. *Their Drink.*

The Servants commonly feed upon Milk Homily, which is bruised *Indian* Corn pounded, and boiled thick, and Milk for the sawce, but boiled with Milk, the best of all will feed off on it, and leave their Flesh; with Milk, Butter and Cheese; with Fish, Bulls-flesh, for they seldom kill any other, &c. And every one is so applied to his labour about Tobacco and Corn, which doth yield them such Profit, they never regard any food from the *Salvages*, nor have they any Trade or Conference with them, but upon meer Accidents and Defiances: And now the Merchants have left it, there having gone so many voluntary Ships within these two Years, as have furnished them with Apparel, Sack, *Aquavitæ*, and all necessaries, much better than any before. *Their Food.*

For Arms, There is scarce any Man but he is furnished with a Piece, a Jack, a Coat of Male, a Sword or Rapier; and every Holy-day, every Plantation doth Exercise their Men in Arms, by which means Hunting and Fowling, the most part of them are most Excellent Marks-men. *Their Arms and Exercise.*

For Discoveries they have made none, nor any other Commodity than Tobacco do they apply themselves unto, tho' never any was Planted at first. And whereas the Country was heretofore held most intemperate and contagious by many, now they have Houses, Lodgings, Victuals, and the Sun hath Power to Exhale up the moist Vapours of the Earth, where they have cut down Wood, which before it could not, being covered with spreading tops of high Trees they find it much more healthful than [illegible] nor for their Nimbers, [illegible] are [illegible] troubled with Death, [illegible] any other Disease, nor where [illegible] Women become more [illegible] *Discoveries.*

Since this, Sir *George* [illegible] Captain *West* succeeded him; but about a Year after returned for [illegible]

clow *Pear* is Governour, and the reſt of the Council as before: *James* Town is yet their chief Seat, moſt of the Wood deſtroyed, little Corn there Planted, but all Converted into Paſture and Gardens, wherein doth grow all manner of Herbs and Roots we have in *England*, in abundance, and as good Graſs as can be. Here moſt of their Cattle do feed, their Owners being moſt ſome one way, ſome another, about their Plantations, and return again when they pleaſe, or any Shipping comes in to Trade. Here in the Winter they have Hay for their Cattel, but in other Places they Browze upon Wood, and the great huſks of their Corn, with ſome Corn in them, doth keep them well.

Mr. Hutchins. *Five thouſand People.* *Five thouſand Cattel. Goats, Eggs, and Fultry infinite.*

Mr. *Hutchins* ſaith, they have 2000 Cattle, and about 5000 People; but Maſter *Flood*, *John Davis*, *William Emerſon*, and divers others ſay, about 5000 People, and 5000 Kine, Calves, Oxen and Bulls; for Goats, Hoggs and Poultry, Corn, Fiſh, Deer, and many ſorts of other wild Beaſts; and Fowl in their Seaſon, they have ſo much more than they ſpend, they are able to feed three or four Hundred more than they have; and do oft times ſave many Ships, both [illegible] and for their Return; and this laſt Year was there at leaſt two or three and Twenty Sale. They have oft much Salt-fiſh from *New-England*, but freſh Fiſh enough, when they will take it; Peaches in abundance at *Kecoughtan*; Apples, Pears, Apricocks, Vines, Figgs, and other Fruits ſome have Planted that proſpered exceedingly, but their Diligence about Tobacco, left them to be ſpoiled by the Cattel, yet now they begin to Revive; Mrs. *Pearce*, an Honeſt Induſtrious Woman, hath been there *Good Hoſpitality.* [illegible] twenty Year, and now returned, ſaith, ſhe hath a Garden at *James* Town, containing three or four Acres, where in one Year ſhe hath gathered near an Hundred Buſhels of excellent Figgs; and that of her own Proviſion ſhe can keep a better Houſe in *Virginia*, than here in *London* for 3 or 400 Pounds a Year, yet went thither with luck or nothing. They have ſome tame Geeſe, Ducks and Turkies. The Maſters now do ſo train up their Servants and Youth in ſhooting Deer and Fowl, that the Youths will kill them as well as their Maſters. They have two Brew-houſes, but they find the *Indian* Corn ſo much better than ours, they begin to leave ſowing it. Their Cities and Towns are only ſcattered Houſes, they call Plantations, as are our Country Villages, but no Ordnance Mounted. The Forts Captain *Smith* left a Building, ſo ruined, there is ſcarce Mention where they were; no Diſcoveries of any thing more, than the curing of Tobacco, by which hitherto, being ſo preſent a Commodity of Gain, it hath brought them to this abundance; but that they are ſo diſjointed, and every one Commander of himſelf to Plant what he will: they are now ſo well provided, that they are able to ſubſiſt; and if they would join together, now to work upon Soap-Aſhes, Iron, Rape-Oil, Mader, Pitch and Tarr, Flax and Hemp; as for their Tobacco, there comes from many Places ſuch abundance, and the charge ſo great, it is not worth the bringing home.

Commodities worth making, Black-Walnut, Aſh for Pikes, Oak for Planks, knees for Ships, Cypreſs, for Cheſts, &c.

There is gone, and now a going, divers Ships, as Captain *Perſe*, Captain *Prime*, with Sir *John Harvey* to be their Governour, with two or three Hundred People; there is alſo ſome from *Briſtow*, and other Parts of the Weſt Country a preparing, which I heartily pray to God to Bleſs, and ſend them a Happy and Proſperous Voyage.

Nathaniel Cauſie, Maſter *Hutchins*, Maſter *Flood*, *John Davis*, *William Emerſon*, Maſter *William Barnes*, Maſter *Cooper*, and others

CHAP. XXII.

The proceedings and preſent eſtate of the Summer Iſles, *from* Anno Dom. 1624, *to this preſent* 1629.

From the *Summer Iſles*, Mr. *Lizard*, and divers others report, their Forts, Ordnance and Proceedings, are much as they were in the Year 1622. as you may read in the General Hiſtory, Pag. 199. Captain *Durham's* Governour. There are few ſorts of any Fruits in the *Weſt Indies*, but they grow there in abundance; yet the fertility of the Soil in many Places decayeth, being Planted every Year; for their Plantains, which is a moſt delicate Fruit, they have lately found away by Pickling or Drying them, to bring them over into *England*, there being no ſuch Fruit in *Europe*, and wonderful for increaſe. For Fiſh, Fleſh, Figgs, Wine, and all ſorts of moſt excellent Herbs, Fruits and Roots they have in abundance. In this Governour's time, a kind of *Whale*, or rather a *Jubarta*, was driven on Shoar in *Southampton* Tribe from

the Weſt, over an Infinite Number of Rocks ſo braſted, that the Water in the Bay where ſhe lay, was all Oily, and the Rocks [illegible] Pedaſſar with Pannacitty, congeal'd like Ice, a good quantity we gathered, with which we commonly cured any Boil, Hart or Bruiſe; ſome burnt it in their Lamps, which blowing out, the very ſnuff will burn ſo long as there is any of the Oil remaining, for two or three days together.

The preſent Eſtate of the Summer Iſles, 1625.

The next Governour was Captain *Philip Bell*, whoſe time being expired, Captain *Roger Wood* poſſeſs'd his Place, a worthy Gentleman of good deſert, and hath lived a long time in the Country; their Numbers are about 2 or 3000 Men, Women and Children, who increaſe there exceedingly; their greateſt Complaint is want of Apparel, and too much Cuſtom, and too many Officers; the Fry is, there are [illegible] Men Women, yet no great Miſchief, becauſe there is ſo much leſs Pride: the Cattle they have increaſe exceedingly; their Forts are well maintain'd by the Merchants here, and Planters there; to be brief, this Iſle is an excellent Bit to Rule a great Horſe.

[illegible] Cohow Birds and Egbirds are [illegible], ſeldom any wild Cats ſeen; no Rats to ſpeak off; but the Worms are yet very troubleſom; the People very healthful, and the Ravens gone; Fiſh enough, but not ſo near the ſhoar as it uſed, by the much beating it; it is an Iſle that hath ſuch a Ramping and a Ditch, and for the quantity ſo manned, Victualled, and Fortified, as few in the World do exceed it, or is like it

An Engliſh Ship.

The 22d of *March*, two Ships came from thence; the *Peter-Benaventure*, near 2 Tunns, and ſixteen Pieces of Ordnance, [illegible] Captain, *Thomas Sherwin*; the Maſter, *Edward Some*, like him in Condition, a G[illegible]ly, Luſty, Proper, Valiant Man: The *India*, wherein was Mr. *Anſ*[illegible] ſmaller Ship, were chaſed by eleven S[illegible] of *Dunkirk*, being thus over-match'd, [illegible]tain *Sherwin* was taken by them in [illegible] only his Valiant Maſter was [illegible] ried betwixt *D*[illegible] but the *India* [illegible]

Their Neſt's Adventur[illegible] ſes patiently do [illegible] the King and State wi[illegible] worth keeping, [illegible] Tobacco, and that [illegible] thing, Cuſtom and [illegible] worth keeping, and [illegible] ners, Carpenter and [illegible]

From the R[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAP. XXIII.

The Proceedings and preſent Eſtate of New England, *ſince* 1[illegible] *to this preſent* 1629.

Conſiders to the Plot.

When I went from the North part of [illegible] the Weſtern Colony [illegible] I had [illegible] and diſcovered it all within a [illegible] notorious *Gorgian* in all the Land [illegible] for ſuch a ſole Charge [illegible] Merchants [illegible], the Country ſeem'd repeal'd by your Worſhips [illegible] Rocks, Barren, Deſolate Deſart [illegible] the good Return I brought from thence, with the Maps and Relations I made of the Country, which I made ſo manifeſt, to ſome of them did believe me, and the [illegible] well embraced both by the *Londoners* and the *H*[illegible] for which I had promiſed to undertake for Virginia, to have join'd [illegible] but the night [illegible] Letters from [illegible] there [illegible] to [illegible] ſtood [illegible] for Years, I and my Friends [illegible] ſhould [illegible] againſt the [illegible] with delays, promiſes and excuſes, [illegible] Performance of any thing to any purpoſe. In the interim, many particular Ships [illegible] thither, and Finding my Relation [illegible] that I had not taken that I brought from the *French* Men, as had [illegible] yet further, for my Pains to diſcover it, and my calling it *New-England*, [illegible] red, and ſhadowed it, with the Title of *Canada*, till at my humble Suit, [illegible] our moſt Royal King [illegible], whom God long keep, bleſs and preſerve, then Prince of [illegible], to conſent it with my Name and Bond by the Title of *New England*, [illegible] Intereſt retaining, did my [illegible] [illegible] Inhabitants that [illegible] Yearly only to [illegible] for Fiſhing, and [illegible] Labour [illegible] Hundred of [illegible] of *London*, *Amſterdam* and *Zeland* to *New England*, whoſe Increaſe [illegible] more than Years [illegible]

dure a wonderful deal of misery, with an infinite patience; saying my Books and Maps were much better cheap to teach them than my self; many other have used the like good Husbandry, that have payed soundly in trying their self-will'd conclusions; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfuls undertaken to go there, to be several Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding the Fishing Ships, made such good returns, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattentees, that divided my Map into twenty parts, and cast Lots for their shares; but Money not coming in as they expected, procured a Proclamation, none should go thither without their Licences to Fish; but for every thirty Tuns of Shipping, to pay them five Pounds; besides, upon great Penalties, neither to Trade with the Natives, cut down Wood for their Stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the Country is nothing but Wood, and none to make use of it, with many such other pretences, for to make this Country plant it self, by its own Wealth: Hereupon most Men grew so discontented, that few or none would go; so that the Pattentees, who never a one of them had been there, seeing those Projects would not prevail, have since not hindred any to go that would, that within these few last years, more have gone thither than ever.

Ter effect of regardless.

Now this Year 1629, a great company of People of good Rank, Zeal, Means, and Quality, have made a great Stock, and with six good Ships in the Months of *April* and *May*, they set Sail from *Thames*, for the Bay of the *Massachusets*, otherwise called *Charles*'s River; *viz.* the *George Bonadventure*, of twenty pieces of Ordnance, the *Talbot* nineteen, the *Lions-whelp* eight, the *May-flower* fourteen, the *Four Sisters* fourteen, the *Pilgrim* four, with three hundred and fifty Men, Women, and Children; also an hundred and fifteen head of Cattel, as Horse, Mares, and neat Beast; one and forty Goats, some Conies, with all Provision for Houshold and Apparel, six pieces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corselets, Drums, Colours, with all Provision necessary for a Plantation, for the good of Man; other Particulars I understand of no more, [illegible] writ in the general History of those Countries.

Yet you are to understand, that the noble Lord chief Justice *Popham*, Judge *Doderege*; the Right Honourable Earls of *Pembrook*, *Southampton*, *Salisbury*, and the rest, as I take it, they did all think, as I and them went with me, did. That had those two Countries been planted, as it was intended, that no other Nation should complant betwixt us. If ever the King of *Spain* and we should fall foul, those Countries being so capable of all Materials for shipping, by this might have been Owners of a good Fleet of Ships, and to have relieved a whole Navy from *England* upon occasion, yea, and to have furnished *England* with the most Easterly Commodities; and now since, seeing how conveniently the *Summer Isles* fell to our shares, so near the *West-Indies*, we might with much more facility than the *Dutch* Men have invaded the *West-Indies*, that doth now put in practice, what so long hath been advised on, by many an honest *English* States-man.

Those Countries, Captain *Smith* oft times used to call his Children that never had Mother; and well he might, for few Fathers ever payed dearer for so little content; and for those that would truly understand, how many strange Accidents hath befallen them and him; how oft up, how oft down, sometimes near despair, and ere long flourishing, cannot but conceive Gods infinite Mercies and Favours towards them. Had his Designs been to have perswaded Men to a Mine of Gold, though few doth conceive either the charge or pain in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it, or some new Invention to pass to the South Seas, or some strange Plot to invade some strange Monastery, or some portable Country, or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Carocks in the *East-Indies*; or Letters of Mart to rob some poor Merchants; What multitudes of both People and Money would contend to be first imployed? But in those noble endeavours (now) how few of quality, unless it be to beg some Monopoly, and those seldom seek the common good, but the Commons Goods, as you may read at large in his general History, *pag.* 217, 218, 219, his general Observations and Reasons for this Plantation; for yet those Countries are not so forward, but they may become as miserable as ever, if better courses be not taken than is; as this *Smith* will plainly demonstrate to his Majesty, or any other noble Person of Ability, liable generously to undertake it; how within a short time to make *Virginia* able to resist any Enemy, that as yet lieth open to all, and yield the King more Custom within these few years, in certain staple Commodities than ever it did in Tobacco, which now not being worth bringing home, the Custom will be as uncertain to the King, as dangerous to the Plantation.

Notes of inconveniency.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

A brief Discourse of divers Voyages made unto the goodly Country of Guinea, *and the great River of the* Amazons; *relating also the present Plantation there.*

IT is not unknown how that most Industrious and honourable Knight, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, in the Year of Our Lord 1595, taking the Isle of *Trinidado*, fell with the Coast of *Guiana*, Northward of the Line 10 degrees, and coasted the Coast, and searched up the River *Oranoco*: where understanding that twenty several Voyages had been made by the *Spaniards*, in discovering this Coast and River, to find a passage to the great City of *Mano*, called by them the *Eldorado*, or the Golden City: he did his utmost to have found some better Satisfaction than Relations: But means failing him, he left his trusty Servant *Francis Sparrow* to seek it, who wandring up and down those Countries, some fourteen or fifteen years, unexpectedly returned; I have heard him say, he was led blinded into this City by *Indians*; but little Discourse of any purpose, touching the largness of the report of it; his body seeming as a Man of an uncurable Consumption, shortly died here after in *England*. There are above thirty fair Rivers that fall into the Sea, between the River of *Amazons* and *Oranoco*, which are some nine degrees asunder. In the year 1605, Captain *Ley*, Brother to that noble Knight, Sir *Oliver Ley*, with divers others, planted himself in the River *Weapoco*, wherein I should have been a Party; but he died, and there lies buried, and the supply miscarrying, the rest escaped as they could.

Sparrow left to seek the great City of Mano.

Captain Charles Ley.

Sir *Thomas Roe*, well known to be a most Noble Gentleman, before he went Lord Ambassadour to the Great *Mogul*, or the Great *Turk*, spent a year or two upon this Coast, and about the River of the *Amazons*, wherein he most imployed Captain *Matthew Morton*, an expert Sea-man in the discovery of this famous River, a Gentleman that was the first shot, and mortally supposed wounded to Death, with me in *Virginia*, yet since hath been twice with command in [illegible] *Indies*; Also Captain *William White*, and divers others worthy and industrious Gentlemen, both before and since, hath spent much time and charge to discover it more perfectly, but nothing more effected for a Plantation, till it was undertaken by Captain *Robert Harcote* 1609.

Sir Thomas Roe.

Captain Morton.

This worthy Gentleman, after he had by Commission made a discovery to his mind, left his Brother *Michael Harcote*, with some fifty or sixty Men in the River *Weapoco*, and so presently returned to *England*, where he obtained by the favour of Prince *Henry* a large Patent for all that Coast called *Guiana*, together with the famous River of *Amazons*, to him and his Heirs: but so many troubles here surprized him, though he did his best to supply them, he was not able, only some few he sent over as Passengers, with certain *Dutch* Men, but to small purpose. Thus this business lay dead for divers years, till Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, accompanied with many valiant Soldiers and brave Gentlemen, went his last Voyage to *Guinea*, amongst the which, was Captain *Roger North*, Brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Dudley North*, who upon this Voyage, having stayed, and seen divers Rivers upon this Coast, took such a liking to those Countries, having had before this Voyage, more perfect and particular Information of the excellency of the great River of the *Amazons*, above any of the rest, by certain *English* Men returned so rich, from thence in good Commodities, they would not go with Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in search of Gold; that after his return for *England*, he endeavoured by his best Abilities to interest his Country and State in those fair Regions, which by the way of Letters Patents unto divers Noble Men and Gentlemen of Quality, erected into a Company and Perpetuity for Trade and Plantation, not knowing of the Interest of Captain *Harcote*.

Whereupon accompanied with 120 Gentlemen and others, with a Ship, a Pinnace and two Shallops, to remain in the Country, he set Sail from *Plimouth* the last of *April* 1620, and within seven Weeks after he arrived well in the *Amazons*, only with the loss of one old Man: Some hundred Leagues they ran up the River to settle his Men, where the sight of the Country and People so contented them, that never Men thought themselves more happy. Some *English* and *Irish* that had lived there some eight years, only supplied by the *Dutch*, he reduced to his Company and to leave the *Dutch*, having made a good Voyage, to the value of more than the charge, he [illegible]

land with divers good Commodities, beſides, Tobacco: So that it may well be conceived, that if this Action had not been thus croſſed the Generality of *England* had by this time been won and encouraged therein. But the time was not yet come, that God would have this great buſineſs effected, by reaſon of the great Power the Lord *Gundamore*, Ambaſſadour for the King of *Spain*, had in *England*, to croſs and ruin thoſe Proceedings, and ſo unfortunate Captain *North* was in this buſineſs, he was twice committed Priſoner to the Tower, and the Goods detained, till they were ſpoiled, who beyond all others, was by much the greateſt Adventurer and Loſer.

Notwithſtanding all this, thoſe that he had left in the *Amazons*, would not abandon the Country. Captain *Thomas Painton*, a worthy Gentleman, his Lieutenant dead. Captain *Charles Parks*, Brother to the Right Honourable the Lord *Morley*, lived there ſix years alſo; Mr. *John Chriſtmas*, five years: ſo well, they would not return, although they might, with divers other Gentlemen of Quality and others: All this deſtitute of any ſupplies from *England*. But the Adventury being diſſolved, want of Government did more wrong their Proceedings, than all other croſſes whatſoever. Some relief they had ſometime from the *Dutch*, who knowing their Eſtates, gave what they pleaſed, and took what they liſt. Two Brothers, Gentlemen, *Thomas* and *William Hixon*, who ſtayed three years there, are now gone to ſtay in the *Amazons*, in the Ships lately ſent thither.

The buſineſs thus remaining in this ſort, three private Men left of that Company, named Mr *Thomas Warriner*, *John Rhodes*, and *Robert Bims*, having lived there about two years, came for *England*, and to be free from the diſorders that did grow in the *Amazons*, for want of Government amongſt their Country-men, and to be quiet amongſt themſelves, made means to ſet themſelves out for St. *Chriſtophers*; their whole number being but fifteen Perſons that payed for their Paſſage in a Ship going for *Virginia*, where they remained a year before they were ſupplied, and then that was but four or five Men. Thus this Iſle, by this ſmall beginning, having no interruption by their own Country, hath not got the ſtart of the Continent and main Land of *Guinea*, which hath been laid apart, and let alone until that Captain *North*, ever watching his beſt opportunity and advantage of time in the State, hath now again purſued, and ſet on foot his former deſign. Captain *Harcote* being now willing to ſurrender his Grant, and to joyn with Captain *North*, in ſuing a new Patent, and to erect a Company for Trade and Plantation in the *Amazons*, and all the Coaſt and Country of *Guinea* for ever. Whereupon, they have ſent this preſent year in *January*, and ſince 1628, four Ships, with near two hundred Perſons; the firſt Ship with 112 Men, not one miſcarried; the reſt went ſince, not yet heard of, and are preparing another with their ſecond Expedition; and ſince *January* is gone from *Holland*, 100 *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, conducted by the old Planters.

This great River lieth under the Line, the two chief Head Lands North and South, are about three degrees aſunder, the mouth of it is ſtuft full of many great and ſmall Iſles, it is an eaſie matter for an unexperienced Pilot to loſe his way. It is held one of the greateſt Rivers in *America*, and as moſt Men think in the World; and comes down with ſuch a freſh, it maketh the Sea freſh, more than thirty Miles from the Shoar. Captain *North* having ſeated his Men above an hundred Leagues in the Main, ſent Captain *William White*, with thirty Gentlemen and others, in a Finnace of thirty Ton, to diſcover further, which they did ſome two hundred Leagues, where they found the River to divide it ſelf in two parts, till then all full of Iſlands, and a Country moſt healthful, pleaſant and fruitful; for there found food enough, and all returned [illegible] and in good health: In this diſcovery, ſaw many Towns well inhabited, [illegible] three hundred People, ſome with five, ſix or ſeven hundred; and of ſome they made ſtood to be of ſo many thouſands, moſt differing very much, eſpecially in their Languages: Whereof they ſuppoſe by thoſe *Indians*, they underſtand are many hundred, more, unfrequented till then by any *Chriſtian*, moſt of them ſtark naked, both Men, Women and Children, but they ſaw not any ſuch Giant-like Women as the River name importeth. But for thoſe where Captain *North* hath ſeated his Company, it is not known where *Indians* were ever ſo [illegible] to any Nation, not ſparing any pains, danger or labour, to feed and maintain them. The *Engliſh* following their Buſineſs, fortifications and Sugar-works; [illegible] have ſent moſt expert Men [illegible] all things neceſſary for [illegible] effect which, [illegible] thoſe kind *Indians* to [illegible] other good Commodities [illegible] will ere long [illegible] to this Kingdom, and [illegible] and Well-willers to the [illegible] well worthy the [illegible] with all alacrity

CHAP. XXV.

The Beginning and Proceedings of the new Plantation of St. Chriſtopher *by Captain* Warner.

MAſter *Ralph Merifield* and others, having furniſhed this worthy Induſtrious Gentleman, he arrived at St. *Chriſtophers*, as is ſaid, with fifteen Men, the 28th of *January* 1623, *viz. William Teſted, John Rhodes, Robert Binns*, Mr. *Benifield*, Sergeant *Jones*, Mr. *Ware*, *William Ryle*, *Rowland Griſcock*, Mr. *Bond*, Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Weaver*, *Edward Warner*, their Captain's Son, and now Deputy Governour, till his Father's return, Sergeant *Aplon*, one Sailor and a Cook: At their arrival, they found three *French* Men, who ſought to oppoſe Captain *Warner*, and to ſet the *Indians* upon us; but at laſt we all became Friends, and lived with the *Indians* a Month, then we built a Fort, and a Houſe, and planting Fruits, by *September* we made a crop of Tobacco; but upon the nineteenth of *September* came a *Hericano* and blew it away, all this while we lived upon Caſſada Bread, Potatoes, Plantanes, Pines, Turtles, Guanes, and Fiſh plenty; for drink we had *Nicholby*.

1624. The 18th of *March* 1624, arrived Captain *Jefferſon*, with three Men Paſſengers in the *Hopewell* of *London*, with ſome Trade for the *Indians*, and then we had another crop of Tobacco, in the mean time the *French* had planted themſelves in the other end of the Iſle; with this crop Captain *Warner* returned for *England* in *September* 1625.

In his abſence came in a *French* Pinnace, under the command of *Monſieur de Nombe*, that told us, the *Indians* had ſlain ſome *French* Men in other of the *Charibbe* Iſles, and that there were ſix Peryagoes, which are huge great Trees, formed as your Canoes, but ſo laid out on the ſides with Boards, they will ſeem like a little Gally: ſix of thoſe, with about four or five hundred ſtrange *Indians* came unto us, we bad them be gone, but they would not; whereupon we and the *French* joyned together, and upon the fifth of *November* ſet upon them, and put them to flight: upon New Years Even they came again, found three *French* going about the Iſle, whom they ſlew.

1626. Until the fourth of *Auguſt*, we ſtood upon our Guard, living upon the ſpoil and bad nothing. But now Captain *Warner* arriving again with near an hundred People, we fell to work and planting as before; but upon the fourth of *September*, came ſuch a Hericano, as blew down all our Houſes, Tobacco, and two Drums into the air we know not whither, drove two Ships on Shoar that were both ſplit; all our Proviſion thus loſt, we were very miſerable, living only on what we could get in the wild Woods, we made a ſmall party of *French* and *Engliſh* to go aboard for Proviſion, but in their returning home, eight *French* Men were ſlain in the Harbour.

Thus we continued till near *June* that the *Tortles* came in 1627, but the *French* being like to ſtarve, fought to ſurprize us, and all the Caſſado, Potatoes, and Tobacco we had planted, but we did prevent them. The 26th of *October*, came in Captain *William Smith*, in the *Hope-well*, with ſome Ordnance, Shot and Powder, from the Earl of *Carliſle*, with Captain *Pelham* and thirty Men; about that time alſo came the *Plow*, alſo a ſmall Ship of *Briſtow*, with Captain *Warner*'s Wife, and ſix or ſeven Women more.

Upon the 25th of *November*, the *Indians* ſet upon the *French*, for ſome injury about their Women, and ſlew ſix and twenty *French* Men, five *Engliſh*, and three *Indians*. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, their Bows are never bent, but the ſtring lies flat to the Bow; their Arrows a ſmall Reed, four or five foot long, headed ſome with the poiſoned Sting of the Tail of a Stingray, ſome with Iron, ſome with Wood, but all ſo poiſoned, that if they draw but blood, the hurt is incurable.

The next day came in Captain *Charles Saltonſtall*, a young Gentleman, Son of Sir *Samuel Saltonſtall*, who brought with him ſtore of all Commodities to relieve the Plantation; but by reaſon ſome *Hollanders*, and others had been there lately before him, who carried away with them all the Tobacco, he was forced to put away all his Commodities upon truſt till the next crop; in the mean time he reſolved there to ſtay, and imploy himſelf and his Company in planting Tobacco, hoping thereby to make a Voyage, but before he could be ready to return for *England*, a *Hericano* happening, his Ship was ſplit, to his great loſs, being ſole Merchant and owner himſelf, notwithſtanding forced to pay to the Governour the fifth part of his Tobacco, and for fraught to *England*, three pence a pound, and

and nine pence a pound custom, which amounts together to more than threescore pound in the hundred pound, to the great discouragement of him and many others, that intended well to those Plantations. Nevertheless he is gone again this present year 1629, with a Ship of about three hundred Tuns, and very near two hundred People, with Sir *William Tuffton* Governour for the *Barbadoes*, and divers Gentlemen, and all manner of Commodities fit for a Plantation.

Captain *Prinn*, Captain *Stone*, and divers others came in about *Christmas*; so that this last year, there hath been about thirty Sail of *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Ships, and all the *Indians* forced out of the Isle, for they had done much mischief amongst the *French*, in cutting their Throats, burning their Houses, and spoiling their Tobacco; amongst the rest *Tegramund*, a little Child, the King's Son, his Parents being slain, or fled, was by great chance saved, and carefully brought to *England*, by Master *Merifield*, who brought him from thence, and bringeth him up as his own Children.

The description of the Isle.

It lieth seventeen degrees Northward of the Line, about an hundred and twenty Leagues from the *Cape de tres Puntas*, the nearest main Land in *America*, it is about eight Leagues in length, and four in breadth; an Island amongst 100 Isles in the *West Indies*, called the *Caribbes*, where ordinarily all them that frequent the *West Indies*, refresh themselves; those, most of them are Rocky, little, and Mountainous, yet frequented with the *Canibals*; many of them inhabited, as Saint *Domingo*, Saint *Mattalin*, Saint *Lucia*, Saint *Vincent*, *Granada*, and *Margarita*, to the Southward; Northward, none but Saint *Christophers*, and it but lately, yet they will be ranging *Marigalanta*, *Guardalupo*, *Deceada*, *Mountserat*, *Antegua*, *Mevis*, *Bernardo*, Saint *Martin*, and Saint *Bartholomew*, but the worst of the four Isles possessed by the *Spaniard*, as *Portorico* or *Jamaica*, is better than them all; as for *Hispaniola*, and *Cuba*, they are worthy the Title of two rich Kingdoms, the rest not respected by the *Spaniards*, for want of Harbours, and their better choice of good Land, and profit in the main. But Captain *Warner*, having been very familiar with Captain *Painton*, in the *Amazon*, hearing his information of this St. *Christophers*; and having made a years trial, as it is said, returned for *England*, joyning with Master *Merifield* and his Friends, got Letters Patents from King *James* to plant and possess it. Since then, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Carlisle* hath got Letters Patents also, not only of that, but all the *Caribe* Isles about it, who is now chief Lord of them, and the *English* his Tenants that do possess them; over whom he appointeth such Governours and Officers as their affairs require; and although there be a great Custom imposed upon them, considering their other charges both to feed and maintain themselves; yet there is there, and now a going, near upon the number of three thousand People; where by reason of the rockiness and thickness of the Woods in the Isle, it is difficult to pass, and such a snuff of the Sea goeth on the Shoar, ten may better defend, than fifty assault. In this Isle are many Springs, but yet Water is scarce again in many places; the Valleys and sides of the Hills very fertile, but the Mountains harsh, and of a sulphurous composition; all overgrown with *Palmetas*, *Cotton* Trees; *Lignum vitæ*, and divers other sorts, but none like any in *Christendom*, except those carried thither; the air very pleasant and healthful, but exceeding hot, yet so tempered with cool breaths, it seems very temperate to them, that are little used to it; the Trees being always green, the days and nights always very near equal in length, always Summer; only they have in their Seasons great Gusts and Rains, and sometimes a Hericano, which is an over grown, and a most violent storm.

The Springs, Temper, and Seasons.

In some of those Isles, are Cattel, Goats, and Hogs, but here none but what they must carry; *Guanes* they have, which is a little harmless Beast, like a *Crocodile*, or *Alligator*, very fat and good Meat; she lays Eggs in the Sand, as doth the Land Crabs, which live here in abundance, like Conies in Boroughs, unless about *May*, when they come down to the Sea side, to lay in the Sand, as the other; and all their Eggs are hatched by the heat of the Sun.

A strange hatching of Eggs for Beasts

From *May* to *September*, they have good store of *Tortoises* that come out of the Sea to lay their Eggs in the Sand, and are hatched as the other; they will lay half a peck at a time, and near a bushel ere they have done, and are round like Tenis-balls: This Fish is like Veal in taste, the Fat of a brownish colour, very good and wholsom. We seek them in the Nights, where we find them on shoar, we turn them upon their backs, till the next day we fetch them home, for they can never return themselves, being so hard, a Cart may go over them; and so big, one will suffice forty or fifty Men to dinner. Divers sorts of other Fish they have in abundance, and *Prawnes* most great and excellent, but none will keep sweet scarce twelve hours.

Fish.

The

The best and greatest is a *Passer Flamingo*, which walking at her length, is as tall as a Man; *Pigeons* and *Turtle Doves* in abundance; some *Parrots*, wild *Hawks*, but divers other sorts of good Sea-fowl, whose Names we know not.

Cassado is a Root planted in the Ground, of a wonderful increase, and will make very good White-bread, but the Juice Rank Poyson, yet boyled, better than Wine; *Potatoes*, *Cabbages*, and *Radish* plenty.

Maize, like the *Virginia* Wheat; we have Pine Apple, near so big as an Hartichock, but the most daintiest taste of any Fruit; *Plantain*, an excellent and most increasing Fruit; Apples, Prickle Pears, and Pease, but differing all from ours. There is Pepper that groweth in a little red Husk, as big as a Walnut, about four Inches in length, but the long Cods are small, and much stronger and better for use, than that from the *East Indies*. There is too sorts of Cotton, the silk Cotton as in the *East Indies*, [illegible] upon a small stalk, as good for [illegible] Down; the other upon a shrub, and [illegible] Cod bigger than a Walnut, full of Cotton Wool: Anotto also groweth up[illegible], with a Cod like the other, and [illegible] bunch, full of Anotto, very [illegible], tho' wild; Sugar Canes, not tame, four or five foot high; also Mastick, and Locus-trees; great and hard Timber, Gourds, Musk-Melons, Water-Melons, Lettice, Parsly; all places naturally bear Purslain of it self; Sope-berries like a Musquet Bullet, that washeth as white as Sope; in the middle of the Root is a thing like a Sedge, a very good Fruit, we call Pengromes; a Pappaw is as great as an Apple, coloured like an Orange, and good to eat; a small hard Nut, like a Hazell Nut, grows close to the Ground, and like this grows on the Palmetas, which we call a Mucca Nut. Mustard-seed will grow to a great Tree, but bears no seed, yet the Leaves will make good Mustard; the Mancinel Tree, the Fruit is Poison; good Figs in abundance, but the Palmeta serveth to build [illegible] Houses, the Leaves to cover them, and many other Uses; the juice we draw from them, till we suck them to Death, (it is restorative) and the top for meat doth serve us as Cabbage; but oft we want Powder of Beef and Bacon, and many other needful necessaries.

By *Thomas Simons*, *Rowland Grasseck*, *Nicholas Burgess*, and others.

CHAP. XXVI.

The first Planting of the Barbadoes.

THe *Barbados* lies South-West and by South, an hundred Leagues from St *Christophers*, threescore Leagues West and South from *Trinidado*, and some fourscore Leagues from *Cape de Salinos*, the next part of the main. The first Planters brought thither by Captain *Henry Powel*, were forty *English*, with seven or eight *Negros*; then he went to *Dilacula* in the main, where he got thirty *Indians*, Men, Women and Children of the *Arawacos*, Enemies both to the *Caribbes* and the *Spaniards*. The Isle is most like a Triangle, each side forty or fifty Miles square, some exceeding great Rocks, but the most part exceeding good Ground; abounding with an infinite number of Swine, some Turtles, and many sorts of excellent Fish; many great Ponds wherein is Duck and Mallard; excellent Clay for Pots, Wood and Stone for Building, and a Springnear the midst of the Isle of *Bitume*, which is a liquid mixture like Tarr, that by the great Rains falls from the Tops of the Mountains, it floats upon the Water in such abundance, that drying up, it remains like great Rocks of Pitch, and as good as Pitch for any use.

The Mancinel Apple, is of a most pleasant sweet smell, of the bigness of a Cr[illegible] but rank Poyson, yet the Swine and Bird have wit to shun it; great store of exceeding great Locus-trees, two or three Fathom about, of a great height, that beareth a Cod full of Meal, will make Bread in time of necessity. A Tree like a Pine beareth a Fruit so great as a Musk Melon, which hath always ripe Fruit Flowers, or Green Fruit, which will refresh two or three Men, and very comfortable; Plumb-trees many, the Fruit great and Yellow, which but strained into Water in four and twenty hours, will be very good drink; wild Figg-trees there are many; all those Fruits do fat the Hogge, yet at sometimes of the Year they are so lean as Carrion; Guane-trees bear a Fruit so big as a Pear, good and wholsom; Palmetaes of three several sorts; Pappaws, Prickle

Prickle Pears, good to eat or make drink; Cedar Trees very tall and great; Fuſtick Trees are very great, and the wood yellow, good for dying; Soap Berries, the kernel ſo big as a ſloe, and good to eat; Pumpeons in abundance; Goads ſo great as will make good great Bottles, and cut in two pieces, good Diſhes and Platters; many ſmall Brooks of very good Water; *Guinea* Wheat, Caſſado, Pines and Plantains; all things we there Plant, do grow exceedingly, ſo well as Tobacco; the Corn, Peaſe, and Beans, cut but away the Stalk, young ſprigs will grow, and ſo bear Fruit for many Years together, without any more Planting; the Iſle is overgrown with Wood or great Reeds, thoſe Woods which are ſoft are exceeding light and full of Pitch, and thoſe that are hard and great, they are as hard to cut as Stone.

Years Numbers. Mr. *John Powel* came thither the 4th of *Auguſt* 1627. with forty five Men, where we ſtayed three Weeks, and then returning, left behind us about an Hundred People, and his Son *John Powel* for his Deputy, as Governour; but there have been ſo many Factions amongſt them, I cannot from ſo many variable Relations, give you any certainty for their orderly Government: for all thoſe Plenties, much miſery they have endured, in regard of their weakneſs at their Landing, and long ſtay without ſupplies; therefore thoſe that go thither, it were good they carry good Proviſion with them; but the Iſle is moſt healthful, and all things Planted do increaſe abundantly; and by this time there is, and now a going, about the number of fifteen or ſixteen Hundred People.

Sir *William Curtine*, and Captain *John Powel*, were the firſt and chief Adventurers to the Planting this fortunate Iſle; which had been oft frequented by Men of War to refreſh themſelves, and ſet up their Shallopes; being ſo far remote from the reſt of the Iſles, they never were troubled with any of the *Indies*. Harbours they have none, but exceeding good Rodes, which with a ſmall Charge, might be very well Fortified; it doth Ebb and Flow four or five foot, and they cannot perceive that there hath ever been any Hericano in that Iſle.

From the Relations of Captain *John White*, and Captain *Wulverſtone*.

CHAP. XXVII.

The firſt Plantations of the Iſle of Mevis.

The Deſcription of the Iſle. BEcauſe I have ranged and lived amongſt thoſe Iſlands, what my Authors cannot tell me, I thing it no great error in helping them to tell it my ſelf. In this little Iſle of *Mevis*, more than twenty Years ago, I have remained a great time together, to Wood and Water and refreſh my Men; it is all Woody, but by the Sea-ſide Southward, there are Sands like Downs, where a Thouſand Men may quarter themſelves Conveniently; but in moſt places the Wood groweth cloſe to the Water ſide, at a hight Water mark, and in ſome places ſo thick of a ſoft ſpungy Wood like a wild Fig-tree, you cannot get through it, but by making your way with Hatchets, or Fauchions: whether it was the dew of thoſe Trees, or of ſome others, I am not certain, but many of our Men became ſo tormented with a burning ſwelling all over their Bodies, they ſeemed like ſcalded Men, and near Mad with Pain; here we found a great Pool, wherein bathing themſelves they found much eaſe; and finding it fed with a Pleaſant ſmall ſtream that came out of the Woods, we found the head half a Mile within the Land diſtilling from many Rocks, by which they were well cured in two or three days. Such factions here we had, as commonly attend ſuch Voyages, that a pair of Gallows were made, but Captain *Smith* for whom they were intended, could not be perſwaded to uſe them; but not any one of the inventers, but their lives by Juſtice fell into his Power to determine of at his Pleaſure, whom with much Mercy he favoured, that moſt baſely and unjuſtly have betrayed him. *The Bath.*

A great miſpriſon. The laſt Year 1628. Mr. *Littleton* with ſome others, got a Patent of the Earl of *Carliſle* to Plant the Iſle called the *Barbadoes*, thirty Leagues Northward of St. *Chriſtophers*; which by report of their Informers, and Undertakers, for the excellency of the Pleaſantneſs thereof, they called *Dulcina*, but when they came there, they found it ſuch a Barren Rock they left it; altho they were told as much before, they would not believe it,

perſwading themſelves thoſe contradicters would get it for themſelves, was thus by their cunning Opinion, the deceivers of themſelves; for ſeeing it lie conveniently for their purpoſe in a Map, they had not Patience to know the goodneſs or badneſs, the inconvenience nor probability of the Quantity nor Quality; which error doth predominate in moſt of our homebred Adventurers, that will have all things as they conceit and would have it; and the more they are contradicted, the more hot they are; but you may ſee by many Examples in the general Hiſtory, how difficult a matter it is, to gather the Truth from amongſt ſo many Foreign and ſeveral Relations, except you have exceeding good experience both of the Countries People, and their Conditions; and thoſe ignorant undertakings, have been the greateſt hindrance of all thoſe Plantations.

Their Numbers. At laſt becauſe they would be abſolute, they came to *Meeus*, a little Iſle by St. *Chriſtophers*; where they ſeated themſelves, well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, being about the Number of an Hundred, and ſince increaſed to an Hundred and fifty Perſons, whereof many were old Planters of St. *Chriſtophers*, eſpecially Mr. *Anthony Hinton*, and Mr. *Edward Tompſon*. But becauſe all thoſe Iſles for the moſt part are ſo capable to produce, and in Nature like each other, let this diſcourſe ſerve for the deſcription of them all. Thus much concerning thoſe Plantations, which now after all this time, loſs and charge, ſhould they be abandon'd, ſuppreſſed, and diſſolved, were moſt lamentable; and ſurely ſeeing they all ſtrive ſo much about this Tobacco, and that the Fraught thereof, and other charges are ſo great, and ſo open to any Enemy by that Commodity they cannot long ſubſiſt.

And it is a wonder to me to ſee ſuch Miracles and Miſchiefs in Men; how greedily they purſue to diſpoſſeſs the Planters of the Name of Chriſt Jeſus, yet ſay they are Chriſtians, when ſo much of the World is unpoſſeſſed; yea, and better Land than they ſo much ſtrive for, murthering ſo many Chriſtians, burning and ſpoiling ſo many Cities, Villages and Countries, and ſubverting ſo many Kingdoms, when ſo much lieth waſt, or only poſſeſſed by a few poor Savages, that more ſerve the Devil for fear, than God for love; whoſe Ignorance we pretend to reform, but Covetouſneſs, Humours, Ambition, Faction, and Pride hath ſo many Inſtruments, we perform very little to any purpoſe; nor is there either Honour or Profit to be got by any that are ſo vile, to undertake the ſubverſion, or hinderance of any honeſt intended Chriſtian Plantation.

Certain Paſſages of Captain Smith. Now to conclude the Travels and Adventures of Captain *Smith*; how firſt he Planted *Virginia*, and was ſet aſhoar with about an Hundred Men in the wild Woods; how he was taken Priſoner by the Savages, by the King of *Pamaunke* tied to a Tree to be ſhot to death, led up and down their Country to be ſhewed for a wonder; fatted as he thought, for a Sacrifice for their Idol, before whom they conjured him three days, with ſtrange Dances and Invocations, then brought him before their Emperor *Powhatan*, that commanded him to be ſlain; how his Daughter *Pocahontas* ſaves his life, returned him to *James* Town, relieved him and his famiſhed Company, which was but eight and thirty to poſſeſs thoſe large Dominions; how de diſcovered all the ſeveral Nations, upon the Rivers falling into the Bay of *Chiſapeacke*; ſtung near to death with a moſt Poiſoned taile of a Fiſh called Stingray: how *Powhatan* out of his Country took the Kings of *Pamaunke* and *Paſpahegh* Priſoners, forced thirty nine of thoſe Kings to pay him contribution, ſubjected all the Savages: how *Smith* was blown up with Gun-powder, and returned for *England* to be cured.

Alſo how he brought our New *England* to the ſubjection of the Kingdom of Great *Britain*; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongſt a many *French* men of Warr, and his Ship ran from him; his Sea-fights for the *French* againſt the *Spaniards*; their bad uſage of him; how in *France* in a little Boat he eſcaped them; was adrift all ſuch a ſtormy Night at Sea by himſelf, when thirteen *French* Ships were ſplit, or driven on ſhoar by the Iſle of *Ree*, the General and moſt of his Men drowned, when God, to whom be all Honour and Praiſe, brought him ſafe on ſhoar to all their Admirations that eſcaped; you may read at large in his General Hiſtory of *Virginia*, the *Summer Iſles*, and *New England*.

CHAP

CHAP. XXVIII.

The bad Life, Qualities and Conditions of Pirates; and how they taught the Turks *and* Moors *to become men of Warr.*

AS in all Lands where there are many People, there are ſome Thieves, ſo in all Seas much frequented, there are ſome Pirates; the moſt Ancient within the Memory of threeſcore Years, was one *Calli*, who moſt refreſhed himſelf upon the Coaſt of *Wales*; *Clinton* and *Purſer* his Companions, who grew famous till Queen *Elizabeth* of Bleſſed Memory, hanged them at *Wapping*; *Flemming* was as expert and as much fought for as they, yet ſuch a Friend to his Country, that diſcovering the *Spaniſh Armado*, he voluntarily came to *Plimouth*, yielded himſelf freely to my Lord Admiral, and gave him notice of the *Spaniards* coming; which good warning came ſo happily and unexpectedly, that he had his Pardon, and a good Reward; ſome few Pirates there then remained; notwithſtanding it is incredible how many great and rich Prizes the little Barques of the Weſt Country daily brought home, in regard of their ſmall Charge; for there are ſo many difficulties in a great Navy, by Wind and Weather, Victual, Sickneſs, loſing and finding one another, they ſeldom defray half the charge: But for the Grace, State and Defence of the Coaſt and narrow Seas, a great Navy is moſt neceſſary, but not to Attempt any far Voyage, except there be ſuch a Competent ſtock, they want not wherewith to furniſh and ſupply all things with expedition; but to the purpoſe.

After the death of our moſt Gracious Queen *Elizabeth* of Bleſſed Memory, our Royal King *James*, who from his Infancy had Reigned in Peace with all Nations; had no imployment for thoſe Men of Warr, ſo that thoſe that were Rich reſted with that they had; thoſe that were poor and had nothing but from hand to Mouth, turned Pirates; ſome, becauſe they became ſlighted of thoſe for whom they had got much Wealth; ſome for that they could not get their Due; ſome that had lived bravely, would not abaſe themſelves to Poverty; ſome vainly, only to get a name; others for Revenge, Covetouſneſs, or as ill; and as they found themſelves more and more oppreſſed, their Paſſions increaſing with diſcontent, made them turn Pirates.

Now becauſe the grew hatefull to all *Chriſtian* Princes, they retired to *Barbary*, where altho' there be not many good Harbours, but *Tunis*, *Argier*, *Sally*, *Mamora*, and *Tituane*, there are many convenient Rodes, or the open Sea, which is their chief Lordſhip: For their beſt Harbours *Maſſalquiver*, the Towns of *Oran*, *Mellila*, *Tangier*, and *Ceuta*, within the Streights, are poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*; without the Streights they have alſo *Arzella*, and *Mazagan*; *Mamora* they have likewiſe lately taken, and Fortified. *Ward* a poor *Engliſh* Sailer, and *Danſker* a *Dutchman*, made firſt here their Marts, when the *Moors* knew ſcarce how to ſail a Ship; *Biſhop* was Ancient and did little hurt; but *Eaſton* got ſo much as made himſelf a Marqueſs in *Savoy*; and *Ward* lived like a Baſhay in *Barbary*; thoſe were the firſt that taught the *Moors* to be Men of War. *Gennings*, *Harris*, *Tompſon*, and divers others were taken in *Ireland*, a Coaſt they much frequented, and died at *Wapping*. *Hawes*, *Bough*, *Smith*, *Walſingham*, *Ellis*, *Collins*, *Sawkwel*, *Wollingſtone*, *Barrow*, *Wilſon*, *Sayres*, and divers others, all theſe were Captains amongſt the Pirates, whom King *James* Mercifully Pardon'd; and was it not ſtrange, a few of thoſe ſhould command the Seas. Notwithſtanding the *Malteſes*, the Pope, *Florentines*, *Genoeſes*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*, Gallies and Men of War, they would rob before their Faces, and even at their own Ports, yet ſeldom more than three, four, five, or ſix in a Fleet: many times they had very good Ships, and well Man'd, but commonly in ſuch Factions amongſt themſelves, and ſo Riotous, Quarrellous, Treacherous, Blaſphemous and Villanous, it is more than a wonder they could ſo long continue, to do ſo much Miſchief; and all they got, they baſely conſumed it amongſt *Jews*, *Turks*, *Moors*, and Whores. *Their conditions.*

The beſt was, they would ſeldom go to Sea, ſo long as they could poſſibly live on ſhoar, being compiled of *Engliſh*, *French*, *Dutch* and *Moors*, (but very few *Spaniards* or *Italians*) commonly running one from another, till they became ſo disjointed, diſordered, debauched, and miſerable, that the *Turks* and *Moors* began to command them as Slaves, and force them to inſtruct them in their beſt skill, which many an accurſed Runnagado, or *Chriſtian* turned *Turk* did, till they have made thoſe Sally-men or *Moors* of *Barbary* ſo Powerful as they be, to the Terror of all the *Streights*, and many times they take Purchaſe in the Main Oce- *Renegadoes.*

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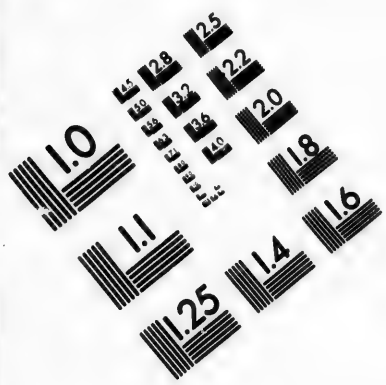
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an, yea ſometimes in the narrow Seas in *England*, and thoſe are the moſt cruel Villains in *Turky* or *Barbary*; whoſe Natives are very Noble, and of good Natures, in compariſon of them.

Advertiſements for wild heads

To conclude, The Miſery of a Pirate, (altho' many are ſufficient Seamen as any) yet in regard of his ſuperfluity, you ſhall find it ſuch, that any wiſe Man would rather live amongſt wild Beaſts, than them; therefore let all unadviſed Perſons take heed they entertain that quality; and I could how wiſh Merchants, Gentlemen, and all Setters forth of Ships, not to be ſparing of a Competent Pay, nor true Payment; for neither Soldiers nor Seamen can live without Means, but neceſſity will force them to ſteal; and when they are once entred into that Trade, they are hardly reclaimed. Thoſe Titles of Seamen and Soldiers, have been moſt worthily honoured and eſteemed, but now regarded for the moſt part, but as the ſcum of the World; regain therefore your wonted Reputations and endeavour rather to Adventure to thoſe fair Plantations of our *Engliſh* Nation, which however in the beginning were ſcorned contemned, yet now you ſee how many Rich and Gallant People come from thence, who went thither as Poor as any Soldier or Sailer, and gets more in one Year, than you by Piracy in ſeven. I intreat you therefore to conſider how many Thouſands yearly go thither; alſo how many Ships and Sailers are imployed to Tranſport them, and what Cuſtom they Yearly pay to our moſt Royal King *Charles*, whoſe Proſperity and his Kingdom's good, I humbly beſeech the Immortal God to preſerve and increaſe.

F I N I S.

TWO

JOURNALS:

THE FIRST

Kept by ſeven SAILERS

IN THE

ISLE of St. *MAURICE*

IN

GREENLAND,

In the Years 1633, 1634.

Who paſs'd the Winter, and all died in the ſaid ISLAAND.

THE SECOND

Kept by ſeven other Sailers, who in the Years 1633 and 1634. Winter'd

AT

SPITZBERGEN;

With an Account of their Adventures and Sufferings, from the *Bears* and *Whales*, inſupportable Cold and Storms, &c.

Done out of LOW-DUTCH.

TO THE

READER.

IT having pleaſed God, the Creator and Preſerver of the Univerſe, by whoſe uncontroulable Will, the Counſels of Men are Governed, to Influence the Committee of the Greenland *Company, to take a Reſolution of making the moſt exact enquiry that could be, concerning the true Condition of the Country of* Greenland, *during the Winter: Concerning the Nights there, and other Curious Obſervations (diſputed among the Aſtronomers) it was reſolved to ſelect ſeven of the boldeſt and ableſt Seamen, out of the Fleet, who for that purpoſe ſhould tarry there all the Winter, which reſolution being Publiſhed, the following ſeven offered themſelves for that Service, and were accepted of accordingly:* Outgert Jacobſon *of* Grootenbrook, *their Commander*; Adrian Martin Carman *of* Schiedam, *Clerk*; Thauniſs Thauniſſen *of* Shermerhem, *as Cook*; Dick Peterſon *of* Veenhuyſe; Peter Peterſon *of* Harlem; Sebaſtian Gyſe *of* Delfts-Haven, *and* Gerard Beautin *of* Bruges. *Theſe ſeven being left* 1633, *by their own choice, in the Iſle of St.* Maurice *in* Greenland, *the* Dutch *Fleet ſet Sail from thence the* 26*th of* Auguſt, *and the Seamen left us the following Account.*

TWO

TWO JOURNALS:

THE FIRST

Kept by ſeven SAILERS

IN

GREENLAND:

THE SECOND

Kept by ſeven other SAILERS

AT

SPITZBERGEN,

In the Years 1633 and 1634.

THE 26th of *Auguſt* our Fleet ſet ſail for *Holland* with a ſtrong N. E. Wind and a hollow Sea, which continued all that Night. The 27th, the Wind ſtill at N. E. we went four or five times up to an Adjacent Hill, but did not obſerve the leaſt Darkneſs all that Night. The 28th the Wind the ſame, it began to Snow very hard; we then Shar'd half a Pound of Tobacco betwixt us, which was to be our Allowance for a week, towards Evening we went about together, to ſee whether we could diſcover any thing worth our Obſervation, but met with nothing. The 29th proving a Sun-ſhine and clear Day, we aſcended together in the Afternoon the beforementioned Hill, when, (and at ſeveral other times when it was clear Weather) we could diſtinctly ſee the *Bears Mountain*. The 30th the Wind turn'd to the N. W. with ſome Snow in the Afternoon, the Night Cloudy, the Wind at N. E. The 31ſt, being a clear and Sun-ſhiny day, we had a perfect ſight of the *Bears Mountain*, with a freſh Gale from the N. E. a fair Star-light Night.

The 1ſt of *Sept.* prov'd a fair day, the Wind at N. W. with ſome Snow in the Evening, and a Windy Night from the N. E. We went three or four times by the Hill, but ſaw nothing. The 2d, the ſame Wind continued, with ſome Snow and cloudy Night. The 3d, was a fair Day, with ſome Snow; the Wind as the Day before, which continued the 4th and the 5th, with ſome Snow; the Night fair and Star light. The 6th, was a fair Fore-noon, but the Night rainy, the Wind the ſame. The 7th, the

the Wind continued as before all the day, with fair Weather, but turning to the S. E. by S, at Night produced a great deal of Rain. On the 8th 'twas a Rainy Morning, the Wind at S. E. but in the Afternoon fair, and the Night Star light; at the beginning, whereof we were frightned by a Noiſe, as if ſomething had fallen very heavy upon the Ground, but ſaw nothing, the Wind at S. E. ſtill. The 9th, the Wind the ſame; it prov'd a Sun-ſhiny day, and ſo warm that we pull'd off our ſhirts and ſported in the Sun on the ſide of the Hill; we had alſo a ſight of the *Bears Mountain*; the Night was Rainy, the Wind at S. E. The 10th was very Stormy, the Night Rainy and the Wind the ſame. The 11th was a Foggy and Rainy day, the Wind at S. E. by S. but turn'd to the S. W. in the Afternoon, and to the N. E. in the Night, the Weather Cloudy; we made a ſhift to get ſome Salleting, being fond of a change of Diet. The 12th it blew hard from the N. E. the Weather clear, but the Night Snowy, the Wind as before. The 13th was a fair Sun-ſhiny day, the Wind at S. E. but the Wind turning to the N. E. by N. it began to Snow, the Night was ſtill and cloſe, the Wind at N. W. The 14th, it was fair Weather, the Wind in the Weſt with ſome Snow; we went up the Hill, but ſaw nothing worth our Obſervation; except that at Night we obſerved the Setting of the Sun; the Wind at N. W. by W. a clear Night, and the Wind at S. W. The 15th it blew very hard, ſo that the Sea foam'd; we obſerv'd the Sun from the S. to the S. W. when it clouded in, but the Night prov'd Star light, the Wind at W. The 16th it was a fair Sun-ſhiny day, the Wind at S. W. which made us go about to gather ſome Herbs for Salleting; it being a very Star light Moon-ſhiny Night, we ſaw abundance of Sea-Gulls. The 17th it blew very hard out of the S. W. which made the Sea foam, yet the day was clear and the Night calm, the Wind as before. The 18th it was a rainy Day, the Wind at S. W. by S. This was the firſt time we took each of us our Allotment of Brandy, being a certain Meaſure which was to ſerve us for Eleven days. The 19th it was a clear day, the Wind at W. the Night Star light, the Wind at S.E. The 20th it was Sun-ſhine, the Wind at S. E. by S. we then diſcharged our great Guns, having no more to fear from the *Biſcay* Privateers for this Seaſon; the Night was Star light, the Wind at S. W. The 21ſt, Day and Night miſty and rainy; the Wind at S. W. The 22d, it blew and rain'd very hard, the Wind at S. W. The 23d, being a cloudy day, the Wind at E. we diſcover'd a Whale near the Shoar, which made us ſet out our Sloap in order to catch him; but he got clear of us, it turning a dark Sky, with Rain and Miſt on a ſudden, and in the Night it rain'd very hard; the Wind at S. E. The 24th, the Wind was at S. E. by S. with rainy Weather in the Forenoon, but the Afternoon being fair, we went to the *Red Hill* for ſome Salleting, but found none; at Night the Wind was at S. E. The 25th proved very Rainy in the Morning, the Wind at S. E. by E. but the Afternoon and Night it was very Stormy Weather. The 26th it was cold Froſty Weather, with an Eaſterly wind. The 27th being a fair Day, the Wind at N. E. we went towards the South ſide of the Iſle for ſome Salleting, but found none, being ſpoiled by the cold Rains; in the Night the Wind turn'd to the Weſt, with very foul Weather. The 28th a violent Storm aroſe from the North, with ſome Snow and running Clowds, but the Night prov'd fair, the Wind at S. E. The 29th it blew very hard from the S. E. with ſome Snow, we obſerved the height of the Sun in the Sun ſomething above the Mountains; the Night was fair, and the Wind South. The 30th it was a Cloudy Rainy day, the Wind at S. W. by W. the Night proved very wet, mixt with Snow and very ſtormy.

The 1ſt of *Octob.* it was fair in the Morning, the Wind at N. E. but in the Afternoon ſtormy, and a cloudy Night, the Wind as before; it being Froſty Weather, we reſolved to go to the South ſide of the Iſle. The 2d it Froze ſo hard, that the Ice would bear even on the South part of the Iſland, the Wind the ſame as the day before: we found there a fine Spring of freſh Water, and the Night was very clear, the Wind at Eaſt. The 3d the Wind was the ſame in the Forenoon, but turn'd to the Weſt afterwards, with Froſt and Snow, but the Night was very fair. The 4th prov'd a Froſty day, the Wind South; in the Morning we ſaw the *Bears Mountain*; the Afternoon was very warm, and the Night Foggy and Rainy, the Wind very ſharp from the S. W. The 5th, the Wind continued the

the ſame, with Rain from Morning till Night, which made us keep our Tents all that Day; at Night the Wind turn'd to the South. The 6th, the Wind was the ſame, with Froſty Weather, we obſerved the Sun in the South, from our Huts, about half a Pace above the Hill; we alſo could ſee the *Bears Mountain*: In the Night it blew very hard from the S.W. by S. with a hollow Sea and very dark Sky. The 7th it was very ſtormy, the Wind at S. W. by W. we went upon the Hill, but met with nothing there, the Night proved very wet. The 8th the Wind continued the ſame, in the Morning with Snow, but turn'd to the S. W. by S. in the Afternoon; towards Night it grew very Tempeſtuous, which ſhook our Huts to that degree, that we were not able to reſt, the Storm increaſing with Snow and Froſt till late in the Night; the Wind at N. E. and afterwards to the N. with a very hollow Sea. The 9th, the Tempeſt continued with ſuch violence, that no Ship could have rid ſafely at Anchor, with Froſt and Snow, the Waves riſing by the Northerly wind above the Fort. It being exceſſive cold, we began the firſt time to make a fire; we had ſtill very ſtrong winds from the N. E. by N. all that Night, which continuing the ſame the 10th; the exceſſiveneſs of the cold forced us to keep at home near the fire ſide; we found a conſiderable alteration in our Bodies, being troubled with a ſuddain giddineſs in our Heads, the wind the ſame as before. The 11 it was very cold and Snowy Weather, the wind at N. E. we had hung ſome of our Linen in the Air to whiten, but were glad to bring them near the fire, they being in a moment Frozen as hard as a Board; we went along the Sea ſhoar to the Southern Rocks, but found nor ſaw any thing there. The 12th it Froze, Snow'd, and Blew ſo very hard, that our Barrel of Bear, (tho' laid within a Fathom from the Fire) was Frozen, the wind at N.E. we went upon the Hill that day but ſaw nothing. the 13th the cold Weather continued, we took a view about us on the Hill as uſual, but diſcovered nothing, except that we ſee the Sun ſet between S. and W. very clear, the wind at the North, the beginning of the Night was Star light, but towards Morning it was Stormy with Snow. The 14th the Wind and Weather the ſame, and we obſerved the Sun to ſet at S. W. by W. part of the Night was Star-light. The 15th in the Morning finding two Whales caſt a ſhoar near the old Furnace of *Amſterdam*, we went to work with our Harp-irons, Launces and Hangers, but notwithſtanding all our endeavours, they got clear of us by the advantage of the Tide; the Weather proved indifferently well that day, the wind as the day before; we went upon the Hill but without ſeeing any thing. The 16th the Weather continued very cold with Snow, the Wind the ſame, which occaſioned no ſmall alteration in our Bodies; we took a view round about us on the Hill, but obſerved nothing. The 17th it was ſtill Froſty weather, and Cloudy and blew very hard from the North; the Evening was Star-light; we went in the day upon the Hill, but ſaw nothing. The 18th the Froſt continued, the wind N. we obſerved the Sun to ſet at S W. by N. or almoſt S. W. it was a very Moon light Night. The 19th the wind kept in the N. we ſaw from the Hill the *Bears Mountain*, and ſome Ice we ſaw, about a Mile to the North of the Shoar; It was a Sun ſhiny Day, but the Sun did not riſe high enough to reach over the Hill, into our Huts in the Bay; it was a Bright Moon-light Night. The 20th being a fair Day, the wind at N. E. we had ſight of a Bear the firſt we ſaw here, but could not catch him; we ſaw great Shoals of Ice, a good way at Sea, from the Shoar, and the Night proved very Cold, with an Eaſt wind. The 21ſt it Blow'd and Snow'd very hard with a N.E. wind which continued all Night, with very thick Snow. The 22th it Snow'd all Day, and the Night continued Cloudy, the wind the ſame. The 23d was Cloudy, the wind at N. E. we took a view again round about us from the Hill, but ſaw nothing; the Night was very Fair. The 24th the wind and weather the ſame, with ſome Froſt, we went upon the red Hill, where we ſaw nothing except the Tracts of ſome Beaſts, whence we concluded that they began to come down towards the Sea-ſide. The Night was Clear and Froſty. The 25th we had an exceſſive Cold, yet Sun ſhiny Day, the wind at S. W. but the Sun could not ſend its beams over the Hills to our Huts; It being a Star-light Night, a Bear came in ſight of our Huts; but we could not take him; the wind was the ſame as the day before. The 26th the wind continuing the ſame Corner, we went upon the Hill, where we ſaw nothing but Ice, the night was very clear, the

Wind at the Weſt. The 27th it was fair weather, the wind the ſame, the Night very clear and ſtar-light. The 28th, the Wind blew from the ſame corner all Day and Night, with clear Frоſty weather, we went up the Hill but ſaw nothing. The 29th being an exceſſive cold day, the Wind in the N. not only the Bay, but alſo the Sea, as far as we could ſee, was full of Ice; in the Night it Snowed very hard, the Wind as before. The 30th it continued Freezing very hard, with the ſame Wind, and the Sea was ſo full of Ice, that we could ſee no Water; the Night proved very Tempeſtuous. The 31ſt the North Wind produced ſuch an exceſſive Froſt and Snow, that not the leaſt drop of Water was to be ſeen, where-ever you turn'd your ſelf, and ſome of our Veſſels were Frozen to pieces, tho' we ſav'd our Beer and other ſtrong Liquors, by putting them in the Buttry Cellar.

The 1ſt. of *November*, a N. E. Wind vehemently encreaſed the cold, ſo that when we came upon the Hill, we could ſee nothing but Ice on the North ſide; yet we had ſtill 10 hours day, tho' we ſeldom got ſight of the Sun-beams, the ſame not appearing except on the South ſide, whither we could not come by reaſon of the Snow and Ice. Towards Evening we got ſight of a Bear, but he no ſooner ſaw us making up towards him, but he ſaved himſelf upon the Ice at Sea, theſe Creatures being exceſſive ſhy here; the cold grew ſo fierce by this time, that to preſerve our Beer, and other Liquors, we were forced to kindle a Fire in the Buttry Cellar. Towards Night, the Bears appeared in ſuch Numbers about our Hutts, that we ſcarce durſt venture abroad; the Wind continued as before. The 2d, it being a very hard Froſt, we diſcovered 5 or 6 Bears upon the Ice in the Bay, whereof we kill'd one, but the reſt ſaved themſelves upon the Ice. The 3d, it was tolerable good Weather, the Wind at N. E. we ſaw four Bears, one whereof being kill'd, by a Gun, he got upon the Ice in the Bay, but was pull'd a ſhoar by the help of ſome Roaps we had by us. The Night was Star-light, and the Wind as before. The 4th, the Wind being at N. E. it froze very hard, tho' it was very Cloudy, we ſaw 3 Bears, but we could Shoot none of them, they betaking themſelves immediately to the Ice at Sea; the Wind was Weſt. The 5th A South Wind produced ſo Violent a Snow, that we durſt not venture out of our Huts; we had of late not ſeen any Sea Gulls; all that Night the Wind continued in the South, as well as the 6th, with ſome Tempeſtuſtuous Weather, the Wind turned Eaſt in the Night. The 7th it was ſtill, the Wind at N. E. we went up the Hill, but diſcovered nothing; the Wind turning to the North in the Night, fill'd the Bay with great Shoals of Ice. The 8th the Wind continued at the North, with exceſſive cold weather; for want of Water we were forced to make uſe of melted Snow. The 9th the North Wind holding ſtill, we made ſhift to get to the Southern ſhoar, where we ſaw no Ice, but plainly diſcovered the Sun, this being the firſt time we had ſight of it in 21 or 22 Days laſt paſt, being then above half an hour above the Horizon; the Wind continued in the North, all that Night as well as the next Day, being the 10th when we got ſight of a great number of Bears. The 11th the North Wind encreaſed, with thick Clouds: at Night the Wind turned N. E. which continued the 12th, with very thick fogs, we went upon the Hill, but could ſee nothing but Ice; and ſome Sea Gulls; the Night proved very light by reaſon of the Moon, the Wind at Eaſt. The ſame Wind continuing the 13th it froze moſt ſeverely; and the 14th the Wind turned to the Weſt; the cold weather held on and brought vaſt quantities of Ice into the Bay; it was a bright Moon-ſhiny Night, but we ſaw no Bears that Day, tho' the next being the 15th, we ſaw 3 or 4, but had only the Pleaſure of ſeeing them, they not coming within the reach of our Guns. The 16th the Wind continued in the ſame Corner, all that Day and Night; we let fire at a Bear, that came in ſight of us, but miſſing him, he betook himſelf to the Ice in the Bay. The 17th the Wind turn'd to the North, with dark Snowy weather, yet the Cold was not ſo exceſſive as before. The 18th the Froſt increaſed again with a N. E. wind, which however prov'd very tolerable to us hitherto; we ſpending moſt of our time in Rehearſing to one another, the Adventures that had befaln us both by Sea and Land; it prov'd a very fair and Star-light Night. The 19th the Wind turning to the North again, we paſs'd the Hill to the South ſide, yet not without a great deal of difficulty, being often Knee deep in the

Snow

Snow; we then had a full ſight of the *Bears Mountain*, and ſaw the Sun juſt above the Surface of the Sea, having yet ſo much day-light left, that we could Write and Read in the open Air, but not within our Hutts, which made us very Melancholy; the Wind continued the ſame as it did the 20th, with dark Snowy weather; in the Night the Wind turning to the Weſt, continued there the 21ſt, when going up the Hill we look'd to the North ſide, but could ſee nothing but Ice. The 22d, the Wind held Weſterly, with very cold Weather. The 23d the Wind ſhitted to the N W. by W. and being a fair day, we paſs'd the Hill to the Red Hill, but could ſee nothing but Ice where-ever we turn'd our Faces; 2 or 3 Bears came within ſight of us, but not within the reach of our Guns: the beginning of the Night proving very clear and calm, we diſcover'd a Bear, at whom we diſcharged our Guns immediately (they being always ready charg'd) and wounded him ſorely, as we found by the Tracts of Blood near the Sea ſhoar; yet eſcaped to the Ice, nothing being more frequent than to be ſhot quite thro' the Body, without receiving much harm. The 24th proving a cloudy dark day, a S. E. Wind forced moſt of the Ice out of the Bay into the Sea, but yet not quite out of ſight, at Night the Wind turning to the Weſt, the Bay was fill'd again with Ice; the Weather being very Froſty; we ſaw a vaſt quantity of Sea-Gulls, but they kept cloſe among the Mountains; the Wind as before. The 25th the Wind being in the Weſt, with Froſty Weather, we ſaw a vaſt number of Sea-Gulls, but they return'd to the Mountains before Night, the Wind was as before. The 26th the Wind turning to the South, it prov'd a tolerable mild day, and moſt of the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the Sea; the Wind as before. The 27th it was fair Weather, the Wind at S. W. but turned to the Eaſt in the Night. The 28th the Wind was at S. E. with fair Weather; we got ſight of a Bear again, whom we purſued over the Hill, but he proving too nimble for us, eſcap'd our hands. The Weather was (to our great ſurpriſe) ſo mild for theſe 5 or 6 days laſt paſt, that we believed the cold to be no more intenſe here than it was in *Holland*, at the ſame time the Wind as before. The 29th, the Wind continuing the ſame, we went over the Hill again to the South ſide of the Iſle, where we found all cover'd with Ice; tho' at the ſame time there was ſcarce any Ice, to be ſeen, within half a Mile of the Northern ſhoar; it was a Star-light Night. The 30th the Wind blew from the ſame Corner, and ſeeing ſome Bears, we made what haſte we could after them, but in vain, not being able to overtake them; the Wind continued as before with violent Rains.

The 1ſt of *December*, a Southern Wind produced ſome Rain, but turn'd to the S. E. at Night. The 2d, the Wind continued the ſame, with Rainy Weather, which carried the Ice from the ſhoar to the North at Sea: It continued Thawing all that Night, the Weather mild. The 3d the Wind at S. with rainy Weather and ſtrong Winds at Night. The 4th the Wind continuing Day and Night the ſame, with cloudy Weather, we heard ſome Bears near our Hutts, and purſued 2 or 3 of them, but could take none. The 5th the Wind ſtill South, with mild calm Weather, ſo that to the beſt of our judgment, it could ſcarce be better in *Holland* at that time of the Year: we ſhot one Bear, as we perceived by the Tract of Blood, but he had ſtrength enough to get upon the Ice, out of our reach. The 6th the Wind blew from the S. E. cloudy Sky, but mild Weather, with a Star-light Night, the wind as before. The 7th the Wind continued the ſame with Foggy Weather, but the Wind turning to the South; at Night it began to Snow, and the Froſt return'd. The 8th a N. E. Wind produced a dark and Froſty day, but at Night it turn'd to the Weſt. Which continued thus the 9th, with very clear nd cold Weather, there being nothing but Ice to be ſeen as far as our Eyes could reach. It was a froſty Star-light Night. The 10th was a bright day, the Wind ſtill at Weſt; we found our ſelves ſurrounded on all ſides with nothing but Ice, it being a Moon-ſhiny Night, we diſcovered 3 or 4 Bears, one of which we wounded in two places, yet he eſcaped our hands upon the Ice: we went upon the Hill, from whence we could diſcern nothing but Ice; the Wind continued at Weſt all Night, and the 11th with fair Weather, but could diſcover no Bears that day; thoſe that had once heard or felt the effects of our Guns, beginning to be very ſhy; it was a very Froſty Night. The 12th in the Morning, we had the good fortune to ſhoot a Bear in the Head, who dropt immediately; we roaſted

roaſted a Legg of him immediately, which happen'd to be a young one, it reliſhd exceedingly well with us, having fed upon nothing but ſalt Meat for a conſiderable time. The Wind held ſtill in the Weſt, with very cold Weather, and a calm Moon-light Night. The 13th was a cloudy dark day, the Wind at S. W. we went croſs the Hill to the red Hill, but ſaw nothing, but vaſt heaps of Ice in the Sea, to the North ſide; at Night the Wind turn'd to the S. E. with Snow. The 14th proved a clear Frosty day, the Wind at the South, and a bright Moon-light Night; we found the Ice removed from the Shoar, a great way into the Sea. The 15th the Wind being the ſame, it proved a dark day, and the Ice was forced back into the Bay: in the Night (which was exceeding dark) the Wind changed to the S. W. The 16th, the Wind continuing as before, we went up the Hill but obſerved nothing; it was a Moon-light Night. The 17th prov'd a very cloudy dark day, the Wind ſtill at South. We went again up the Hill but ſaw nothing, it Snowed and Thawed very hard at Night with the ſame South Wind, which brought us abundance of Sea-Gulls (as it frequently does) to the Sea ſide; theſe make the ſame noiſe here, as they do at *Holland* in *May*, but retire every Night among the Mountains, their ordinary receptacle. The 18th. was a rainy dark day, the wind ſtill at South, which changed to the E. the 19th with a hard Froſt, and a calm and cloudy Night; the Wind as before, which continued the 20th with calm Weather, and a dark Night. The 21ſt, the Wind kept ſtill in the ſame Corner, with dark Snowy Weather, the Snow lying ſo high upon the Ground, that we could not ſtir out without Boots; it Froze and Snow'd ſeverely, the Wind at North. The 22d in the Morning, we found the Bay fill'd with Ice again, but the cold was ſo ſevere, that this was the coldeſt day we had met with as yet; we had ſtill four hours day light; the Night was Star-light and calm. The 23d an Eaſterly Wind produced a bright Froſty day, and Stormy Night, with ſo much Snow, that we durſt ſcarce venture out of our Hutts, but could ſee the Ice turn'd back into the Bay; the Wind ſtill at Eaſt, which continued the 24th, with a Foggy Air; yet the latter part of the Night was Star-liight, with a hard Froſt and Storm from the N. E. The 25th, a South Wind produced a fair day, but at Night the Wind turned to the North. The 26th it was a clear Frosty day, the Wind at Eaſt, but turned to the N. W. at Night. The 27th, the Wind and Weather as before, but the Night proved dark and calm, with an Eaſterly Wind, which continued thus the 28th, with very dark Snowy Weather: in the Night it blew hard out of the Weſt, with ſo violent a Snow, that we could not ſtir out of our Hutts; Weather and Wind as before. The 29th the Wind veering about to the Weſt, produced a clear and exceſſive cold day, the fore-part of the Night prov'd Star-light and calm, but the Wind turning afterwards to the S. E. it Snowed very hard; we found the Bay clear of Ice in the Morning. The 30th it blew hard from the S. W. it was a cloudy but calm day; we ſaw neither Bears nor Fiſh. The 31ſt proved an indifferent good calm day, a S. W. wind produced a great deal of Snow in the Night, but the cold was very tolerable.

In the Year 1634. the 1ſt of *January*, having wiſhed one another a happy New Year, and good ſucceſs in our Enterpriſe, we went to Prayers to disburthen our Hearts before God; the Weather was dark, cold and froſty, and the Wind as before; two Bears came near our Hutts, but being a dark day, and a very deep Snow, it was impoſſible to take them. The 2d of *Jan.* a N. E. Wind produced a clear day; and the Ice was forced out of the Bay to Sea, yet remained within ſight; the fore part of the Night was Star-light, but afterwards an Eaſt Wind brought a cloudy Sky along with it. The 3d it rained a little, the Wind at S. E. which encreaſed at Night, the Wind blowing hard from the S.W. The 4th we had a fierce Weſterly Wind, and cold Weather; the Bay was ſo fill'd with Ice again, that we could ſee no Water. The Night was pretty mild, with an Eaſterly Wind; which continued the 5th with a thick Fogg and Froſt; the Night was Star-light, the Wind at W. The 6th was a clear froſty Day, the Wind at N. which increaſed all Night with ſome Snow. The 7th the Wind and Weather continued as before, but with abundance of Snow, more than we obſerved before, ſince our coming hither; beſides which, it Froze hard all the day and Night, that we durſt not venture to ſtir abroad, for fear of being ſwallow'd up in ſome Pitt or other fill'd with Snow. The 8th, the Wind blew from the N.E. with very Froſty Weather, but turned

cloudy

cloudy afterwards; the Night was exceſſive cold and Stormy; whereof we now began to feel the Effects in our Bodies. The 9th the Wind and Weather continued as before, and the Bay was fill'd with ſuch vaſt Ice-ſhoals, that at a diſtance they appear'd from the tops of our Hutts, (where we uſed often to make our Speculations) like white Hills or Land-skies; it was a clear Moon-light Night, tho' we never got ſight of the Moon, before ſhe was 7 or 8 days old, by reaſon of the high Hills betwixt her and us; the Wind and Weather continued as before. The 10th, a N. E. Wind produced a bright, calm and pleaſant day, but exceſſive cold, whereof we found the effects. The Bay continued full of Ice; the greateſt part of the Night was Star-light, but very cold which ſeem'd likely to hold. The 11th the Forenoon proved clear and calm, but the Wind turning to the South in the Afternoon, it was cloudy, but nevertheleſs cold, which not a little anoyed us, eſpecially after the Wind brought with it a vaſt quantity of Snow from the S.E. The 12th, the ſame Wind and Snow continued, ſo that we could nor ſtir out, tho the cold was not altogether ſo exceſſive as for ſome days before; in the Night the Wind and the Weather continued as before; and in the Morning the Ice was forced out to Sea, quite out of Sight. The 13th a S. E. Wind brought abundance of Snow, and ſeeing a Bear near our Hutts, we kill'd him with a Fuſee upon the ſpot, and ſo drawing him with Roaps into our Tent, flea'd him, the Weather being ſo cold, and the Snow ſo high, that we could not do it without doors; the Night was very clear. The 14th it being a tolerable clear day, the Wind at Eaſt, we went croſs the Hill to the *Red Hill*, but ſaw nothing; it was a Moon-light Night, and the Stars appeared ſome times; the Wind as before. The 15th it was a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind, with Snow, we ſaw the Ice about a Mile from the Shoar; the Night was Moon-light, the Wind at N. E. The 16th a South Wind produced good tolerable Weather; for we made this obſervation during our ſtay, here, that with a South Wind the weather was not ſo cold as otherwiſe; in the Night the wind turned to the Eaſt; it was a dark but Froſty Night. The 17th the wind continued as before, with cold Foggy weather; at Night the wind turning to the North, it Froze ſo fiercely, that the whole Bay was cover'd with Ice, there being not the leaſt Water to to be ſeen in the Morning. The 18th was a cold Foggy day; in the Afternoon the wind turned to the Weſt, and in the Night it began to Snow, the wind as before; which continued thus the 19th, with abundance of Snow; ſo that we were not able to ſtir abroad. The 20th the Snow continued with a Weſterly wind, which lay ſo high, that we ſcarce peept out of our Tent or Hutt; tho' for the reſt, it was not quite ſo cold, as ſome days before; and in the Night an Eaſterly wind brought us more Snow. The 21ſt, the ſame wind continued very ſtrong, with a violent Snow; in the Night the wind turn'd to the Weſt. The 22d the Snow and Weſterly wind continued with great vehemency, which was follow'd by a very hard Froſt at Night. The 23d it was a clear Froſty Morning, which made us get a little way out of our Hutts, (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) to the South ſide of the Iſle, to obſerve the heighth of the Sun; but growing cloudy ſoon after, could not make an exact Obſervation: however, we ſaw in the Bay thereabouts, the Ice and Snow at leaſt 6 Foot high; the wind was Eaſt all Night, ſometimes we could ſee the Stars; the weather as before. The 24th a Weſt wind had blown the Ice a great way into the Sea; it was firſt clear weather, then Snowy, and Star-light in the beginning of the Night; but in the Morning a South wind produced a cloudy Sky. The 25th, the ſtrong South wind and Clouds continued, with a very cold Night. The 26th it Snow'd hard, the wind at Weſt: at Night we ſaw the Ice again all over the Bay; at Night (which was cloudy) the wind turn'd to the South. The 27th the wind being Weſt, it proved a mild cloudy day, and more Ice was forced into the Bay; the Night was dark and Snowy, with an Eaſt wind. The 28th the wind was at Weſt at firſt, but veering about to the S. E. it began to Snow; the ſame Night the Ice was carried a good way into the Sea again. The 29th the wind turn'd to the S. W. and to the Weſt at Night, with dark rainy weather: In the Morning the Bay was full of Ice again; the wind and weather as before. The 30 proving a calm, clear and froſty day, we went (tho' not without a great deal of difficulty) upon the Hill; and looking to the South, (obſerved according to gueſs) the Sun about an Hour and half high. In the Night the wind turn'd to the Eaſt, with fair weather; the Stars

appeared ſome times; the wind and weather as before. The 31ſt, a Weſterly wind brought us abundance of Snow, in the Night the wind turn'd to the North, with Star light Frosty weather.

The 1ſt of *February*, the wind continuing as before; it was clear and calm weather, which made us go upon the Hill, where we ſaw the Body of the Sun very clear; and on the North ſide of the Iſle nothing but Ice as far as we could ſee; the Night was very calm and Star-light. The 2d, a N. E. wind produced clear but very cold weather; with a bright Moon-light Night, to our no ſmall ſatisfaction; we found the Bears to grow very ſhy of us, for we ſeldom ſaw any; the wind and weather as before. The 3d the wind was Eaſterly, the weather the ſame, but the Night was ſomewhat cloudy, with a S. E. wind; it was not ſo cold as before. The 4th, the wind continued as the day before, in the Fore-noon, when the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the Sea; in the Afternoon the wind turn'd to the South, with Snowy weather, but was not ſo cold as before; it was a Star-light Night. The 5th it was a ſullen day, the wind at S. E. and at the Eaſt in the Night, with ſome Snow; but the cold was ſomewhat abated. The 6th, the wind continued as before; the weather calm and cloudy; the wind turning to the S. W. it proved a very clear and Moon-ſhiny Night. The 7th it blew ſtrong from the Eaſt, the weather cloudy. The 8th was a very calm day, the wind at South; the Ice was carried away quite from the Shoar beyond the reach of our Eye-ſight; it was a clear Moon-light Night. The 9th the wind being Northerly, it Snowed ſo violently, that we could not ſtir abroad, it continued thus all Night; the wind at South. The 10th proved a pretty mild day, tho' the wind was at the N. but turn'd to the S. W. at Night, which was very dark and ſtormy. The 11th was a cloudy day, the wind at the South, but turn'd to the Eaſt at Night; but tolerable good weather. The 12th the wind continued the ſame, with ſome Snow; it was a dark Night, but not exceſſive cold, conſidering the Climate and Seaſon. The 13th the wind ſtood ſtill in the ſame Corner, with Snowy but calm weather; and it was a Moon-light Night. The 14th we had the ſame wind, and a clear day; but in the Night it thawed and grew very ſtormy. The 15th, the wind blew as yet from the Eaſt, and the Snow was ſo high, that we ſunk to the waſte in it, ſo ſoon as we ſtir'd out of our Hutts. The ſame wind continued the 16th, the weather pretty mild, but cloudy: This day we got ſight of two Wild Fowls, which in reſpect of their bigneſs, did appear to us not unlike Geeſe, but were ſo ſhy, that they would not come within reach of our Guns; we alſo eſpied a Faulcon, but could likewiſe not come near enough to hit him. The 17th the wind blew ſtill from the Eaſt, and had a great deal of Snow: in the Night the Stars appeared ſome times. The 18th the wind continued the ſame, with cloudy but mild weather. The 19th it was Eaſterly wind ſtill; and being a fair day, we made ſhift to get over the Hill to the *Red Hill*, but ſaw nothing worth taking notice of, not ſo much as any Ice; the weather as before. The 20th the weather and wind continued with very little Alteration, and was tolerably mild. The 21ſt the wind turn'd to the N.E. with very bright weather, which made us again get up the Hill (tho' not without a great deal of trouble) but could ſee nothing worth mentioning. The Night proved fair and calm, but afterwards Frosty with ſome Snow. The 22d the wind continued N. E. with much Snow; the Night was dark and Frosty. The 23d the wind blew out of the ſame Corner; the weather was very cold, which brought abundance of Ice into the Bay, but the main Sea was clear of it as far as we could ſee; the Night was dark and Frosty. The 24th an Eaſterly wind produced a moſt violent Froſt; the Day cloudy, but the Night clear, with a North wind, which held the 25th, with a cloudy Sky; in the Afternoon it clearing up in the Weſt, we ſaw the Sun again the firſt time from our Hutts, and found it to Set at S. W. by W. the Night was very dark. The 27th it was very calm and mild Weather, but at Night a South wind brought us a Thaw. The 28th the South wind and open weather continued, the Ice being forced out of the Bay into the main Sea; yet not quite out of ſight; the Night was very dark, the wind at S. W.

The 1ſt of *March*, the wind and weather continued as before, with ſome Sunſhine in the Forenoon, but afterwards it changed, and proved rainy: we ſaw the Sun-beams on the S. W. of our Hutt; the Night was very dark, with a S. W. wind. The 2d it blew hard from the Weſt, the weather clear and cold; the Night was dark and Frosty, and the wind

wind very high from the N. E. The 3d the wind and weather continued with little alteration; a violent North wind forced the Ice into the Bay, but in ſmall pieces. The 4th the wind turn'd to the N. E. with cloudy, but calm weather; the cold very tolerable. The 5th was cloudy, the wind at N. E. the Night the ſame. The 6th the wind and weather continued as the day before; the Night proved very calm and pleaſant, yet by reaſon of the Snow could not as yet ſtir from our Hutts. The 7th it was cloudy but calm, and the Night ſtormy from the N. E. The 8th the wind continued as before, with dark and cloudy weather, but a Star-light Night. The 9th the wind blew ſtill from the ſame Corner; both the Day and Night were cloudy, with a ſharp Froſt. The 10th it Froze very hard, the wind at N. E. with exceſſive cold weather; the Night was very clear and Froſty: The 11th the weather changed on a ſudden; being a calm, pleaſant Sun-ſhiny day; the South wind in the Night brought us ſuch Pleaſant weather, that we extreamly rejoyced at it. The 12th the ſame wind continued, and the Ice was carried out of the Bay into the main Sea, beyond the reach of our Eye-ſight; the Night proved dark but not very cold; the wind at S.E. The 13th was a cloudy day; in the Night the wind and weather as before, very dark, but only moderately cold, the wind at N. E. The 14th it blew all day and all Night, being very cold from the N. E. The 15th the wind turning to the South, produced milder weather; and perceiving a Bear near our Hutts, (a thing we had not ſeen many days before) we let fly at him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he dropt down dead upon the ſpot; being glad to find our ſelves ſome Imployment, and to feed upon freſh Meat (having lived upon Powdered Beef for a conſiderable time) we ſoon flea'd him, and having hung his skin up in the Air to dry, we feaſted upon part of the fleſh, and ſprinkled the reſt with a little ſalt only, by reaſon we were exceedingly afflicted with the Scurvy; the Night proved dark, the wind at S. W. The 16th the wind continued the ſame, but the weather was very cold; we fix'd ſome Traps to catch Foxes; and in the Night the wind turn'd to the N. which held thus the 17th, with cloudy weather, and fill'd the Bay with Ice from the Sea; at Night the wind was as before, which continued thus the 18th, being a Cloudy, but Froſty Day, but a Starlight Night. The 20th, proving a Calm Sun ſhiny Day, we went upon the Hill, but could diſcover nothing, (as far as we could ſee) but Ice; the Night was Cloudy, the wind in the South, which held thus the 21ſt, with dark Rainy weather, the Ice was all carried out to Sea again; the Night was Cloudy, the wind ſtill in the South. The 22d the wind turn'd to the S. E. with thick Clouds; For want of Refreſhments we began to be very heartleſs, being afflicted with the Scurvy to that degree, that our Legs were ſcarce able to bear us; the Night was Cloudy, and the wind as before. The 24th proved a pretty pleaſant Sun-ſhiny Day; in the afternoon the wind ſhifted to the S. E. with ſome Snow Clouds, the Night was exceeding Dark. The 25th was a Sun-ſhiny and calm Day, from Morning till Night; towards Evening a Southerly wind produces ſome Clouds, but the Night proved clear again and Calm. The 26th The Sea had forced the Ice into the Bay again; the Day was very Bright, the wind at S. E. and South, the Night was very Clear. The 27th the ſame wind continued with fair and Clear weather both Day and Night. The 28th proved a Cloudy Day, the wind at S. E. The Ice was carried ſo far into the Sea, out of the Bay, that we could ſcarce ſee it. The ſame Day we ſaw a Whale a huge Beaſt, in the Bay, but could not come at him; This Day going alſo over the Hill, to the red Hill, we ſpied from thence five Whales near the Shoar, and towards Evening 4 more in the Bay, being 10 in all we had ſeen that Day, had we had hands enough, and been provided with Inſtruments for ſuch a purpoſe, we might have taken as many of theſe Fiſh, as would have freighted a good Fleet immediately, without being obliged to ſtay for the taking of them after their arrival, as they generally do: The Wind and Weather was in the Night as before. The 29th, a Southerly Wind produced a cloudy, but very mild day: Innumerable Whales appear'd near the Shore that day, ſo that had we not wanted Men and Tools, we might have made a conſiderable Advantage, which we now durſt not as much as Attempt, being but Seven in all, and diſabled by the Scurvy: In the Night, the Wind and Weather as before; which continued the 30th, when we ſaw abundance of Fiſhes,

Fiſhes, as we did almoſt every day after; the Night was very dark, the Wind as before. The 31th it blew a brisk Gale from the N. E. with ſome Snow; We got ſight of four or five Whales again, which came ſo near the Shore, that they were likely to have been caſt upon the Sands; but if they had, we had not ſtrength enough to have catch'd them: We ſaw likewiſe a She-Bear, with three young ones, about the bigneſs of a ſmall Sheep: We did what we could to kill them, but our firſt Shot failing, they all got off, to our Grief, tho' it was no unpleaſant ſight to ſee the young ones follow the old; In the Night the Wind and Weather as before.

The firſt of *April* was a cloudy Day, the Wind at E. We ſaw four or five Whales again at the Entrance of the Bay, but had only the pleaſure of looking at them; The Night was Star-light, the Wind in the South. The 2d, proved a Snowy Day, the Wind at S. E. but not very cold; the Night was dark, the Wind as before. The 3d, the Wind turning to the W. produced a Cloudy Day; there being at this time no more than two of us in Health, (the reſt being very ill and cripled by the Scurvy) we kill'd the only two Pullets we had left, at their Requeſt, and they fed pretty heartily upon them, in hopes it might prove a means to recover part of their Strength, which was much decayed, and which we heartily wiſhed, being ſorry we had not a Dozen more for their ſake: In the Night, the Weather and Wind was much the ſame as before, which continued thus all Day and all Night: The 4th, a Weſterly Wind produced a Sun-ſhiny day: The 5th, we ſaw two very large Whales in the Bay; the Night was dark, the Wind at S. E. The 6th it was clear Weather, but the Night dark, the Wind N. E. we ſaw 4 or 5 Whales more in the Bay; at Night, the Wind and the Weather as before, which continued the 8th, with cold Sun-ſhiny Weather; we ſaw innumerable Whales both at Sea and in the Bay: In the Night the Wind and the Weather continued as before, and ſo it did the 9th, when we ſaw abundance of Whales again; the Night was cold and Froſty, the Wind at North. The 10th, the Wind continued the ſame, with very clear Weather; the Bay was full of Ice, and we ſaw ſome Whales, in the Night the Wind and Weather as before. The 11th we ſaw neither Fiſhes nor Bears, having not ſeen any of the laſt theſe ſeveral days; it continued to be very cold Weather: in the Night the Wind as before. The 12th the Wind turning to the N. E. it proved a very clear Froſty day; at Night the Wind and Weather as before, which continued thus the 13: the Bay was full of Ice the Night very cold and dark. The 14th the Wind held ſtill in the ſame Corner, with Sun-ſhine; at Night the Wind turning to the South, the Ice was carried out of the Bay, a great way from the Shoar. The 15th proved a calm mild day, we ſaw 4 Whales in the Bay, tho' we don't now ſtir out ſo often as formerly, our Clerk being very ill; the greateſt part of the Night the Wind was at Weſt. The 16th, being *Eaſter day*, our Clerk died, the Lord have Mercy upon his Soul, and upon us all, we being all very ſick; the Wind was at Weſt, with a clear Day and dark Night. The 17th, the Wind continued as the day before, but was very cloudy, the Bay was full of Ice again; the greateſt part of the Night Weather and Wind as before. The 19th both Wind and Weather proved as the day before; and now having not the leaſt Refreſhment left, we grew worſe and worſe every day, and that without any hopes of Recovery, partly for want of Neceſſaries; partly by reaſon of the exceſſiveneſs of the cold, for being ſcarce able, whilſt in Health, to keep our ſelves tolerably warm, by exerciſing our Bodies we were but in little hopes of doing it now we were ſick, and not able to ſtir out of our Cabins; all our dependance being on God's Mercy; the Wind and Weather as before. The 20th proved a cloudy day, the Wind at South, we ſaw the Ice forced a great way to the North at Sea, the Night was Snowy, with an Eaſterly Wind. The 21ſt was a bright calm and Sun-ſhiny day, but could make but ſlender Obſervations, being not able to ſtir from our Hutts, by reaſon of the Scurvy, which encreaſes upon us every day; the Night was cloudy, the Wind at N.E. which continued thus the 22d; the Ice was forced ſo near the Shoar, that we could ſcarce ſee any Water; at Night a South Wind carried the Ice quite out of ſight again. The 23d, the Wind blew from the ſame Corner, with ſmall Rain; we were by this time reduced to a very deplorable State, there being none of them all, except my ſelf, that were able to help themſelves, much leſs one another; ſo that the whole Burthen lay upon my Shoulders, and I performed my Duty as well as I am able, as long

long as God pleases to give me strength; I am just now a going to help our Commander out of his Cabin, at his Request, because he imagined by this change to ease his Pain, he then Struggling with Death; the Night was dark, and the Wind as before. The 24th was a cloudy Day and Night, the Wind at S. which continued the 25th with some Sun-shine: The Ice kept about half a Mile from the Shore to the Northside, but on the South side of the same Bay, no Ice was to be seen: We had sight of many Whales again; the Night was dark, with a strong N.W. Wind; The Ice was forced nearer to the Shore; tho' there remained a good Interval of Water betwixt both; the Wind and Weather as before. The 26th, it was a Calm, but cloudy Day; the Night fair, the Wind at W. The 27th, it was Thawing Weather: That Day we kill'd our Dog for want of other Refreshment; The Night was Cloudy; yet without Rain, the Wind at E. which continued thus the 28th, with cloudy Weather: The Ice was this Day carried to Sea, quite out of sight: The Night was Cloudy with a strong N. Wind. The 29th, the Wind and Weather as before, but turn'd to blow hard from the N. E. at Night. The 31st was a clear Sun-shiny Day, with the same Wind: [*Die*] *Memorandum.* This Word *DIE*, was the last, questionless, he writ, intending probably to set down afterwards his Observation concerning the Night, according to his usual way. This Person being one, who, (according to the Report of others) had learn'd to write of the other six, he writ as long as he was able, *viz.* to the last day of *April*; when perhaps, being seized by a Fainting Fit, he was forced to retire to his Cabin, where he delivered up his Soul to his Creator, as will appear more fully by the following Additions.

AMong all the Ships that were sent the next year from *Holland* to *Greenland*, those of *Zealand* being the first that came in sight of the Ile of St. *Maurice*, some of the Seamen being eager to know what was become of their Comrades, went ashore in a Boat, striving who should be the first to come to their Hutts, tho' by their not appearing upon the Sea-side, they did not presage any good to themselves. They were no sooner entred the Hut, but they found they were not deceived in their guess, every one of the poor Wretches, left there last year, lying Dead in their Cabins, the News whereof they brought to their Commander.

The first of these Seven unfortunate Fellows, died the 16th of *April* 1634. whom they had put in a Coffin, and Depositted in one of the Huts. The other Six died in the beginning of *May*, as we believe by the Conclusion of the Journal at the end of *April*.

The before-mentioned Ships of *Zealand* came to an Anchor in the Bay of St. *Maurice*'s Ile the 4th of *June* 1634. where they found the Dead Carcasses of these unfortunate Wretches, each in his own Hut; Near one of them stood some Bread and Cheese, upon which probably he had fed not long before his Death; another had a Box with Ointment by his Cabin-side, wherewith he had rubbed his Teeth and Joints, his Arm being still extended to his Mouth; there also lay a Prayer-Book near him, wherein he had been Reading; the rest being found each in his Cabin.

If we seriously reflect upon the Condition of these Wretches, it must needs have been very miserable, especially after all were fain Sick, so, as not to be able to assist one another; especially in respect of him that out lived the rest, being the same, who, according to his own testimony, attended them to the last; and had learn'd to write from the others, as did appear by his Hand-Writing, till the Conclusion of the Journal, who, as we guess, lived some days after he left of Writing; it being very probable, that some might grow sooner stiff, by the excessive Cold, than others, in proportion of the quantity of Natural Heat they had left; tho' it is beyond all question, that the Source of their Distemper was the Scurvy, occasioned by their Salt Food, without any manner of Refreshment, which having put the Cramp into their Limbs, and rendred them incapable of Exercise, they soon grew quite stiff, and were quite overcome by the Cold; it being certain, that without the Scurvy they needed not have dreaded the Cold, which was not so excessive, but that once within three or four days they could stir abroad, after the Snow was a little settled.

Our Commodore had no sooner received the dismal News from the Seamen that had been ashore, but he ordered the Six Dead Carcasses to be put in Coffins, and to be Buried with the

Seventh under the Snow, till the Ground should become more pliable; which being done, they were afterwards, *viz.* on St. *John's* Day, honourably Interr'd (according to the Circumstances of Time and Place) under a general Discharge of the Cannon of the whole Fleet.

It is furthermore left to the Consideration of the Courteous Reader, That he was appointed Clerk for this Design, having never been in that Station before, his want of Ability ought to plead strongly for the Simplicity of these Observations; which having, (at the request of some Friends) been put to the Press, were Published, and made as Intelligible as the Nature of the Matter would allow of, without imposing upon the Publick, which has been done with the utmost Sincerity, after the True Original, which still remains in my Custody, in Opposition to divers fabulous Relations, which have been published upon the same subject.

A SHORT

A SHORT JOURNAL OF Seven other Seamen, who being left in 1634 AT SPITZBERGEN, To paſs the Winter, died there in 1635.

IN the Year 1633, ſeven Perſons being left much at the ſame time as well at *Spitzbergen*, as in the Ille of Saint *Maurice*; the Ships that were ſent thither in 1634, had Orders from the *Greenland* Company, to releaſe thoſe that had ſtay'd there, and to leave in their room ſeven others, who ſhould offer their Service for that purpoſe. Accordingly the following ſeven were (with their conſent) appointed to remain the next following Winter at *Spitzbergen*: *Andrew Johnſon* of *Middleburgh*; *Cornelius Thyſſe* of *Rotterdam*; *Jerome Carcoen* of *Delfts Haven*; *Tiebke Jellis* of *Friſeland*; *Nicholas Floriſon* of *Hoorn*; *Adrian Johnſon* of *Delft*; *Fettye Otters* of *Friſeland*.

Theſe being provided with all manner of neceſſaries, as Meat, Drink, Phyſical Preparations, Herbs, &c. were left aſhoar to continue all the Winter there; during which time, they kept a Journal of all Remarkable Occurrences; the chief Heads whereof I thought only fit to inſert here; leaving out the more unneceſſary Obſervations, ſuch as of the Wind and Weather, &c. to avoid Prolixity. The 11th of *September*, 1634, the Ships being ſail'd thence for *Holland*, they got ſight of abundance of Whales, at whom they diſcharged their Guns, but could not take any; they went alſo in ſearch for green Herbs, Foxes and Bears, but met with none. The 20th, or 21ſt of *October*, they had no more ſight of the Sun: The 24th of *November* the Scurvy beginning to appear among them, they ſearch'd very earneſtly after green Herbs, Bears and Foxes, but to their great grief could find neither of them; ſo they comforted one another with hopes that God would provide for them ſomething or other for their Refreſhment. The 2 *Decem.* *Nicholas Floriſon* took a doſe of a Scorbutic Potion, and they ſet ſome Traps to catch Foxes. The 11th, *Jerome Carcoen*, took ſuch another Potion; and they reſolved for the future, every one to eat ſeparately from the other, ſome being not ſo much afflicted with the Scurvy as the reſt. They went often in queſt after ſome Refreſhments, but meeting with none, they recommended themſelves to God's Providence. The 12th, *Cornelius Thyſſe* did likewiſe take a Medicinal Potion againſt the Scurvy. The 23d, as the Cook was throwing out ſome Water, he ſaw a Bear juſt by the Hut, but he run away at the noiſe, before they could come at their Guns. The 24th, they diſcovered another Bear, three of them advancing towards him, he riſe upon his hindermoſt legs, and being ſhot through the Body by one of our Guns, he began to bleed and to roar, and to bite one of our Halberds with a great deal of fierceneſs; but finding us too hard for him, he betook to his legs: being exceſſive eager after ſome freſh Meat, (of which we ſtood in great need for the Recovery of our Health) we purſued him with Lanthorns and Candles a great way, but to our ſorrow could not overtake him; which made us ſay to one another, that in caſe we were not ſupply'd by God's peculiar Providence with ſome Refreſhments ſpeedily, the Pain we endur'd muſt needs kill us before the return of our Ships; but God's Will be done. The 25th, *Cornelius Thyſſe* took another Potion againſt the Scurvy, being in a deplorable Condition. The 14th of *January*, *Adrian*

Adriaan Johnſon of *Delft* died, being the firſt of the ſeven, tho the other ſix were full of Pain, and very Ill. The 15th, *Feitje Otters* died likewiſe; and on the 17th, *Cornelius Thyſſe*, being the Man of all the reſt, in whom they had put their moſt hopes next to God. The remaining 4 were very weak, and had ſcarce ſtrength left to ſtand upon their legs, yet they made ſhift to make Coffins for theſe three, and put their Bodies into them. The 28th, they ſaw the firſt Fox, but could not take him. The 7th of *February*, they had the good fortune to take a Fox, to their no ſmall ſatisfaction, tho' in effect they were too far gone to receive any Benefit thereby.

They ſaw many Bears, 3 or 4, nay ſome times 6 or 10 together, but had not ſtrength enough to manage their Guns; or if they had had, they could not have purſued them, being not in a condition to ſet one foot before another, nay not even to bite their Biſcuits, for they were ſeized with moſt cruel Pains, eſpecially in their Loins and Belly, which encreaſed generally with the Cold; One did ſpit Blood, and another was afflicted with the Bloody-Flux, *Jerome Carcoen* was ſtill ſomething better than the reſt, being ſtill able to fetch them ſome Fewel for firing. The 23d they began to be ſo weak, that they kept cloſe in their Cabins, recommending themſelves to God's Mercy. The 24th they ſaw the Sun again, which they had not ſeen ſince *Oct.* 20. or 21 in the preceding Year. The 26th, being the laſt day (as we gueſs) they were able to write, and lived not long after; they left this following Memorial behind them: Four of us that are ſtill alive, lie flat upon the Ground in our Hutts; we believe we could ſtill feed, were there but one among us that could ſtir out of his Hutt to get us ſome Fewel, but no Body is able to ſtir for Pain; we ſpend our time in conſtant Prayers, to implore God's Mercy to deliver us out of this Miſery, being ready whenever he pleaſes to call us; we are certainly not in a condition to live thus long without Food or Fire, and cannot aſſiſt one another in our Mutual Afflictions, but muſt every one bear our own Burthen.

When the Ships from *Holland* arrived there in 1635, they found them all dead, ſhut up cloſe in their Tent, to ſecure their dead Bodies againſt the Bears and other Ravenous Creatures. This being the Tent of *Middleburgh*; a Baker who got aſhoar firſt, happened to come to the back door, which he broke open, and running up ſtairs, found there upon the floor, part of a dead Dog that was laid there to dry; but making the beſt of his way down again, he trod upon the Carcaſs of another dead Dog (for they had two) at the Stair foot in the Buttry. From hence paſſing thro' another door, towards the fore-door, in order to open it, he ſtumbled in the dark over the dead Bodies of the Men, whom they ſaw, (after the door was opened) altogether in the ſame place, *viz.* three in Coffins, *Nicholas Floriſon* and another, each in a Cabin, the other two upon ſome Sails ſpread upon the Floor, with their knees drawn up to their chins. Coffins being ordered to be made for the four that had none; they were buried with the other three under the Snow, till the Ground becoming more penetrable, they were buried one by another, and certain ſtones laid upon their Graves, to hinder the Ravenous beaſts from digging up their Carcaſſes: Theſe were the laſt that pretended to paſs the Winter at *Spitzbergen*.

A TRUE

A TRUE and SHORT

ACCOUNT

OF

FORTY TWO PERSONS,

Who Periſhed by Shipwrack near

SPITZBERGEN,

In the Year 1646.

JOHN CORNELIUS of *Muniken*, being ordered to *Spitzbergen*, to catch Whales, he ſet Sail from the *Texel* in a Galliot, the 6th of *May* 1646. and arrived the 3d of *June* following near *Spitzbergen*, with an Intention to Anchor in the Bay, but was by the vaſt Floats of Ice-Shoals forced to keep out at Sea. After having in vain Cruized up and down among the Ice-Shoals, they got into the Bay, but perceiving two Whales further at Sea, they ſent out their Sloop in purſuit of the Whales.

Whilſt they were Rowing up and down to watch the motion of theſe Creatures, they diſcovered at a diſtance, a great Ice-Shoal, with ſomething white upon it, which at firſt ſight they imagined to be Bears, (they being generally White here;) But one *Ellert Johnſon*, (who was in the Sloop to manage the Harpcock, or Iron, wherewith they ſtrike the Whale) judging by the motion that it was ſomething elſe, perſwaded them to Row that way, which being done accordingly, they not long after perceived the ſame to be a piece of a Rope belonging to the Sails of a Ship, which was held up by a Man as a Signal of their utmoſt Diſtreſs; ſo they Rowed up to it with all the Oars they had, and coming near them, found, (to their great Surprize) four living Men and one dead one, (all *Engliſhmen*) upon the Ice-Shoal, who upon their bended Knees expreſs'd their Joy and Thankfulneſs for ſo unexpected a Deliverance from the Jaws of Death. They were taken into the Sloop, and carried into the Bay aboard the Ship.

They had cut a great Hole, in the Nature of a ſubterraneous Cave, into the Ice, and round the entrance thereof had placed the pieces of Ice that were cut out of the Concavity, to defend themſelves againſt the violence of the Winds and Waves. In this Hole they had ſpent Fourteen Days, (it being ſo long ſince they had loſt their Ship.)

At firſt there were in all Forty Two of them, and they had ſaved ſome Victuals and Tools with their Sloop. The Commander, perceiving after a little while, that it was impoſſible for them to hold out long upon the Ice-Shoal, reſolved to go aſhore in the Sloop with Seventeen of his Men, if he could, and to ſend them word afterwards, how Matters ſtood there. This was done accordingly, but it blowing very hard, and they having not heard the leaſt Tidings of them ſince, they were afraid that they were Drowned, before they reach'd the Shore.

There were then Twenty Four left upon the Ice-Shoal, but the want of Proviſions encreaſing daily among them; ſo that being reduced to a Starving Condition, and expecting nothing but preſent Death, they reſolved to divide themſelves, and to get upon ſeveral other Ice-Shoals, in hopes by ſome chance or other to come near to the Shore; but whether ſome of them got aſhore, or

whether they were taken up by ſome Ship or other, or whether they were ſwallow'd up by the mercileſs Waves, they were not able to tell.

Certain it is, that we found Four of them, (the miſerable Remnants of Forty Two) ſitting together upon this Ice-Shoal, overwhelmed with Affliction, without any hopes of being Saved, from the laſt Extremity they were reduced to by Froſt and Hunger, before we came in full ſight of them with our Sloop; having had nothing to Feed upon for ſome time, but a Leather-Belt, (belonging to one of them) which they had divided and Eat, ſhare and ſhare alike, till all was conſumed.

After they were brought to our Ship, our Surgeon took all imaginable Care for their Recovery; notwithſtanding which, three of them died in a few days after; ſo that of the Forty Two wherewith their Ship was Manned, no more than one eſcaped with Life, who arriving in *September* 1646. in the Galliot the *Delft* upon the *Meuſe*, from thence returned to his Native Country in *England*.

F I N I S.

AN ACCOUNT OF ISELAND,

SENT TO

Monſieur *de la* MOTHE *de* VAYER.

AN ACCOUNT OF ISELAND,

SENT TO

Monſieur *de la* MOTHE *de* VAYER.

SIR,

PUrſuant to your Requeſt, I am going to give you the beſt Account I am able of what I could Learn concerning the Condition of *Iſeland* and *Greenland*, during our ſtay in the North. As nothing is more agreeable to my Sentiments than to Serve you to the utmoſt of my Power, ſo I will treat of both, one after another.

Iſeland is a large Iſle, and *Greenland* of a vaſt extent: I will begin with the firſt, and give you an Account of all the moſt material Paſſages I have met with concerning it, in their beſt Authors, eſpecially in *Angrim Jonas*, (erroneouſly call'd *Arngrim* by ſome) and by Converſing with ſeveral Perſons of Note and Learning in *Denmark*; upon which Score I am particularly obliged to *Olaus Wormius*, a Doctor of Phyſick of *Copenhagen*, a Perſon very curious in all the Affairs of the North. I will alſo not paſs by in ſilence, what I have read in *Bleſkenius*, a *Dane* by Birth, and who has been in *Iſeland* himſelf, at leaſt as far as relates to thoſe Things he has been an Eye-witneſs of; for which I have the ſame regard, as for what *Herodotus* aſſures us to have ſeen with his own Eyes; it appearing very improbable to me, That Men of Honour and Learning ſhould be ſo careleſs of their Reputation, as to impoſe Things upon the World, never ſeen by them, under a falſe Notion of their own Experience. To be ſhort, I will follow the Footſteps of *Saluſt*, and rehearſe to you what I have either Read in *Bleſkenius* or *Angrim Jonas*, or heard from Dr. *Wormius* and others, upon whoſe Authority we are obliged to rely in this Point.

The Iſle of *Iſeland* lies in the *Deucalidonian* Ocean, at 13 Deg. 30 Min. Longitude, and 65 Deg. 44 Min. Latitude, according to the Elevation taken in the Biſhoprick of *Hole*, the moſt Northern Part of the Iſle, as *Angrim Jonas* tells us in his *Crimogea*; adding, that he had the ſame of *Gundebrand de Thorlac*, Biſhop of *Hole*, his familiar Friend, and once a Diſciple of the famous Aſtronomer *Tycho Brahe*.

Iſeland is to the Eaſt waſhed by the *Hyperborean* Sea, and on the South-ſide by the *Deucalidonian* Sea; to the Weſt it lies oppoſite to *Greenland*, towards the Cape *Farewell*, and on the North-ſide is encloſed by the *Frozen* Sea of *Greenland*. Its length from Eaſt to Weſt, is computed to be 20 days Journey; and its breadth, where it is broadeſt, at four days Journey, from the South to the North. But *Angrim Jonas*, who has given us this Account, does not mention whether theſe days Journies are to be perform'd on Foot or on Horſeback.

It is generally believed to be twice as big as the Iſle of *Sicily*; and by its Elevation and the Globe, you will ſoon be convinced of the Truth of what I am going to tell you, *viz.* That about the Summer Solſtice, whilſt the Sun is in the *Twins* and *Cancer*, the Sun does never

go

go entirely below the Horizon for two Months, in the North of *Iſeland*; but ſome part of it remains above it, and one half of it whilſt the longeſt days laſt, from ten at Night till two in the Morning, when it riſes quite above the Horizon; whence it appears, that about the Winter Solſtice, whilſt the Sun is in the Signs of *Sagittary* and *Capricorn*, the whole Body of the Sun does for two Months ſucceſſively not riſe above the Horizon; and in the Shorteſt Days not above half of it, from 10 a clock in the Morning till two in the Afternoon, the ordinary time of Sun ſet here at that Seaſon.

This *Iſle* has got its Name from the Whiteneſs of its Ice, *Quaſi Iceland*; It was formerly reputed fertile in Wheat, and well-ſtor'd with Wood, fit for the Building of large Ships; the Roots whereof being of a vaſt Bulk, are to this day found underground, where theſe Foreſts ſtood, and are as black as Ebony-Wood. But now-a-days, *Iſeland* produces no Wheat, nay not ſo much as a Tree, except ſome few Shurbs. And were it not that they are furniſhed with Grain from the Neighbouring Countries, and ſupplied with ſufficient quantities of Wood, both for Fuel, and their Buildings, (which are like thoſe of other Parts in the North) by the Ice, which in the Month of *May*, is, together with the Wood, forced from the more Northern Parts on this Shore, they muſt periſh with Hunger and Cold. In their Building they alſo make uſe of the Bones of Whales and other great Fiſhes; and for Firing, of two ſorts of Turfis, (or *Ceſpes Bituminoſus*, called *Gleba Foſſilis* by *Agricm Jonas*) which they dig and dry in the Sun. Theſe Shoals of Ice, which come from the North thither, bring along with them ſuch vaſt Trunks of Trees, that according to the *Iſeland* Chronicles, a Tree was carried thither of 63 Cubits long, and 7 in compaſs.

For no ſooner come the Ice-Shoals from the North to the *Iſeland* Coaſt, but the Inhabitants go in queſt of theſe Trees, and of ſeveral Beaſts, which are carried along with it thither; ſuch as white and red Foxes, Stags, Wolves, white and black Bears and Unicorns. For that fine and large Horn preſerved in the King of *Denmark*'s Palace at *Frederickſburgh*, (the *Fontainbleau* of that Kingdom) belonged to a Fiſh taken upon the Ice near *Iſeland*; It is much larger than that of St. *Denys* in *France*. Count *Ulefeld*, Great Marſhal of *Denmark*, ſhew'd me another of theſe Unicorns, which was entire, but not above two foot long, likewiſe taken upon the Ice near *Iſeland*; He told me, that when he firſt had it, there was to be ſeen ſtill part of the Fleſh and Skin.

Iſeland is a ſtrong and mountainous Country: Their Paſtures are of ſuch Goodneſs, that they are fain to remove the Cattle for fear they ſhould Burſt themſelves; the Graſs having ſo agreeable a Scent here, that Foreigners tranſport and dry it, to lay it among their Linen. However, their Beef is not reckoned of the beſt ſort, and their Mutton is rank; which the *Iſelanders* don't much regard, becauſe they dry their Meat in the Sun and Wind, which preſerves it better than Salt, and takes away much of its rankneſs. Butter they make in abundance, and keep it in Tubs, or for want of ſuch, only Pile it up in the Houſe. Their ordinary Drink is Milk or Whey, ſometimes with Water, ſometimes without. They don't want good Horſes: Theſe Feed during the Winter, upon dry'd Fiſh, as well as their Oxen and Sheep, when Hay begins to fall ſhort: Of theſe dry'd Fiſh they alſo make Flour and Bread, when by the rigour of the Winter-Seaſon, they can't ſometimes be ſupplied with Grain from abroad.

Iſeland is full of clear and fine Springs, the Water whereof is not only very wholeſome to drink, but ſome of them have alſo a nouriſhing quality like Beer: they are alſo not deſtitute of Hot Springs for Bathing; of Ponds and Lakes, they have great abundance, which furniſh them with great quantities of Fiſh; as alſo great numbers of Brooks and Navigable Rivers, the Names whereof, as well as of their Bays and Capes, I will not inſert here, they being to be found in other Authors.

Blefkenius tells us of a certain Lake in the Weſtern part of the Iſle, which always ſmoaks, and yet is ſo cold, that it petrefies every thing that is put into it; For ſays he, if you put a ſtick into the Ground near it, the ſtick changes into Iron as far as it is under Ground; as far as it lies under Water, it turns into Stone, and that part above the Water remains Wood as before. *Blefkenius* ſays, he ſaw this try'd twice, and that part which ſeem'd to be Iron, being put into the Fire, it burnt like Charcoal. He alſo tells us of another Lake in the middle of the ſame Iſle, the Exhalations whereof are ſo malignant, that they kill the Birds

in an inſtant that fly over it. This Lake ſeems to be of the ſame Stamp with the *Avernus* of the *Greeks* mentioned by *Virgil, lib. 6. Æneid.*

Quam ſuper haud illum poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis: talis ſeſe halitus atris
Faucibus effundens, ſupera ad convexa ferebat:
Unde locum Graji dixerunt nomine Aornum.

Bleſkenius adds, (beſides what *Angrim Jonas* relates of the Hot Springs of *Iſeland* that certain Springs are ſo Hot here, that the Water thereof burns the Skin; and after it is ſet to cool, it leaves a Sulphur upon its Surface, as the Sea-Water leaves a Saline Subſtance in the Salt-Pits. Upon the Surface of the Water of theſe Springs, ſwims alſo a certain red Subſtance, which plunges under Water as ſoon as you come near it, but no ſooner do you turn your Back, but it appears again above Water. The ſame Author aſſures us, That in a certain Place of this Iſle, named *Turleskhaven*, there are two Fountains or Springs, one very Cold, the other exceſſive Hot; the Waters whereof being conveyed by two different Pipes or Channels, and mix'd together in one Trunk or Baſin, make a convenient and moſt excellent Bath. Near it, (ſays he) is another Spring, the Water whereof having the taſte of Wheat, is a good Remedy againſt the Venereal Diſtemper, which, according to *Bleſkenius*, is very common here.

Iſeland affords not any Mines of Metal or Minerals, except Brimſtone, whereof there is abundance in moſt Parts of the Iſle, but eſpecially in the Mount *Hecla* in the Eaſt of the Iſle, extending towards the South, and which ſometimes appears all in Flames like Mount *Veſuvius*. *Bleſkenius* ſays, That Mount *Hecla*, not only ſends forth Flames, but alſo whole Torrents of Sulphureous Liquor, which burns like Spirit of Wine: Sometimes theſe Eruptions are followed by vaſt quantities of black Aſhes and Stones. Theſe Eruptions ceaſe commonly with a Weſt-Wind; which makes the Inhabitants living thereabouts, who know the Avenues of the Mountains, to chooſe that time to go to the top of it, and throw great Stones into the Hole, through which the Flames break forth: It being otherwiſe very dangerous to approach ſo near it, there being divers Inſtances, that Men have been ſwallow'd up by the Earth that has given way as they were going up the Mountain.

It is a received Opinion among the *Iſelanders*, That this Mountain is the Place where the Souls of wicked Perſons are tormented with Fire; for they will tell you, that they ſee ſometimes whole Troops of Infernal Spirits carrying the Damn'd Souls into the Abyſs of this Mount, and returning back again to fetch more. *Bleſkenius* ſays, This is generally obſerved, after ſome bloody Battel has been fought in ſome Place or other. Thus the *Iſelanders* believe, That the Noiſe which ariſes from the many Sea-ſhoals forced againſt the Shore, are the Groans and Lamentations of the Damn'd Souls, by reaſon of the exceſſive Cold they endure; it being their Opinion, that ſome Souls are Condemn'd to ſuffer Eternal Cold, as well as Everlaſting Fire.

The ſame *Bleſkenius* tells us, that whilſt he was in *Iſeland*, There aroſe ſo prodigious a Fire about midnight in *November*, on the Sea near the Mount *Hecla*, that it was ſeen all over the Iſle, to the no ſmall Aſtoniſhment of the Inhabitants; the moſt ſenſible among whom, were however of Opinion, that the ſame proceeded from Mount *Hecla* it ſelf. Within an hour after, they perceived an Earthquake all over the Iſle, which was followed ſoon after by ſo dreadful a Noiſe, (like a Thunderclap) that every one expected the Day of Judgment to be at hand. Some few days after, the Sea was found dry near the Place where the Fire had appear'd, and was retreated at leaſt two Leagues within its old Bounds from the Shore.

As the uſe of Corn is unknown among the *Iſelanders*, ſo they neither Buy nor Sell; but what Commodities are brought to them, ſuch as Flour, Beer, Wine, Strong-Waters, Iron, Woollen and Linen Cloths, *&c.* they Exchange for the Products of their Country; ſuch as Dry'd Fiſhes, Butter, Tallow, courſe Woollen Cloths, Brimſtone, Foxes, Bears, Stag and Wolves Skins. *Bleſkenius* ſays, That the *Germans*, who Traffick thither, ſet up their Tents upon the Shore, where they expoſe their Commodities, as Cloaks, Shooes, Looking-glaſſes, Knives, and ſuch like Toys, which they exchange for what the *Iſelanders* bring to them. He further adds, That the young Women of *Iſeland* (who are handſome enough, but miſerably clad) come to theſe Strangers to Proſtitute them-

themſelves for ſome Bread, Biſcuit, or ſome other Trifle; nay, their Fathers often carry them to theſe Foreigners, and look upon it as a lucky Chance, if they happen to be with Child by them; they being afterwards in greater Eſteem among, and ſooner Married by the *Iſelanders* than others.

So ſoon as an *Iſelander* has Bought, (or rather Exchanged) ſome Wine or Beer, from theſe Strangers, he Invites his Kindred, Relations, and Friends, to make merry with him; when they ſeldom part as long as any ſtrong Liquor is left. During the Merriment, they Sing the Atchievements of their Antient Warriours, but without any Art, Order, or Rule. It is accounted a ſingular piece of ill-breeding among them, to go away from the Table to Piſs, whilſt they are Drinking. The young Wenches, (who as I told you are not ugly) commonly creep under the Benches, to reach them the Chamber-Pots.

Angrim Jonas is very angry with *Bleſkenius* upon this Account, and Accuſes him of Falſehood, in reflecting upon the Reputation of his Country-Women, and Accuſing them of Barbarity; as alſo, in regard of what he ſays concerning their Waſhing their Mouths and Teeth every Morning with their own Urine, tho' the ſame has been obſerved in the *Celtiberians* by *Catullus*:

Nunc Celtiber in Celtiberia Terra,
Quod quisque minxit, hoc ſibi ſoleat mane
Dentem, & ruſſam defricare Gingivam.

To tell you my Opinion upon this matter; It's poſſible the *Iſelanders* are not now ſo barbarous as formerly, tho' it may rationally be ſuppoſed, that a Nation living ſo near the North-Pole, may not be ſo Refined and Poliſhed as ſome others, eſpecially among the Vulgar ſort, for People of Faſhion, ought to be Exempted of this Rule, (leſs or more) in moſt Places.

Bleſkenius aſſures us, That the *Iſelanders* have Familiar Spirits, who attend them like Servants, and give them notice from time to time, when they ſhall be ſucceſsful in Hunting or Fiſhing. *Ortelius* adds, That they call theſe Dæmons or Spirits, *Drolla's*; which ſeems to have ſome Reference to the *Daniſh* word *Troll*, which ſignifies a *Devil*. *Bleſkenius* further tells us, That the *Iſelanders* Sell what Wind they pleaſe to Strangers. *Angrim Jonas*, ridicules this Story, called *Ging*, That the *Iſeland* Seamen being very expert in diſcerning in the Evening, by the Diſpoſition of the Air, what Wind is likely to blow the next day; which, if they find ſuitable to the Wiſh of ſuch Strangers, as lie ready to Sail near the Shore, they pretend to Sell them ſuch a Wind, which (to cover the deceit) they do thus: They ask the Stranger to give them his Hankerchief; which done, they pretend to mutter certain Words into it, and immediately after Tie it into Knots, for fear the Words ſhould Evaporate into the Air. Afterwards he returns him his Hankerchief thus knotted, with a ſtrict Charge to keep it thus with extraordinary Care, till he arrives in the deſired Port: Sometimes it happens, that the Wind proves according to Wiſh; but much oftner it proves quite otherwiſe: So ſoon as the poor Stranger is got out to Sea, if he be overtaken by a Tempeſt, he is put to no ſmall *Nonplus* what to do, imagining that he carries the Devil in his Pocket, and conſequently thinking it a point of Conſcience to keep it, yet is unwilling to part with it. If, ſays *Angrim*, once in a great many times, the Wind proves according to what the *Iſelander* has foretold the Stranger, this is a ſufficient Precedent in Oppoſition to many other Experiments made to the contrary; the Perſon who fancies to have bought his favourable Wind, not failing to tell it where-ever he comes, that with the aſſiſtance of the Wind he purchaſed in *Iſeland*, he was happily carried to the deſired Port.

Tho' ſuch-like Stories are not likely to make any Impreſſion upon Men of Judgment, they may ſerve for Variety's ſake, there being ſome Pleaſure in Underſtanding what is ſaid and believed by other People. *Bleſkenius* tells us alſo, That there are Sorcerers in *Iſeland*, who can ſtop a Ship under full Sail; againſt which, (ſays he) they make uſe of certain ill-ſcented Suffumigations, (deſcribed by him) as counter Charms, by Virtue of which they force the Dæmon that retains them, to let the Ship purſue its former Courſe. But it's time to return to more ſerious Matters relating to the Hiſtory of *Iſeland*.

Iſeland was in Antient Times, divided into Four Provinces, according to the Four Corners of the World; each whereof was Subdivided into Three Bailliages, called *Repes* by the *Iſelanders*, except the Northern Province, which being the largeſt and moſt conſiderable of all, had Four Bailliages; each of which was again Subdivided into ſix, ſeven, eight, or ten

ten Diſtricts or Judicatures, in proportion to their Extent. Every year there was an Aſſembly held of the Bailliages in each Province, who were Convened by certain ſmall Croſſes of Wood, ſent by the Governor of the Province to his reſpective Bailiffs, who were to diſtribute them among the Judges, and theſe among ſuch of the Heads of Families, as had a right to appear at this Aſſembly. Beſides which, the Lord Chief Juſtice, or Preſident of the whole Iſle, who being the Interpreter or Conſervator of the Laws of the Land, who was alſo conſidered as the Soveraign of the Four Provinces, uſed at certain times, to call together the General Eſtates of the whole Iſle; which was done by Four Wooden Hatches, ſent to the Four Governors of the Provinces.

Each Bailliage had Three Principal *Pagodes*, or Pagan-Temples, for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and their Devotion; whence the Office of *Bailiff* was honoured with the Sirname of *Godorp*, i. e. *Divine*. The principal Care of theſe Bailiffs was to provide for the Poor, whereof there were great numbers in ſo deſolate a Country; to take care, that the Poor of one *Repe* did not go thence to another; and to refrain the Licentiouſneſs of ſturdy Beggars, againſt whom the Laws were very ſevere; for they had liberty to Kill, or to Emaſculate them, to prevent their Multiplication. They had alſo a Law, forbidding, (under pain of Baniſhment) not only a poor Fellow to Marry a poor Woman, but alſo any Man, who had but juſt enough for his own Suſtenance, to Marry a Woman without ſomething to maintain her ſelf.

This Ariſtocratical Form of Government, and manner of Adminiſtring Juſtice, continued in this Iſle till the year of Chriſt 1263. when the Kings of *Norway* Conquered the ſaid Iſle, and forced them to Pay them an Annual Tribute; being invited thereunto by the inteſtine Broils ariſen among the great Ones, about the Adminiſtration of the Government. The King's of *Denmark*, after having made themſelves Maſters of *Norwegen*, did ſend into *Iſeland*, their Governors or Vice-roys; from which time on, they had nothing but the Shadow left of their Antient Liberty. Theſe Governors have their Reſidence in a certain Caſtle, called *Beſeſtat*, ſeated in the Weſtern part of the Iſle: They are however not obliged to Reſide there conſtantly, unleſs in caſe of neceſſity, and when they gather the Yearly Tribute, which is paid in the ſame Commodities, I had occaſion to mention before, and which they Exchange with Strangers; which ſerve in ſome meaſure the King of *Denmark* to provide his Navy with Proviſions, and Clothing for the Seamen.

The laſt Viceroy, or Governor of *Iſeland*, (ſince our coming into the North) was Mr. *Proſmoel*, Admiral of the *Daniſh* Fleet, lately defeated by the *Swedes* in the *Baltick Sea*: The Admiral fought with incredible Courage, and died upon the Deck of his Ship with Sword in hand, having refuſed to accept his Life from the Hands of his Enemies.

Angrim Jonas, dates Chriſtianiſm in *Iſeland*, from the 1000 Year after the Birth of Chriſt; not, but that there were Chriſtians there a conſiderable time before; but that Paganiſm was not abſolutely aboliſhed till that time. The *Iſelanders*, whilſt Pagans, did, beſides other Gods, Adore *Thor* and *Odin*: The firſt was to them inſtead of *Jupiter*, and *Odin*, in lieu of the *Mercury* of the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Hence they call to this day, their Thurſday *Thorſday*, and their Wedneſday *Oden's Daguir*. The Altars conſecrated to their Gods, were covered with Iron Plates, upon which they kept an Everlaſting Fire. Upon the Altar ſtood a certain Veſſel of Tin, containing the Blood of the Sacrifice, wherewith they beſprinkled the Spectators. On one ſide of this Veſſel lay a Silver-Ring, of about 20 Ounces weight, which they uſed to beſmear with the Blood of the Sacrifice, and lay their Fingers upon it, when they were to take a Solemn Oath. The Chronicles of *Iſeland* tell us, That they uſed to offer Sacrifices of Men to their Idols: Theſe they threw down from the Rocks, or into deep Pits made for that purpoſe near the Gates of their Temples. The Pagan *Iſelanders* had their two principal Temples, one in the North the other in the South part of the Iſle. In lieu whereof, the *Iſeland* Chriſtians have erected two, and the only two Biſhopricks in theſe Parts of the Iſle, *viz.* that of *Hole* in the North, and that of *Schalhold* in the South. They at preſent profeſs the *Lutheran* Religion, as well as in *Denmark*.

The Ancient *Iſelanders*, were tall, and well made, robuſt, nimble, and active, famous Gladiators, and much addicted to Pyracies. *Monomachy's*, or Single Duels, were publickly allowed among them; nay, even their Law-Differences were

were decided by Duels, the vanquiſhed loſing their Pretenſions, as did likewiſe he who refuſed to accept the Challenge, and was uſed in the ſame manner as if he had been vanquiſhed. This was the chief Method of acquiring Poſſeſſions among them; for, if two Gladiators entred upon a ſingle Combat, the Conqueror became by his Victory, Maſter of the whole Eſtate of his Conquered Enemy, againſt which, his Heirs had but one Remedy, which was to bring a large Bull or Ox to the Conqueror, which he was to kill with one ſtroke, which if he fail'd to do, he loſt his whole Pretenſion upon the Eſtate of his conquer'd Adverſary.

Beſides that the *Iſlanders* were very ſtrong and couragious, they had alſo a ſufficient ſhare of Wit, and were ſo curious in their Annals, that they not only carefully preſerved their own Hiſtory from Oblivion; but alſo, embelliſhed the ſame with the moſt memorable Tranſactions, that happened in the Neighbouring Kingdoms. Hence it is, That *Angrim Jonas*, in his *Specimen Iſlandicum*, ſpeaking of his Countrymen, calls them *Ad totius Europæ res Hiſtoricas Lynceï*, i.e. *Quickſighted in the whole Hiſtory of* Europe. Certain it is, That *Saxo Grammaticus*, in his Preface to his *Daniſh* Hiſtory, confeſſes, to have made Uſe with good Succeſs of the *Memoirs* taken out of the Annals of *Iſeland*, called *Tylenſes*. Dr. *Wormius*, I remember, told me concerning theſe Annals, that they were curiouſly written, and contained many exquiſite Matters, (not to be found elſewhere) relating to the Iſles of *Orcades*, the *Hebrides*, *Scotland*, and *England*, nay, even in the Dukedom of *Normandy*; the reaſon whereof, might probable be, that theſe Iſlanders were very powerful in the *Deucalidonian* or *Scotch* Sea, and perhaps carried from thence their Commerce as far as *Normandy*.

The moſt Antient Hiſtories of *Iſeland*, and ſuch as are moſt in Eſteem among them, were written in Verſe. It being obſerveable upon this Head, That the Ancient Kings and Heroes of the North, uſed conſtantly to carry ſome Poets along with them to the Wars, who uſed to celebrate their Hiſtories in Verſe. Theſe were Sung by the Soldiers in their Armies, and conſequently divulged in the adjacent Countries. The *Iſlanders* were ſo famous for their Poetry among the Neighbouring Nations, that it was generallybelieved,that there was a certain kind of Magick hidden in their Verſes, whereby they could Summon the Dæmons from the Infernal Regions, and change the Influence of the Planets. Their Poets are Born, and not made ſuch; for the moſt Ingenious Perſon among them, cannot Write a Verſe without his Natural Genius prompts him to it; the Rules of their Poetry being moſt ſtrict and ſevere; whereas ſuch as are Endowed with this Qualification by Nature, write them with ſuch Facility, that they can Speak ſcarce any thing but in Metre. They are commonly ſeized with this Poetical Frenzy in the New-Moon; when their Faces appear dreadful, with a pale Countenance, and hollow Eyes; not unlike as the Sybil of *Cume* is deſcribed by *Virgil*: At that time it is very dangerous to Converſe with theſe furious Fellows, the Wound given by a Mad-Dog being ſcarce more dangerous than their venomous Satyrs.

I can't forbear to tell you what Dr. *Wormius* related to me upon this Head: Some Years before, when he was *Rector Magnificus*, (or Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*,) a certain young Student, a Native of *Iſeland*, made his Complaint to him, againſt one of his Countrymen; who, as he ſaid, had moſt highly affronted him in one of his Satyrs. *Wormius*, having ſent for the Poet, he did not diſown the Poem, but denied that it was intended againſt his Countryman; and in effect, the Vice-Chancellor according to the Knowledge he had of the *Iſeland*-Tongue, (being a Dialect of the Antient *Runick* Language) could not find out any great Reaſon of Complaint in the ſaid Poem: The Plaintiff finding the Vice-Chancellor inclinable to his Adverſaries ſide, burſt out into Tears, telling him with a mournful Countenance, that if he did not aſſiſt him, he was loſt for ever. Then rehearſing to him, the Fables, Figures, and other malicious Deſigns, under which the malignity of this Satyr was couched; he further told him, That he muſt be look'd upon as an infamous Perſon in his Country, if this Poem ſhould ever come thither, that all his welfare lay at Stake; nay, that the malicious Deſign of it reach'd even his life,and that the Charms contained therein would purſue him, and have their Effects upon him where-ever he went. Dr. *Wormius*,not a little moved in Compaſſion, when he ſaw him in this Agony, took the Poet aſide, repreſenting to him, the Duty and Charity of a Chriſtian, and likewiſe the Severity of the *Daniſh* Laws againſt Sorcerers; with

ſevere Threats to deliver him into the Hands of Juſtice, if the other ſhould happen to fall ſick, tho' only out of fear; which made ſuch Impreſſion upon the Poet, that at laſt he confeſſed the malicious Deſign of his Satyr, tore it to pieces, and promiſing never to Write it or Speak of it again, Embraced the young Student, who was Raviſhed with Joy, becauſe he had made his Peace with the Poet.

The Edda. The *Iſeland* Poets have a certain Mythology or Explanation of their Fables, call'd *Edda*: Among other Matters, they ſuppoſe a certain Giant, named *Immer*, the firſt Principle of Things. They ſay, that the Chaos produced Dwarfs, who getting upon the Giant, took him in pieces. Out of his Skull they made the Heavens, out of his Right-Eye the Sun, out of his Left the Moon, out of his Shoulders the Mountains, the Rocks of his Bones, the Sea of his Bladder, and the Rivers of his Urine; and ſo with the other Parts of his Body: Whence it is, That theſe Poets call the Heavens *Immer*'s Skull, the Sun his Right Eye, the Moon his Left Eye, the Rocks his Bones, the Mountains his Shoulders, the Sea his Bladder, the Rivers his Urine, and ſo forth. Dr. *Wormius* did ſhew me a very Antient Copy of this *Edda*, written in the *Iſeland* Tongue by an *Iſelander*, and Interpreted it to me, whence I have taken what I have related to you now.

If we may believe the *Iſelanders* Annals, they uſed in former Ages to be ſo formidable at Sea, that both the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway* were jealous of their Naval Strength; whereas now they have not Wood enough to Build a Fiſher-Boat: They formerly Traffick'd into all the circumjacent Countries, whereas now they ſcarce ever leave the Iſle, unleſs ſome few of them, who come to *Copenhagen* to Study, and are generally ſo eager to return to their Native Country, that there is not ſo much as one inſtance to be given of their ſtaying in *Denmark* afterwards, tho' good Livings have been offered them there, there being ſome among them, who have apply'd themſelves to their Studies with very good Succeſs: They are ſo Bigotted to their Miſery, that whatever you tell them concerning the Advantage of the *Daniſh* Climate beyond theirs, has not the leaſt effect upon them. There were at that time about 14 or 15 Students at the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, who were generally ſpeaking of a low ſtature, and ſlender; tho' I remember, *Bleſkenius* ſays in one place, That he ſaw an *Iſelander* in *Iſeland*, of ſuch a prodigious Strength, that he could lift a *Hamborough* Barrel of Beer (holding 48 Gallons) to his Mouth.

The *Iſelanders* retain to this day ſome Relicks or rather a Shadow of their Ancient Government; their Laws being now ſo interwoven with thoſe of *Norway* and *Denmark*, that whilſt they are fond, not quite to part with their own, and at the ſame time are obliged to Obey the others, they entangle themſelves into no ſmall Difficulties concerning the Concordance betwixt their and the *Daniſh* Laws; which has made *Angrim Jonas* ſay, that there are as many *Pantinomies* in the Laws of *Iſland*, as there are *Antinomies* in the *Roman* Law.

The *Iſelanders* retain to this day their Ancient Cuſtom of Building their Houſes at a conſiderable diſtance from one another, without any Order or Rule, for fear of Fire, being all of Wood; They have no other Windows but a Hole on the top; their Houſes being very low, and ſometimes half under-ground, by reaſon of the high Winds that often blow here; They are commonly covered, (like thoſe in *Sweden*) with the Bark of Beech-Tree covered with Turfs, much after the ſame manner as *Virgil* deſcribes the Hut of *Tityrus* in his Bucolicks:

Pauperis & Tuguri congeſtum cespite culmen.

Theſe are their dwelling Houſes, wherein they live to 100 years of Age, and more, without making uſe of any Phyſick or Phyſicians.

The whole Iſle of *Iſeland* has no more than two Villages, which are the Seats of their two Biſhops, *viz. Hole* and *Schallholt*; the firſt whereof, being the biggeſt, has only a few Houſes; and as they have neither Towns nor Villages, ſo they have no Highways; which obliges thoſe that Travel here from one Province to another, to make uſe of the Needle and Compaſs, (as they do at Sea) for their Guide; and near thoſe Pitts, or Holes, which by reaſon of their being fill'd with Snow, might prove dangerous to Travellers, they ſet up Marks to forewarn them of the danger. The *Iſelanders* ſeldom Inhabit but near the Sea-ſhore, or near a River, for the conveniency of Fiſhing and Paſture, ſo that the Inland Country is in a manner a Deſart. At *Hole*, there is a College

of

or School for Boys till they come into Rhetorick, when they are sent to *Copenhagen*, to Study Philosophy and Divinity. Here is also a Printing-Press, where they did sometime ago Print the Old Testament, translated into the *Iseland* Tongue; the New Testament is still in the Press for want of Paper, which is a dear Commodity in that Country.

There have been divers Bishops of Note in *Iseland* especially in the See of *Hole*; a Catalogue of whom you may see in the *Crimogee* of *Angrim Jonas*. *Gundebrand Torlac* was Bishop of this See, a Person of great Probity and Learning; *Angrim Jonas* being his Coadjutor, had the Survivance of this Bishoprick granted him by the King of *Denmark*; but after the Death of *Gundibrand*, refused to accept of the same, having for some time before Devoted most of his time to his private Studies. He is still living; and, as Dr. *Wormius* told me, above 90 years of age, notwithstanding which he Married a very young Woman about four years ago. He is both a Man of Learning and Probity, and much considered for his Knowledge in the Affairs of the North, as his Writings sufficiently testifie.

I had almost forgot to mention one thing, worth our Observation among the *Iselanders*, *viz.* That they are great Chess-Players, there being not a Peasant in the Country, but what has a Set of it, which they make themselves out of Fish-Bones. The whole Difference betwixt theirs and ours, being only that our Fools stand for their Bishops; because, say they, the Clergymen ought to be near the King's Person. Their Rooks represent little Captains, whence the *Iseland* Schollars call them *Centuriones*. They are represented with Swords on their Sides, with Bloated Cheeks, as if they were Blowing the Horn they hold in both their Hands. I shall have occasion to speak more concerning the Horns used by the Northern Generals in the Wars, which are not unlike that of our *Rowland*, or the Horn, or rather Trumpet of *Misenus*, whom *Virgil* styles *Hectoris magni Comes*, or *Hector*'s Companion; it being certain, that in *Germany*, as well as the Northern Parts, Trumpeters are not considered as Servants, but Officers of the Troop; but of this more another time; we return to our Chess-Game.

This Game is not only of ancient standing, and generally used, in *Iseland*, but all over the North: The *Norwegian* Chronicle tells us, That *Drofen* the Giant, Foster-Father of *Herald* firnamed the *Hairy*, (as *Chiron* was of *Achilles*) having understood the great Actions of his Pupil, then King of *Norway*, sent him, among other Presents, (mentioned in that Chronicle) a very fine and rich Chess-Table: This *Herald* reign'd about the year of Christ 870. And if *Excalpins* in *Petronius* could brag, that he had seen *Trimalcion* play at Draughts, upon Tables, made of Turpentine-Wood and Chrystals, with Men of Gold and Silver, I may boast to have play'd at Chess, with the Countess *Eleonore* Natural Daughter to the King of *Denmark*, Married to Count *Ulefeld*, Great Marshal and Chief Minister to the King of *Denmark*: The Tables were Inlaid with a white and yellow Amber; the Pieces of Gold, curiously wrought, and Enamell'd with the same Colours as the Tables. The Kings and Queens were Dress'd in their Royal Robes, seated upon a Throne, with the Crown on the Head. The Bishops had their Mitres and Habits, richly adorned; and the Knights were mounted on Horses, with fine Trappings. The Rooks were represented by Elephants with Towers on their Backs. The Men were little Musqueteers, presenting their Guns close to their Cheeks, as if they were expecting the Word, to Fire.

Chess play much used in the North.

I told you before, that the *Iseland* Tongue was founded upon the Ancient *Runick* Language; and Dr. *Wormius*, who is well versed in the *Runick*, and has writ a whole Treatise of it, has assured me, That the *Iseland* Tongue is the purest Dialect of the *Runick* that is to be found now; For a further Proof whereof, it is to be observed, That the Alphabet given us by *Blefkenius* are *Runick* Characters; adding, that some of them being design'd for *Hieroglyphicks*, express entire Words. *Angrim Jonas* has also a whole Chapter of it in his *Crimogea*. And since this Book is very scarce to be had here, and consequently much more in *France*, you will, I hope, not take it amiss, if I entertain you with some Things I have observed there, it being certain, that by explaining to you the Antiquity of the *Iseland* Tongue, I shall at once give you a considerable insight into the Ancient State of the North.

Angrim Jonas, tells us, That the *Iseland* Chronicles, speaking of the first Inhabitants of the Northern Part of the World, deduce their Origin from a

certain *Aſiatick* Prince, named *Odin* or *Ottin*, who being forced out of the *Leſſer Phrygia*, by the victorious Arms of *Pompey the Great*, retired with the remainder of his *Phrygian* Forces into the North. *Angrim* is forced to confeſs, That the *Iſelanders* Chronicles don't begin but with *Odin*, tho' at the ſame time ſome other Northern Countries trace their Origin much farther, *viz.* Of a certain Prince, named *Norus*, who firſt erected *Norway* into a Kingdom, and provided them with wholeſome Laws. This *Norus* was Son to *Therre* King of *Gothland* and *Finland*, the moſt potent, brave, and moſt virtuous Prince of that Age: for which reaſon, he was by his Subjects reverenced like a God; and the *Norwegians* to this day, call the Month of *January*, *Therre*, after his Name. King *Therre* had a moſt beautiful Daughter, named *Goa*, who being Raviſhed by a Foreign Prince, her Brother *Norus* went in purſuit of the Raviſher; and the Name of *Goa* was given to the Month of *February*, to her Memory, the ſame being retained to this day among the *Iſelanders*. *Angrim* has given us the Genealogy of all the Anceſtors of *Norus*, who were reckoned among the number of the Gods by the Northern Nations; one whereof repreſented the God of the Sea, another of the Winds, another of Snow, another of the Winter: Among the reſt, they worſhipped one under the Name of the God of Fire, whoſe Statue was extreamly fine and handſome; whence they gave him the Name of *Halogie*, i. e. *A fierce and glorious Flame*. This Genealogy reaches to *Giloe*, a Nephew of *Norus*, in whoſe Reign (as the Chronicle tells us) the *Great Odin* came out of *Aſia* into the North.

Angrim Jonas finding ſuch a Diverſity in the Chronicles, ſaw himſelf obliged to look further backwards, beyond the firſt Kings of *Norway*; for the firſt Original of the Northern Nations, which he deduces from the Ancient Giants that were forced out of the Land of Promiſe by *Joſhua*, and afterwards ſettled their Habitations in the Northern Parts, from whom the *Goths* derive their Race, the Word *Got* ſignifying as much as a Giant; wherefore I think it not amiſs, to ſay ſomething as well in Reference of theſe Giants as of *Odin* the *Aſiatick* Prince.

This famous *Odin* was worſhipped as a God all over the North, under the Name of *Mercury*, by reaſon of his excellent Wit. It is he, who laid the firſt Foundation of the Northern Poeſie, and of their *Magie*, ſo much celebrated in other Parts of the World. Of the firſt I have ſaid ſomething already, and upon the *Magie* I could ſay much more, were it not that it both deſerves and requires a moſt particular Account, which I intend to reſerve for another opportunity. I can't however forbear to put you in mind upon this occaſion, of the negligent Temper of many of our Modern Authors, who, without making any ſerious Reflection upon the Circumſtances of things impoſed upon the World (without the leaſt Senſe or Reaſon) by Antiquity, are not only taken by them for granted, but alſo improved by them, in order to make them paſs currant in the World. I would deſire any body to conſider how little Coherency there is betwixt the fabulous Relations of *Odin* their *Aſiatick* Prince, and the time of *Pompey*, ſo much celebrated in Hiſtory?

Is it not a moſt ſurpriſing thing, to ſee moſt of the Ancients, repreſent the Founders of Nations, or other great Men, like Giants? Thus they make *Hercules* three times bigger than other Men; And *Virgil* repreſents his *Æneas* and *Turnus* like Mountains, *Quantus Athos, aut quantus Erix*; and compares *Sandarus* and *Bitias* to two tall Oaks. Thus all the Pictures and Statues of *Charles the Great*, (in the *German* Churches) are much beyond the ſize of an ordinary Man. I remember that I ſaw the Statue of a *Rowland* in the Market-place of *Bremen*, of the heighth of a Pike. *Saxo Grammaticus* makes his *Danes* to be deſcended from Giants. *Joh.* and *Olaus Magnus*, two Brothers, and both *Swediſh* Hiſtorians, do the ſame with their Countrymen, as *Angrim Jonas* deſcribes his firſt *Iſelanders* as Giants, the Word *Got*, as he ſays, ſignifying a *Giant*, and that the Ancient *Goths* were actually ſuch. And becauſe the Giants of *Canaan*, who were drove thence by *Joſhua*, were the firſt Giants mentioned in the Holy Scripture after the Deluge, theſe muſt be brought into the North, becauſe *Paleſtine* was too hot for them to abide in.

The two before-mentioned *Swediſh* Hiſtorians, (who being Brothers, and ſucceeded one another in the Archbiſhoprick of *Upſal*) out-do even *Angrim Jonas* himſelf in deducing the Origin of the *Swedes* from the Children of *Japhet*; and take a great deal of Pains to perſwade the World, that the City of *Upſal* was built in the time of *Abraham*. I wonder how *Angrim Jonas* happened not

not to follow their Footſteps, in deducing the Origin of his *Iſelanders* from the Race of *Japhet*; ſeeing it is ſaid of the Children of *Japhet*, in the 10th Chapter of *Geneſis*, *Ab his diviſæ ſunt Inſulæ gentium in regionibus ſuis, unuſquiſque ſecundum linguam ſuam, & familias ſuas in nationibus ſuis*; *By theſe were the Iſles of the Gentiles divided in their Lands, every one after his Tongue, after their Families in their Nations.* For it being a general and Orthodox Opinion, That the Children of *Noah* did Repeople the World after the Deluge, and that thoſe of *Japhet* in particular, ſettled in the Iſles. *Angrim* might with much better pretence affirm, That of the firſt Inhabitants of his Iſle, which *Olaus Magnus* had told us of the *Swedes* being deſcended from the Race of *Japhet*; for beſides that, *Angrim* has the Hiſtory of *Geneſis* on his ſide, (which the *Swedes* have not) it ſaves the trouble of tracing the Original of the *Iſelanders* from the Giants of *Canaan* coming into the Northern Parts.

To tell you my real Opinion concerning thoſe Gentlemen, who have taken ſo much Pains in making ſo nice a Scrutiny into the firſt Inhabitants of the World, after the Deluge, they have taken a great deal of Pains in vain; it being certain, that ſince we are deſtitute of true Hiſtories concerning theſe moſt Ancient Times, all their Relations are founded only upon Conjectures, or ſome fabulous Chronicle or Account ill Digeſted and worſe Explained: I don't apply this only to Mr. *Angrim Jonas*, for whom I have a ſingular Reſpect: The Error is general, he having not been the firſt, who traced the Original of the Northern Nations from the Giants of *Canaan*: beſides that, he has no inſignificant Plea for his Aſſertion, becauſe he found ſome *Iſeland* Words to have no ſmall Congruity with the *Hebrew*, which was called the Language of *Canaan*, after the *Jews* had made themſelves Maſters of the *Land of Promiſe*, by chacing the Giants thence. Our Author had unhappily forgot, That theſe Giants did not ſpeak *Hebrew*, which being foreign to them, they could impoſſibly introduce it in the North, if we would take it for granted that they actually Inhabited there.

Many Errors of this Nature are to be met with in the Writings of moſt of the beſt Authors, who have run upon the ſame Miſtake, in looking for the true Origin of Nations among the Interpretation or Etymology of certain *German* or *Hebrew* Words, which to them ſeem'd to have a near relation to the Language of thoſe Nations they were treating of. Thus Mr. *Grotius*, in his Treatiſe of the Origin of the *Americans*, deduces their Race from the *Germans*, becauſe, ſays he, many of their Words terminate in *Lan*, *Land* being a *German* Word. Mr. *Sail* ſays, That there is a certain Nation in *America*, called *Alavardes*, who have got their Name from one *Alvarado*, a *Spaniſh* Commander, who Conquered them. But *Grotius* traces the Origin of the *Alavardes* from the *Lombards*, by a Corruption of the Word; as to this day the *French* call *Hallbards*, certain Arms of the *Lombards*, called *Lombards* by the Ancient *French*.

Mr. *Bochard*, a Perſon not Inferiour in Learning to *Grotius*, takes the ſame road in his Treatiſe called *Phaleg*, of the Partition, and Inhabitants of the Earth after the Deluge, his Reaſons being founded upon Conjectures of the ſame Nature, tho' I muſt confeſs I could not but be ſurpriſed at his ſtupendious Knowledge in the Eaſtern Languages, in finding out the Interpretation of the *Carthaginian* Verſe in *Plautus* his Comedy, called the *Carthaginian*, out of the *Hebrew*. I told you juſt now, that his Invention is full of Ingenuity; but can't however agree with him, That the *Carthaginian* Tongue had any relation to the *Hebrew*; For *Dido*, (who founded *Carthage*) being a Native of *Phœnicia*, (which Language was very different from the *Hebrew*) the *Carthaginians* queſtionleſs were ſo far from ſpeaking *Hebrew* in the days of *Plautus*, that it is moſt likely they retained the ſame Language that *Dido* had introduced there, *viz.* the *Phœnician*. Mr. *Samuel Petit*, a Learned Man and great Critick, having before Mr. *Bochard* found out quite another Interpretation of the ſame Words in *Plautus*, I am apt to imagine that if a third Perſon (as well skill'd as they in the *Hebrew*) ſhould undertake the ſame task, he would find out another Interpretation of the ſame *Carthaginian* Verſes in *Plautus*, by Virtue of the Tranſpoſition of the Letters and Points, which theſe two Gentlemen have made uſe of to attain their end, according to the liberty allow'd to the Criticks in the *Hebrew*; by which rule they are able to give almoſt what Senſe they pleaſe to a

Sentence, juſt as we can make our Chimes ſound a Tune at pleaſure.

I hope, *Sir*, you will pardon this Digreſſion, which I thought not altogether foreign to our preſent purpoſe, when I obſerved Mr. *Angrim Jonas* to be miſguided by the ſame Error, as many others have been beſides him, in looking for the Origin of the *Iſelanders* among the *Hebrew*, it being certain, that nothing can be more fallacious than Conjectures founded upon ſuch-like Etymologies.

I am apt to believe, That *Angrim Jonas* would have acknowledged the ſame Giants, who, according to his Opinion, firſt Peopled the North, for the firſt Founders of the *Iſelanders*, were it not, that he believes that Iſle not to have been Inhabited till for a conſiderable time after; wherefore it will not be amiſs, to relate the Chief Heads of his Relation upon that Account. He ſays, That *Iſland* was firſt of all diſcovered by one *Naddocus*, who, as he was going to the Iſles of *Faro*, was caſt by a Tempeſt on the Eaſtern part of *Iſeland*, unto which he gave the Name of *Sneeland*, i. e. *Snowland*, from the vaſt heaps of Snow he ſaw there, which made *Naddocus* not to ſtay there long. The next who went in queſt after this Iſle, was a certain *Swede*, named *Gardarus*, who hearing *Naddocus* ſpeak of this Iſle, found it, and landed there in the year 864. and having paſs'd the whole Winter there, called it *Gardersholm*, i. e. *Gardars Iſle*. The third Perſon who came into this Iſle, was a famous *Norwegian* Pirate named *Flocco*, who having underſtood ſomething of the Situation of this Iſle, made uſe of a peculiar Invention for his Direction, the Compaſs being then a thing as yet unknown in the World. As he was going from *Hittland*, (one of the *Orcades* or *Orkney* Iſlands, he ventured boldly into the main Sea, and having taken 3 Ravens along with him, he let one of them fly as ſoon as he thought himſelf at a good diſtance from the Shore; but finding the Raven returning towards *Hittland*, from whence he was come, he kept on his Courſe further at Sea; and then letting go the ſecond Raven, he ſoon found by her return to the Ship, that ſhe could diſcover no Land; ſo Steering his former Courſe for ſome time, he ſent forth the third Raven, which diſcovering the *Iſeland*-Shore, *Flocco* followed her with all the Sails he could make; and thus with a favourable Wind landed in the Eaſtern part of *Iſeland*, then call'd *Gardersholm*, where he paſs'd the Winter, and finding himſelf againſt the Spring, ſurrounded with whole Mountains of Ice, (called the *Greenland* Ice by the Inhabitants) he gave it the Name of *Iſeland*, i. e. *Iceland*, which Name it has retained ever ſince; *Flocco* paſs'd another Winter in the South-part of the Iſle; but being as little pleaſed with that part as with the other, he return'd to *Norway*, where they gave him the Name of *Refnafloke*, i. e. *Flocco the Raven*, becauſe he had made uſe of that Creature in the diſcovery of *Iſeland*.

The true Founder of the *Iſelanders*, was a certain Baron of *Norway*, named *Ingulph*, who having with his Brother-in-Law *Hiorleifus*, killed two of the greateſt Men of that Country in a Duel, were Baniſh'd for that Fact. And it being the Cuſtom of this Country for Exiles to take along with them the Doors or Gates of their Houſes, *Ingulph* having caſt Anchor near the *Iſeland* Shore, threw his Gates over-board, in order to facilitate his Landing upon them. But being forced to another part of the Iſle, *viz.* in the Southern-part, he landed there; but finding his Gates caſt aſhore 3 years after, he thought fit to fix his Habitation thereabouts. *Ingulph* and his Brother-in-Law firſt landed in this Iſle in the year 870. but did not ſettle there till four years after, *viz.* 874. whence the *Iſeland* Chronicles take their Epocha; this being the time of the firſt Peopleing of this Iſle, which the ſame Chronicle ſays, *Ingulph* found Deſart and Uncultivated. However, it is ſaid, That ſome *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* Miners were before that time caſt aſhore here, the ſame having been diſcovered by ſome Bells, Croſſes, and other pieces made in *England* and *Ireland*, and ſome Books they had left behind them. It is agreed on all hands, That the *Iriſh* have been aſhore in this Iſle ſeveral times before the time of *Ingulph*; for their Chronicles ſay, That the Ancient *Iſelanders* called theſe *Iriſh*, *Papa*'s, and the Weſtern-part of the Iſle, *Paper*, from the *Iriſh* who uſed to Land there.

Becauſe the *Iſeland* Chronicle calls *Iſeland*, *A Wilderneſs and Uncultivated*, at the time of the arrival of *Ingulph*, *Angrim Jonas* aſſures us boldly, That it was not Inhabited before that time; nay, is Angry with thoſe who diſagree with him in this Point, as *Pontanus*, and others, who would have *Iſeland* be the

Thule

Thule of the Ancients mentioned by *Virgil*, who ſpeaking of *Auguſtus*, ſays,

——*Tibi ſerviat ultima Thule.*

For, (ſays he,) in his *Specimen Iſlandicum*, If *Iſeland* is ſuppoſed to have been the *Thule* of the Ancients, it muſt have been Inhabited in *Auguſtus*'s time; which is contrary to our *Iſeland* Chronicles, which tell us, That it was not Inhabited till *Auguſtus* his time.

But I would have this Gentleman to call to mind, what he himſelf has alledged in another place, *viz.* That the *Iriſh* uſed to come aſhore in *Iſeland* before the time of *Ingulph*, and that theſe *Iriſh* were called *Papa*'s by the Ancient *Iſelanders*. I would fain know of him, who were theſe Ancient *Iſelanders*. I agree with *Angrim*, that *Iſeland* was not Converted to the Chriſtian Religion till ſome years after *Ingulph* landed there; But on the other hand, he will I hope, eaſily allow me, that there were a conſiderable number of Chriſtians at that time in the Northern Countries: 'Tis certain, That the *Iriſh* were ſuch, the Marks they had left behind them, and found by *Ingulph*, ſufficiently teſtifie the ſame. *Angrim* mentions in his *Crimogea*, That *Ingulph*'s Brother-in-Law, who came along with him into *Iſeland*, had many Sentiments which inclined to Chriſtianity, if he was not an abſolute Chriſtian. And it is certain, That the Chriſtian Religion was at that time ſpread all over the Northern Countries, and among the reſt in *Iſeland*, as I ſhall have occaſion to ſhew anon. This being granted, What time is it that *Angrim* pretends to allow to the Pagan *Iſelanders*, who were, as he ſays, ſo zealous in their Idolatry, and eſpecially in their Adoration of *Odin*, by whom they uſed to Swear, and call him the Grand Protector of *Aſia*. It is beyond all Diſpute, That among all the Heatheniſh Superſtitions, the Sacrifices of Men, are of the moſt Ancient date, which that they were practiſed among the Ancient *Iſelanders*, I have ſufficiently demonſtrated before. Their own Chronicle tells us, That in the Weſtern-part of the Iſle, there was a certain Cirque, in the Center whereof ſtands a high Rock, from whence they tumbled down the miſerable Wretches deſigned for the Sacrifice, the Blood whereof was afterwards offered to their Gods. The ſame Chronicle mentions, That after the ſaid Cuſtom was aboliſhed here, as well as in other Places, the Rock retained ſtill a red Tincture, the remnants of the Blood ſpill'd there before. I muſt, I ſay, upon this Account, once more ask *Angrim*, Where he will fix theſe many Ages mentioned in his Annals? And from whence he dates the Introduction or Invention of their Mythology call'd *Edda*, which are of ſuch Antiquity, and ſo peculiar to the *Iſelanders*, that the other Nations have but very little knowledge of it, and all the other *Europeans* none at all.

Add to this, *Sir*, That the *Iſeland* Chronicles, when they ſpeak of the Voyages of *Naddocus*, of *Gardenus*, and *Flocco*, (all which happened before the time of *Ingulph*) don't make the leaſt mention of the Iſle of *Iſeland* having been a Deſert at that time: Certain it is, that *Flocco* lived there for two whole years, and in all probability, not without ſuch Proviſions as are the Products of a Country not deſtitute of Inhabitants. Beſides this, How will *Angrim Jonas* come off of what he had ſaid of the *Iſelanders*, that they were very Exact and Curious, in Recording the Hiſtories of all other Nations of *Europe*; *Ad totius Europæ res Hiſtoriocas Lyneai*, ſays he: *Herodotus* and *Plato* mention the ſame of the Ancient *Egyptians*: For, (ſays he) they preſerve in their Libraries, the moſt Ancient Monuments of the Hiſtory of Foreign Nations, looking upon it, as the beſt Argument they can alledge for the Antiquity of their own Nations. To add as much weight as I can unto what *Angrim Jonas* ſays upon this head concerning his *Iſelanders*, I muſt tell you, That Dr. *Wormius* ſhew'd me a Copy of a Chronicle of the Weſtern-part of *Iſeland*, wherein, (by his Interpretation) I found many remarkable Paſſages in the Hiſtory of *Norway*, *Denmark*, *England*, the *Orcades*, *Hebrides*, and among the reſt, of the Invaſion of that part of *France* by the *Normans*, unto which they gave that Name after their Conqueſt. The arrival of *Ingulph* being not mentioned till afterwards, it ſeems very probable, that there were certain People that took Care of the Records of *Iſeland*, and that conſequently that Iſle was Inhabited before that time. I am of Opinion, That the *Iſeland* Chronicles (which ſpeak of *Ingulph*) cited by *Angrim Jonas*, are Authentick, and that the ſaid *Ingulph* did not come into *Iſeland* till about

about the year 874. But it is poſſible, That the Southern Parts, where he landed, where at that time diſpeopled either by Mortality, or the Ravages of certain Pyrates; yet does it not follow from thence, that the whole Iſle was deſtitute of Inhabitants. It is not likely, that *Ingulph* could ſettle a ſufficient Colony there to People the whole Iſle; beſides, that the *Iſelind* Chronicles tell us, That divers Neighbouring Nations, did ſettle in divers Parts thereof. *Angrim Jonas* himſelf, makes mention of a certain Inhabitant of the *Hebrides*, named *Kalman*; who, he ſays, was the firſt, who made a Settlement in the Weſtern-part of *Iſeland*, where it is worth our Obſervation, that *Angrim Jonas* does not tell us the time when this *Kalman* came thither, no more than when the *Iriſh*, *Scotch*, thoſe of the *Orkney Iſles*, and others, who Inhabited there, fix'd their firſt Habitations in *Iſeland*. 'Tis for this reaſon, that I imagine, that a conſiderable difference ought to be made betwixt the Iſle of *Iſeland*, whilſt Inhabited by Pagans, and betwixt that, ſince Chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed there: The Chronicles of the Chriſtian *Iſeland* don't Trace their Origin beyond the time of *Ingulph*; which, according to the Chriſtian *Æra* of this Country, begins with the year 874. whereas the Chronicles of the Pagan *Iſeland* have no certain beginning.

Taking this for granted, (as it eaſily may be) nothing is more eaſie than to reconcile the Chronicles in Reference to the Pagan and Chriſtian *Iſeland*; and conſequently to make *Angrim Jonas* to agree with himſelf; and to allow what *Pontanus* ſays, *viz.* That the Modern *Iſeland* is the *Thule* of the Ancients, which he proves from the Authority of divers *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, from the Hiſtory of *Adam* of *Bremen*, who writ in the year 1067. of *Saxo Grammaticus*, who lived ſoon after, and of *Andreas Vellejus*, who has Tranſlated *Saxo* into the *Daniſh* Tongue, and in his Tranſlation, always takes the *Tyleaſſes* for the Modern *Iſelanders*. *Angrim Jonas*, as I remember, alledges, That *Adam* of *Bremen* has inſerted many fabulous Relations in his Hiſtory, and among the reſt, That in his time it was received as an Ancient Tradition, that the Ice in *Iſeland*, was ſometimes found ſo old and dry, that if thrown into the Fire, it would burn as fiercely as a certain kind of Coal, called *Hoville* by the *Flemmings*. But to anſwer this Objection, it is not ſo much the queſtion here, whether the Ancients were not guilty of certain Follies; but rather, whether the more Ancient the Hiſtory is, the more it ſavours of Folly; which ſeems to be an Argument for the Antiquity of *Iſeland*, and its being known in other Parts. Perhaps *Angrim Jonas* will tell us, That if the Ancient Authors did take the Modern *Iſeland* for the ſame they called *Thule*, they are much out in its true Situation; But to this I anſwer, That the ſame Authors have committed many Errors of this Nature in reference to other Places; the queſtion being not at this time, whether the ſaid Authors have given us an exact Deſcription of *Iſeland*, either as it was then, or as it is now; but, whether the Iſle they deſcribed to us, was the ſame with our *Iſeland*.

What confirms me in this Opinion, is, That *Cauſabon* declares for it; for in his Commentaries upon *Strabo*, he tells us expreſsly, That the *Thule* mentioned in this great Geographer, is our Modern *Iſeland*: And, to confeſs the Truth, the thing argues in its own behalf; the Modern *Iſeland* being now, as well as in former Ages, placed by the joint Conſent of all the Geographers, at the Extremity of the *Deucalidonian* Sea, or that of *Scotland*, or the *Britiſh* Sea; and the Ancient *Thule* having always been accounted the furthermoſt of the *Britannick* Iſles. 'Tis a thing beyond all diſpute, That the *Scotch* Sea has been formerly called the *Caledonian* Sea, from that vaſt *Caledonian* Foreſt, whereof there is not ſo much as a ſingle Tree to be ſeen at this time in *Scotland*. *Selden* ſays, That the *Scots*, Inhabiting the Northern Parts of that Kingdom, were called *Deucalidonians*, which in their Language ſignifies as much as *Black and Swarthy*, as the Ocean, which waſhes the Northern-ſhore of *Scotland*, and the adjacent Iſles, has been called the *Deucalidonian* Sea, from the dark and cloudy Air which is generally obſerved thereabouts. *Pliny* calls it for the ſame reaſon, *Mare Pigrum*, or the *Lazy Sea*; and *Adam* of *Bremen*, *Mare Tecoreum* and *Pulmoneum*, becauſe it has a heavy Motion like thoſe troubled

bled with an Aſthma, in the ſame Senſe as *Plautus* ſpeaks of Aſthmatick Legs; *Pedibus pulmoneis mihi adveniſti.*

Angrim Jonas, as it ſeems, would not be ſo averſe, to allow that *Iſeland* is the ſame with the Ancient *Thule*, provided he could be convinced, that that Iſle was Inhabited before the time of *Ingulph*; wherefore, tho' I have ſaid enough upon this Head for the Satisfaction of unbyaſs'd Perſons; yet will I not think it beyond the purpoſe, to alledge ſome undeniable Reaſons for the proof thereof, *viz.* That *Iſeland* was Inhabited before that time. I have by me two Chronicles of *Greenland* written in *Daniſh*, one in Verſe, the other in Proſe. That written in Verſe, begins with the year 770. when it ſays, *Greenland* was firſt diſcovered. The other aſſures us, That the Perſon, that went firſt from *Norway* into *Greenland*, paſs'd through *Iſeland*, and tells us, expreſly, That *Iſeland* was Inhabited at that time; whence it is evident, that *Iſeland* was not firſt of all Inhabited in the year 874.

Angrim Jonas will perhaps object, That my *Daniſh* Chronicles don't agree with that of *Iſeland*, which ſays, That *Greenland* was not diſcovered till the year 982. nor inhabited till 986. But I muſt tell him, That my *Daniſh* Chronicles are founded upon the Authority of *Anſgarius* a great Prelate, a Native of *France*, who has been acknowledged the firſt Apoſtle of the Northern World. He was made Archbiſhop of *Hamborough* by *Lewis the Mild*, his Juriſdiction extending from the River *Elbe*, all over the North, as far as the Frozen Sea; The Emperor's Patent, conſtituting the ſaid *Anſgarius* the firſt Archbiſhop of *Hamborough*, are dated in the year 834 and were confirmed by Pope *Gregory* IV.'s Bull in 835. The true Copy, both of the Patent and of the Bull, may be ſeen in the 4th Book of *Pontanus* his *Daniſh* Hiſtory of the year 834. where it is expreſly ſaid in the Patent, That *the Gates of the Goſpel are ſet open, and that Jeſus Chriſt had been revealed both in* Iſeland *and* Greenland; for which the Emperor gives his moſt humble Thanks to God.

Two Inferences are to be made from thence: Firſt, That *Iſeland* was inhabited by Chriſtians in the year 834. and conſequently 40 years before the arrival of *Ingulph* there: Secondly, That *Greenland* was inhabited by Chriſtians in the ſame year 834. which agrees with my *Daniſh* Chronicle, where the firſt diſcovery of *Greenland* is fix'd to the year 770. *Angrim Jonas* being put to a *nonplus*, tells us, That he queſtions the Authority of the Bull of *Gregory* IV. alledged by *Pontanus*, which he would fain make us believe, is ſuppoſititious; but to be plain with him, I think he has taken a Notion of maintaining the Credit of his Native Country, by adhering too ſtrictly to the Authority of its Chronicles; whereas it would have been more for his Reputation, not to have inſiſted ſo much upon that Authority, than to rob this Iſle of the glory of its Antiquity; who is ſo ignorant, as not to know, that the Age wherein *Ingulph* lived, was not very barbarous? The *Goths* having carried the ſame together with their Arms throughout all *Europe*; Whoever ſhould go about to perſwade me, into a Belief of all what is inſerted in the Ancient Chronicles of theſe barbarous Ages, might as ſoon make me believe the Romances of *Oger* the *Dane*, or the Four Sons of *Aymon*, of the Archbiſhop of *Turpin*, and other ſuch like nonſenſical Stories relating to the ſame time.

I could wiſh, *Sir*, You had the opportunity of reading the Writings of *Angrim Jonas*, which I had ſcarce time to peruſe. Perhaps you might diſcover ſome Reaſons for the Antiquity of *Iſeland*, which I have either not diſcovered or neglected. His *Specimen Iſelandicum*, printed at *Amſterdam* 1643. Perhaps his *Crimegea* is not ſo eaſie to be had; that which I ſaw, was Printed at *Hamborough* in 1609. As I don't queſtion, but you will take abundance of pleaſure in Reading of them, ſo, I will refer my ſelf to them for a more ample Account, of what I have related to you now by way of an Epitome; it being all I was able to learn, and thought worthy your Knowledge, concerning *Iſeland*. If I find this to have met with a favourable Reception at your Hands, I will ſend you a further Account of *Greenland*, tho' at the ſame time I am ready to acknowledge, that conſidering your Merits and Reputation you have acquired by thoſe excellent Treatiſes, you have obliged the World with of late, I ought for the future, not to offer any thing but what is more

polite than this; the defect thereof you will, I hope, attribute in a great measure, to the want of time, and my readiness to Obey your Commands, which must at this juncture serve as a Plea to you to excuse its Errors; in hopes of which, I beg you to be perfuaded, that I am,

SIR,

Copenhagen, Dec. 18. 1644.

Your most humble, and most obedient Servant,
La Peyrere.

FINIS.

AN ACCOUNT OF GREENLAND.

ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the

Map of *GREENLAND.*

AS I dare assure my self, That Monsieur Chaplain is the true Author of this Map; having judg'd the same absolutely necessary for the understanding this Historical Account; so I thought I could not do amiss, in following the Advice of a Person so highly and so universally esteem'd.

I have compiled this Map answerable to four Elevations particularly known to me; viz. that of Cape Farewel, of Iceland, of Spitzbergen, and of that part of the Christian's Sea, where Captain Monk, being stop'd by the Ice, gave it the name of Monk's Winter Haven.

I have computed the Longitude of all those Places, from the Meridian of the Iron Island of the Canaries, by the Advice of Mr. Roberval, a famous Mathematician; and of Mr. Sanson, an excellent Geographer, whose steps I have follow'd in that Map.

The Longitude of Monk's Winter Haven, was more exactly discover'd to me beyond the rest, by an Eclipse of the Moon, mention'd in the Journal of that Captain, who declares to have seen it in that Harbour, about Eight a Clock at Night, the 20th of December, in the Year 1619. This Eclipse must have been seen at Paris, (according to the Tables of the Celestial Motions) about three in the Morning, the 21st day of that Month. But in regard, that Eclipse continued above three Hours, and that Captain Monk did not see it, either in its beginning, middle or end, I have consulted Mr. Gassendus, concerning this doubt; whose Abilities and Learning being sufficiently known to all, who make Profession of these Sciences, I thought I might with probability enough, suppose this Eclipse discovered at Monk's Haven, between its beginning and end; that is to say, about the middle of its duration, or about the hour that it must have been seen at Paris; whence it is evident, that when it was three a Clock in the Morning at Paris, it was no more than eight a Clock of the preceding Evening at Monk's Harbour; and that consequently there are seven hours difference between the one place and the other. Now supposing 15 Degrees for every hour, (according to the Rules of Astronomy) the Meridian of Monk's Harbour must be distant from the Meridian of Paris 105 Degrees, and Paris being at the 23 Degree and half of Longitude, Monk's Haven ought to be placed in the 178 Degree and a half; that is to say, in the 81 Degree and half beyond the Meridian of the Canaries: And consequently allowing 12 ordinary Leagues of France for every Degree of this Parallel, the Degrees (whereof are one less than the Degrees of the great Circles most,) this Haven must be distant from Paris about 1260 leagues. I have divided the Southern part of Greenland, taken at Cape Farewel, into two Islands, in the manner they are represented here. This I have done, not from the Danish Accounts I made use of to compose this History (for they don't mention it) but from a Map communicated to me out of the Library of my Lord Cardinal Mazarin, by Monsieur Naude, (the Ornament of that excellent Collection of Books, and other rarities that make up that Renowned Library.) These are the Words in Latin, Written at the bottom of the said Map: This Delineation was made by Martin, the Son of Arnold, born at the Briel, a City of Holland; who twice, viz. 1624, and 1625, went as Commodore to the Ile, known by the name of old Greenland. This Martin, the Son of Arnold, calls Greenland an Island; tho it is not certainly known, whether it be an Island, or part of the Continent, or made up of several Isles. He declares it to be the Map of the old Greenland; tho' he might rather have call'd it both the old and new, for none else has been discovered: and that which we know, ought rather to be called the new Greenland, than the old. Because, tho the old Greenland must undoubtedly be fix'd hereabouts near the West of Iceland; nevertheless, this certain place is not known to this day, even not to the Inhabitants of Norway, tho' their Fore-fathers were the first discoverers of it, and dwelt in it some entire Ages, as will more fully appear out of the following Relation.

A great Lunar Eclipse.

Monsieur Gassendus

The old and new Greenland.

The nearness of their Situation between Cape Farewell, and the Streights call'd Christian's Streights, with the Sea of that Name, and Monk's Winter Haven, has been represented according to the Map Captain Monk caused to be made of his Voyage, and was Annexed to his Journal. I was the rather inclined to follow his Foot-steps, for as much as it agrees with that of Captain Hudson, who first discover'd these Streights, and this Sea; which Map Mr. Chaplain was pleased to communicate to me in order to compare it with that of Captain Monk.

I dare not affirm, That all the Coast of the Christian's Sea, and so Westerly from thence, between the Gulph of Davis, and Monk's Winter Haven, belongs to Greenland, because perhaps some great River or Streight, unknown, may separate Greenland from America. What makes me more doubtful upon this, is, That I never heard in Denmark, that all this Coast did belong to Greenland, as I have heard it declared of all the Coast on the N. E. between Cape Farewell and Spitzbergen. I refer the Solution of this Question to those who have got a better insight into this matter, from the English and Dutch Relations: my only design being to give an Account of what I understand of this Country out of the Danish Books, and from the Conversation I have had in Denmark.

The Embassador, mentioned in this Relation, was Monsieur le la THUILLERIE, who was so Instrumental in concluding that famous Peace between the two Northern Crowns.

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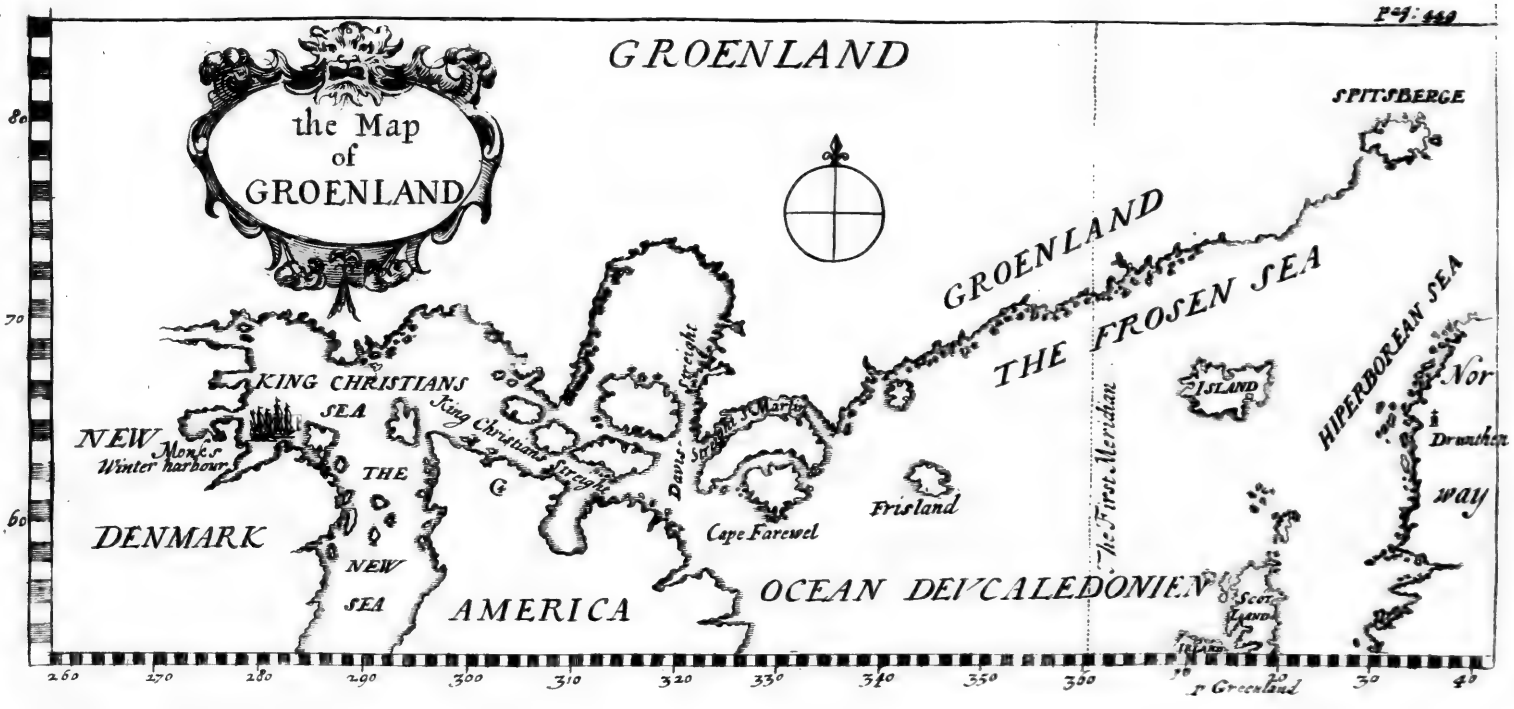

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GROENLAND
the Map of GROENLAND
SPITSBERGE
GROENLAND
THE FROSEN SEA
HIPERBOREAN SEA
Nor
Drunthen
way
ISLAND
KING CHRISTIANS SEA
NEW
Monks Winter harbour
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Greenland
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AN ACCOUNT OF GREENLAND, TO Monsieur *de la* MOTHE *le* VAYER.

SIR,

I Perceive that I have not satisfied your Curiosity, in Writing to you a long Letter concerning *Iceland*: 'Tis but just therefore, that I should perform my promise, to send you a Relation of *Greenland*. Don't wonder at the time that I have taken to pass between these two Islands. If you weigh the Difficulties and the Dangers that attend such a Voyage, you will be satisfied that I ought to inform my self with leisure of the true Condition of this Northern Country, which deserves rather the name of *Incognita*, *unknown*, than the Southern part of the World. Nevertheless, it has been inhabited by the *Norwegians*, during the space of five or six hundred Years, who trafficked and settled their Colonies there. But that I may not confound Matters, I will tell you what I have understood of this Country, (which is almost inaccessible,) with all imaginable Exactness, from what ever I could learn either by Conversation, or from the most confused Writings, I will not say that ever I read, because they were explained to me out of a Tongue I understood not, as were the *Danish* Books, and which Mr. *Rets*, a *Danish* Gentleman, was so kind to read, and to interpret to me whom you will see speedily at *Paris*; the King of *Denmark* having named him, in consideration of his Merits, his Resident in *France*.

Of Greenland. *Greenland* is that Northern Tract of Land, which extends from the South to the East, and thence to the North from *Cape Farwell*, to the *Deucaledonian* Ocean, all along the Coasts of the frozen Sea towards *Spitzbergen*, and *Nova Zemble*. Some are of opinion, that it joyns to the *Great Tartary*; But this is uncertain, as you shall see anon.

On the East it hath the *Frozen Sea*, on the South the *Deucaledonian* Ocean, on the West the Streights of *Hudson* or *Christian*, and the *Christian* or *Hudson*'s Sea, that divides it from *America*. Its extent towards the North is unknown hitherto. The *Danish* Chronicle informs us, that it is the fartheste part of the World towards the North, and that beyond it, there is no Land on that side. Some believe, that *Greenland* is joyn'd to *America*, because the *English*, who have attempted to pass the Streights of *Davis*, to seek a passage that way to the East, have found, by experience, that what *Davis* fancied to be the Streights, is nothing but a Gulf; tho' according to the account of a certain *Danish* Captain, named *John Monk*, who ventured to find a Passage to the East, by the North-west of the Gulf of *Davis*, there is great likelyhood, that this Country is altogether separated from *America*, as will appear in its proper place, when we shall discourse of his Voyage. The Elevation of *Greenland* taken at *Cape Farwell*, (the most Southern part of it) according to the computation of Captain *Monk*, a most expert Seaman, is sixty degrees and thirty minutes: The other part extending much nearer to the Pole. The Elevation of *Spitzbergen*, which the *Danes* judge to belong to *Greenland*, is according to their computation 78 degrees or thereabouts. I don't say any thing concerning the Longitude of that Country, because my Accounts being silent here I have learn'd nothing more than what our Maps inform upon this head. It will be sufficient for me to take notice in this Place, that *Cape Farewell*

Its Latitude.

well is beyond the *Canaries*, and our firſt Meridian: As to the Hiſtory of *Greenland*, I have chiefly made uſe of two Chronicles, one of *Iſeland*, the other of *Denmark*; the firſt being very Ancient and in Proſe, the other of a later date in Verſe, but both in the *Daniſh* Language. However the Original of that of *Iſeland* was written in the *Iſeland* Tongue, by one *Snorro Storleſonius* an *Iſlander*, who was *Nomophylax*, as *Angrim Jonas* calls him; that is, Chief Juſtice of that Iſland, in the year 1215. the ſame who compil'd the *Edda*, or the *Iſeland* Fables in Verſe I have formerly mentioned to you. The *Daniſh* Chronicle was written in *Daniſh* Verſe, by a *Daniſh* Prieſt, named *Claudie Chriſtopherſen*, within theſe 15 years, or thereabouts. This *Daniſh* Chronicle ſays, that ſome *Armenians* being long toſs'd at Sea by a furious Tempeſt were forced into the Northern Sea, at laſt got aſhoar in *Greenland*, from whence they paſs'd over into *Norway*, where they Inhabited the Rocks of the *Hyperborean* Sea: But this Relation is founded only upon Ancient Fables and Cuſtoms to deduce the Original of remote Places and Nations: But thus much is certain, that the *Norwegians* did firſt diſcover and inhabit *Greenland*.

Snorro Storleſonius, Author of the Edda.

A certain Gentleman of *Norway*, named *Torwald*, and his Son *Erick*, ſirnamed the *Red* hair'd, having committed a Murder in his Country, fled over into *Iſeland*, where *Torwald* died. His Son *Erick* being a cholerick Perſon, kill'd ſoon after another Man in *Iſeland*; ſo that to eſcape the ſeverity of the Law, he reſolved to ſeek for ſhelter in a Country which one *Gundebuirne* had told him he had ſeen to the Weſt of *Iſeland*; *Erick* landed by his direction, in a certain Harbour, made by two Capes or Points of Land, *viz.* one at the end of an Iſland, oppoſite to the Continent of *Greenland*, the other on the Continent: The Cape of the Iſle was named *Huidſerken*, that of the Continent *Huarfs*; having between both a very good Harbour call'd *Sandſtaſin*, where Ships may ride ſafely at Anchor, even in the greateſt Storm.

Torwald and his Son Erick.

Huidſerken is a prodigious high Mountain, without compariſon much bigger than *Huarf*. *Erick* call'd it *Mukla-Jokel*, i. e. The *Ice Mountain*; but has been ſince named *Bloſerken*, i. e. The *Blew Shirt*; and a third time *Huidſerken*, i. e. the *White Shirt*. The reaſon of theſe two laſt alterations, ſeems to be founded upon the change of its Colour; for the Ice that melts and freezes at the ſame time, appears in Colour at firſt not unlike the Moſs, or Graſs, or little Trees growing upon theſe Rocks: But when by a long continued Snow, vaſt heaps are gathered, the Ice becomes extraordinary thick, and returns to its former colour and natural whiteneſs. This I can affirm by my own experience in *Swedeland*, where we have ſeen Rocks, ſome whereof appeared to us of a bluiſh, and others of a white colour for the ſame reaſon. I will aſſure you, and my Lord Embaſſador can teſtifie, That in our return the ſame Winter from *Swedeland* to *Denmark*, as we paſs'd in a Coach over the Sea, between [illegible] and *Copenhagen*, we met vaſt ſhoals of Ice piled upon one another, ſome whereof appeared to our ſight very white, others of the fineſt Azure, which being not able to give a ſufficient reaſon for this difference, as being produced by the ſame Water; and ſituate in reſpect of our Eyes, at no ſuch diſtance as to cauſe ſo remarkable a difference. This put me in mind of what *Virgil* ſays concerning the *Frozen Zones*.

Ice of several Colours.

Cærulea glacie concreta atque Imbrium atrum.

Tho' I am apt to believe that the word *Cærulea glacie* ought to be interpreted in this Paſſage, the *Black Ice*, as *Virgil* fancies to be in theſe dark and black Countries; in the ſame ſence, he ſays in another Place

Olli cæruleus ſupra Caput adſtitit Imber.

And in another place,

——— *Stant manibus Aræ,*
Cæruleis maſtæ vittis atraq; Cupreſſus.

In both which Paſſages the word *Cærulea* ſignifies *black*, without all diſpute.

But to return to our purpoſe, *Erick* before he would venture on the Continent, thought it adviſeable to land in the Iſle unto which he gave the name of *Erickſund*, i. e. *Erick's Iſle*, and continued there all the Winter. In the Spring he paſſed over to the Continent, which he called *Greenland*; i. e. the *Green Country* from the verdure of its Paſtures and Trees. Unto the Place where he Landed, he gave the name of *Erickſiorden*, i. e. *Erick's Haven*, at a ſmall diſtance from whence he built certain Habitations, call'd *Oſtraburg*, i. e. The *Eaſt Borough* or Plantation. Next *Autumn*, he went to the Weſtern ſide, where he Erected another Plantation call'd *Veſtrebarg*, i. e. The *Weſtern Borough*. But whether the Continent ſeem'd to him colder and ſharper than that of *Iſeland*, or whether he found it leſs ſecure, he returned the next Winter to *Erickſund*, yet returned from thence next Summer, to the Continent, taking his Courſe towards the North to the foot of a great Rock which he named *Sneefiel*, i. e. the *Snow Rock*, and thence to a certain

Greenland firſt Inhabited.

certain Harbour, upon which he beſtowed the name of *Ravensfiorden*, i. e. *Rockhaven*, from a great number of Crows or Ravens he found there. *Ravensfiorden* lies directly oppoſite on the North ſide of the *Erickfiorden*, which is Seated on the South ſide, being divided only by a Branch or Arm of the Sea: About the end of *Autumn*, *Erick* returned to his Iſland, where he paſs'd the third Winter. In the Spring he reſolved to go in Perſon to *Iſeland* to Engage the Inhabitants of that Iſle (with whom he had good Correſpondence) to follow him into *Greenland*; he was not backward in telling them Wonders of his New diſcovered Country, of its plenty of great and ſmall Cattel, of excellent Paſtures, of Fiſhes and all ſorts of Game. His Rhetorick proved ſo prevailing, that a good number of them croſſed the Sea with him into *Greenland*.

Erick had a Son, named *Leiffe*, accompanied his Father into *Iſeland*, and from thence croſſed over to *Norway*; where as my Chronicle of *Iſeland* tells us, he gave a favourable Account to King *Olaus Trugger* of the Country diſcover'd by his Father. The King of *Norway* having then but lately embraced the Chriſtian Religion, cauſed *Leiffe* to be inſtructed in the ſame, and to be Baptiz'd, who continued at his Court all the Winter. The next Summer he ſent him back to his Father into *Greenland*, in Company of a certain Prieſt, to inſtruct *Erick* and his People in the Chriſtian Faith. *Leiffe* being return'd to his Father in *Greenland*, had the name of *Leiffslenhepne*, i. e. *Leiffe the Fortunate* beſtowed upon him, becauſe he had eſcap'd great Dangers in his Voyage: On the other hand, he met with but an indifferent Reception from his Father, becauſe he had brought along with him certain ſtrange Seamen, who being Shipwrack'd during the ſame Tempeſt he ſo narrowly eſcap'd, he found upon the Keel of their Ship, caſt upon the Ice-rocks, and receiv'd them into his Ship, and carried them into *Greenland*. *Erick* was diſpleaſed becauſe *Leiffe* had, as he alledg'd, ſhew'd to the Strangers the way to a Country he deſired not to diſcover to all the World: But the generous *Leiffe* knew ſo well how to manage his Father's *Savage* Temper, by repreſenting to him the true duty of Humanity, and of Charity the chief Ornament of Chriſtians, that he began to reliſh his and the Prieſt's Advice, ſent to him by the King of *Norway* with ſuch Succeſs, that he was perſwaded to ſuffer himſelf to be Baptiz'd, as did all the Inhabitants under his Juriſdiction. This is all I could learn concerning *Erick*, his Son *Leiffe*, and thoſe firſt *Norwegian* that Inhabited *Greenland*. The *Iſeland* Chronicle mentions the departure of *Torwald* and of *Erick* his Son from the Harbour of *Jedrem* in *Norway* to have happened under the Reign of *Hakon Jarle*, Sirnamed the *Wealthy*, where this Chronicle begins under the Reign of *Olaus Trugger* King of *Norway*, who Reign'd about the Year of our Lord 982. But the *Daniſh* Chronicle puts it about the Year 770. I have proved to you in my Relation of *Iſeland*, that this Computation is more probable than the Firſt, by a Bull of Pope *Gregory* IV. granted about the Year of our Lord 835, to Biſhop *Anſgarius*, to encourage the Propagation of the Chriſtian Religion in the Northern Countries, and particularly in *Iſeland* and *Greenland*. I will not pretend in this Place to weigh all the Arguments alledged on this head, but will content my ſelf to mention two particulars only, in relation to this Opinion. The firſt is, That the ſame *Daniſh* Chronicle ſays, that the King of *Denmark* being continued Chriſtians during the Reign of the Emperour *Lewis*, *the mild*, *Groenland* was much talk'd of in thoſe Days. The Second is, that Mr. *Gunter* Secretary to the King of *Denmark*, a Perſon of more than ordinary Learning and Ingenuity, and my intimate Friend, has aſſur'd me, that he himſelf ſaw among the Records of the Archbiſhoprick of *Bremen*, an Ancient MS. Chronicle containing a Copy of a Bull, by vertue whereof the Arch-Biſhop of *Bremen*, was conſtituted Metropolitan of all the North, and particularly of *Norway*, and of the Iſlands thereunto belonging, *viz.* thoſe of *Iſeland* and *Groenland*. He had indeed forgot the Date of the Bull, but remembred very well that it was granted before the Year of our Lord 900.

Archbiſhop of Bremen Metropolitan of the North.

The Daniſh Chronicle ſays, that as the Succeſſors of *Erick* increaſed in number in *Greenland*, they ventured deeper into the Country, and met with a fruitful Soil, Meadows, and Rivers in the Valleys between the Mountains. They divided *Greenland* into Eaſt and Weſt *Greenland*, according to the different Situation of the two Boroughs *Oſtreburg* and *Veſtreburg* built by *Erick*. In the Eaſt they laid the Foundation of a Town named *Garde* whither (as the Chronicle tells us) the *Norwegians* tranſported every Year, divers Merchandices, and ſold them to the Inhabitants.

Garde a Town in Greenland.

Their Poſterity went farther in, and built a City, unto which they gave the Name of *Albe*. And as their Zeal increaſed, they built a Monaſtery upon the Sea ſhoar, Dedicated to St. *Thomas*. The City of *Garde* was the Reſidence of their Biſhops, and the Church of St. *Nicholas* (the Patron of Seamen) built in the ſame Town, the Cathedral

Greenland firſt received Chriſtianity.

St. Nicholas Church.

thedral Church of *Greenland*. A Catalogue, together with the Succeſſion of thoſe Biſhops, is to be ſeen in that part of the *Specimen Iſlandicum* of *Angrim Jonas* which treats of *Greenland* from the time of their Settlement there, till the Year 1389. And *Pontan* obſerves in his Hiſtory of *Denmark*, that in the ſame Year 1389, one named *Henry* Biſhop of *Garde* was Preſent at the Aſſembly of the States of *Denmark* held at *Nieuburg* in the Iſle *Funen*, at the entrance of that part of the *Baltick* Sea, commonly call'd the *Great Belt*. As *Greenland* was under the Juriſdiction of the Kings of *Norway* in Temporal Matters, ſo their Biſhops acknowledged the Superiority of the Biſhops of *Drunthen* in *Norway*, in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; and the Biſhops of *Greenland* uſed frequently to croſs the Sea into *Norway* to adviſe with the Biſhops of *Drunthen* about ſuch difficulties, as ſometimes interven'd in points of Religion. *Greenland* was then Governed by the Laws of *Iſeland*, under certain Governours, appointed by the Kings of *Norway*: The Names of whom, with the Actions performed by ſome *Iſeland* Heroes in *Greenland*, you may read in the *Specimen Iſlandicum*, where good *Angrim* their Affectionate Countryman, has remembered them to the beſt Advantage.

Magnus King of Norway, and Erick of Denmark conquer Greenland.

The *Daniſh* Chronicle tells us, That in the Year 1256, *Greenland* revolted and refuſed to pay their Tribute to King *Magnus* of *Norway*; which induced King *Erick* of *Denmark* (at the requeſt of King *Magnus* who had Married his Nicce) to Equip a Fleet againſt them; but they no ſooner ſaw the *Daniſh* Flaggs diſplayed on the Coaſt of *Greenland*, but they were ſeiz'd with ſuch fear that they ſued for Pardon, and deſired Peace. The King of *Denmark* (in reſpect of the love he bore to his Niece, and her Children) wou'd not take any Advantage of the Weakneſs of the King of *Norway*, but left him in full Poſſeſſion of *Greenland*. This Peace was concluded in the Year 1261. *Angrim Jonas* further mentions the names of the three Principal Inhabitants of *Greenland*, who were Inſtrumental in concluding the Treaty of Peace in *Norway*: By virtue thereof, thoſe of *Greenland* were for the time to come to ſwear Fealty, and to pay Tribute to the Kings of *Norway*.

The Chronicle of *Iſeland* being only a Collection of other Stories; has among the reſt a Chapter intituled a Deſcription of *Greenland*, which as it ſeems to relate to its moſt flouriſhing State during the ſettlement of the *Norwegians* there; ſo I will Tranſcribe to you *verbatim* the whole Chapter, as it was interpreted to me from the *Daniſh* Tongue into *French*. But don't require from me either Time or Method in this Relation, for I can warrant neither.

In the moſt Eaſtern part of *Greenland* lies the City of *Skagefiord*, ſeated near an inacceſſible Rock; and further at Sea, a Sand Bank hinders Ships from entring the Road, except at high Water, when if the Wind blows hard, many Whales and other Fiſh come into the Bay, and are taken in great abundance. A little higher toward the Eaſt, there is another Harbour call'd *Funchetsnes*, having borrow'd its name from a certain Page of St. *Olaus* King of *Norway*, who was with ſeveral others Shipwrack'd there. A little higher nearer the *Ice Mountains*, there is an Iſland call'd *Reanſen*, well ſtor'd with all ſorts of wild Beaſts, and particularly wild white Bears, but beyond it nothing is to be ſeen but Ice, both on the Sea and Land ſide. On the Weſtern Coaſt lies the Bay of *Kondelſiord*, Inhabited all along the Shoar. On the Right hand of this Bay ſtands a Church call'd *Korskirk*, i. e. the *Croſs Church*, the Lands whereof reaches to *Petreſiik* near *Vendalebug*; and beyond it a Monaſtery of Monks, Dedicated to St. *Olaus* and St. *Auſtin*. The Juriſdiction of this Monaſtery extends to *Bolton*. Next to *Kindelſiord*, is *Rungelſiord*, where is a Nunnery, and near it ſeveral little Iſlands, having divers Hot Springs of ſuch an exceſſive heat in the Winter, that no Body can indure it, tho in the Summer they are pretty Cool and Temperate; thoſe Waters are very wholſome, and proper for the cure of divers Diſeaſes. A little beyond them is *Eynetsfiord*: Between *Eynetsfiord* and *Rumpesinſiord*, ſtands a Royal Palace call'd *Fos*; and a great Church Dedicated to St. *Nicholas*. Near the Bay of *Eynetsfiord* is the Cape of *Kſining*, and beyond it another Bay call'd *Grantevig*; and beyond that a Houſe named *Daller*, that belongs to the Cathedral of *Greenland*. To this Cathedral appertains all the Country about *Lunesfiord*, and particularly the great Iſland beyond *Eynetsfiord* call'd *Royalſen*, becauſe of the many *Renes* (a kind of Stag, frequent in the North) found there. This Iſland produces a certain Stone call'd *Talgneſtein*, of ſuch ſolidity, as not to be corrupted by Fire, and ſo eaſy to be cut, that drinking Veſſels, Kettles and Vaults containing 10 or 12 Tun are made of it. More toward the Weſt is an Iſland call'd *Langen*, where are eight Farms: This Iſland belong to the Cathedral. Near to the Church of *Eynetsfiord* is a Royal Palace named *Helloſtad*. Not far from it is the Bay of *Erickſiord*; at the Entrance whereof lies an Iſland call'd *Herlingen*, i. e. the *Lord's Iſland*, one half whereof belongs to the Cathedral, the other half to the Church call'd *Diurnes*, the firſt Church you meet with in *Greenland*, as you enter on *Erichsfiorden*. To the Church of *Diurnes* be-

Skagefiord.

Ice.

Eynetsfiord.

Talgneſtein.

Lunesfiord.

Royalſen.

Erickſiord.

Herlingen.

Diurnes.

long-

longs all the Country as far as *Midfiord*, and the whole Tract of Land from *Ericksfiord* to the North East. Near it is *Bondefiord* to the North, where are many Iſlands and good Harbours. The Country is not Inhabited, but altogether Defart between *Oſtrebug* and *Veſtrebug*. Near to this Defart is a Church named *Stroſnes*, formerly the Cathedral, and Reſidence of the Biſhop of *Greenland*. The *Skreglinguers* or *Skreglingres* Inhabit all the Country about *Veſtrebug*. Theſe Defarts produce Horſes, Goats, Oxen, Sheep and all manner of Wild Beaſts, tho' not Inhabited either by Chriſtians or Pagans. The Author of this Account was one *Ivar Ben*, who was a long time Steward of the Biſhop of *Greenland*, and an Eye Witneſs of what he ſays, having been with others employed by the Judge of *Greenland* to ſuppreſs the *Skreglingres*. At their Arrival they found no living Men, but abundance of Cattel, of which they took as much as their Ship could carry. Beyond *Veſtrebug* is a great Rock call'd *Himmelradsfield*; beyond this Rock there is no ſafe Paſſage for Ships, by reaſon of the many Whirlpools on that Coaſt.

Theſe are the Contents of the whole Chapter which I have ſet down here with as much exactneſs as I was able; and as I had neither Map nor any other Hiſtory of *Greenland*, to juſtify or contradict this Account: I have given it you in the ſame manner as I had it; what puzzles me moſt is, what is ſaid of the Church of *Stroſnes*, between *Oſtrebug* and *Veſtrebug*, to have been ever ſince *Greenland* began to be Inhabited, the Cathedral and the Biſhop's Reſidence; there being not the leaſt doubt but that the City of *Garde* has always had that Prerogative. The *Daniſh* Chronicle lamenting the loſs of this Country, aſſures us, that if the City of *Garde*, the Reſidence of the Biſhop, were yet in being, and the Paſſage thither could be recovered, we might from thence be ſupply'd with ſufficient Memoirs for the compiling of a good Hiſtory of *Greenland*. *Arngrim Jonas* a Native of *Iſeland*, ſpeaking of the Reſidence ſays expreſly *Fundata in Borealem* (we muſt read *Garden*) *Epiſcopali Reſidentia in ſinu Eynetſfiord Greenlandiæ Orientalis*. An Epiſcopal See was ſettled in the City of *Garden* in the Bay of *Eynetsfiord*, on the Eaſtern Coaſt of *Greenland*. The Author of that Relation may perhaps have been a good Steward, but has proved himſelf but an indifferent Hiſtorian, having not given us the leaſt Account who were theſe *Skreglingres*, againſt whom he was ſent. I will therefore tell you what Mr. *Wormius*, the moſt curious Perſon that ever I met with in the Affairs of the North, has communicated to me by word of Mouth, and in Writing. They were *Savages*, the Original Natives of *Greenland*, unto whom 'tis probable, the *Norwegians* gave that Name, but for what Reaſon I know not. 'Tis likely they Inhabited the Weſt ſide of the Bay of *Kindelſiord* in *Greenland*; the other being Inhabited by the *Norwegians*: What this Author ſays concerning the *Skreglingres* being in Poſſeſſion of *Veſtrebug* muſt be underſtood of the Weſt-ſide; the Eaſt part being Poſſeſs'd by the *Norwegians*. 'Tis very probable that ſome few of the *Norwegian* Adventurers having paſs'd the other ſide of the Bay of *Kindelſiord*, were worſted by thoſe *Skreglingres*. The Vice-Roy, or Governour of *Greenland* call'd the Judge of *Greenland*, (according to the *Iſeland* Idiom) being reſolved, to revenge this Affront, ſent againſt them a Ship well Equipp'd, and Mann'd with Land Forces, which thoſe *Savages* no ſooner ſaw Approach their ſhoar, but according to their uſual Cuſtom (when they find they are too weak to reſiſt) they fled into the Woods and Rocks. The *Norwegians* finding no living Body upon the Coaſt, Plunder'd the Country, and carried the Booty aboard their Ship. This did induce our Author to tell us, That amongſt the *Skreglingres*, were Horſes, Goats, Oxen, Sheep, &c. but neither Chriſtians nor Pagans.

Mr. *Wormius* is of Opinion, that thoſe *Skreglingres* were not far diſtant from the Gulph of *Davis*, and perhaps were *Americans*, or the Native Inhabitants of *New Greenland*, Diſcover'd by the *Danes*, in the Reign of *Chriſtiern* IV. their King; of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more hereafter: that they lived near the *Old Greenland*, Inhabited by the *Norwegians*, and that they Peopled part of *Veſtrebug*, before ever *Erick* poſſeſſed himſelf of the other Part.

To tell you my Opinion, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould Tranſplant the *Americans* hither; Mr. *Wormius*'s Opinion is more reaſonable; unto which I ſhall add only, that by the ſame reaſon that *Veſtrebug* was Inhabited by the *Natives* of that Country, when the *Norwegians* came thither, *Oſtrebug* had likewiſe its Inhabitants; and as the Eaſtern ſhore was nearer to the *Frozen Sea*, it was leſs Fruitful, and by conſequence more Defart than the Weſtern Coaſt. The *Norwegians* finding leſs reſiſtance on that ſide than on the other, took Poſſeſſion of *Oſtrebug* with leſs reſiſtance than *Veſtrebug*; and according to all the Relations that I have ſeen, they were not ſo reſolute in attempting a Paſſage on the Weſtern Coaſt, but to the North, where they Travelled eight Days together without diſcovering any thing but Snow and Ice in the Valleys. From whence you may

may infer that the Tract of Land, Inhabited by the *Norwegians* in *Greenland* was enclosed between the Southern and Eastern Seas; to the North by unaccessible Ice Mountains, and to the West by the *Skreglingres*, who stop'd their farther Progress on the side of *Vestrebug*. It is also observable, that the *Iseland* Chronicle affirms it for a certain Truth, that the *Norwegians* were possess'd of so small a Tract of Land in *Greenland*, as would not amount to above a third part of a Bishoprick in *Denmark*, notwithstanding their Bishopricks are no larger than those of *France*. The *Danish* Chronicle declares the same, tho' in different Words, *viz.* That the *Norwegians* did not Inhabit the hundredth part of *Greenland*; that it was Inhabited by divers Nations, Govern'd by their peculiar Lords, most of whom were never known to the *Norwegians*.

Greenland *barren.*

The *Iseland* Chronicle speaks variously concerning the Fruitfulness of *Greenland*, according to the different Situations that Compose it. It says in one Place, that there grows the best Wheat in the World, and high and lofty Oaks, which bear Acorns as big as Apples. In another place he tells us, that nothing grows in *Greenland*, because of the cold, and that its Inhabitants know not what Bread is. This agrees with the *Danish* Chronicle, which affirms that when *Erick* first came into this Country, his People were forced to live altogether upon Fish, by reason of the Sterility of the Land. Nevertheless the same *Danish* Chronicle relates, that *Erick*'s Successors, who went farther into the Country, found between certain Mountains, Fruitful Lands, Meadows and Rivers, not discovered by *Erick*. The Contradictions in the *Iseland* Chronicle are not to be regarded, when it declares that nothing grows in *Greenland* because of the cold, the reason it self alledg'd to back this Assertion, rendring it very dubious; it being most certain that That part of *Greenland*, inhabited by the *Norwegians*, was situate under the same degree of Elevation with *Upland*, the most Fruitful Province of *Sweedland*, which produces very good and fine Wheat. Add to this what the same Chronicle observes, in another Place, *viz.* That the cold is not so violent in *Greenland* as in *Norway*: Now 'tis most certain that *Norway* produces very good Wheat; and what I am going to tell you upon this head, would perhaps seem strange to you, if the same was not founded upon the Authority of Creditable Persons, who have informed me that there are certain Places in *Norway*, where they have two Crops within the space of three Months. This must be understood of the Plains betwixt the Rocks, which being continually enlivened by the reverberated Sunbeams against these Rocks, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, become so Fertile, that in six Weeks time they Sow and Reap good Corn. The Soil being so fat and moist there by reason of the great quantity of Snow melted and carried into the Plains from the Mountains, that immediately after they Sow again, and at the end of another six Weeks, never fail of a second Harvest as good as the former.

Norway *wonderfully fruitful.*

'Tis very likely that in *Greenland* as well as other Countries there are, some good and some bad Grounds; some Plains, some Mountains. 'Tis certain it has many Rocks; the *Iseland* Chronicle tells us expressly that it produces Marble of all Colours. And it is agreed on all hands, that their Pasture Grounds are excellent, and maintain abundance of great and small Cattle, many Horses, Hares, Staggs, Renes and other Deer, ordinary Wolves, and Stag Wolves, Foxes, Bears white and black, and if Credit may be given to the *Iselandian* Chronicle, they have taken Castors and Martins also, the Furrs whereof were not inferior to the Martin Sable of *Muscovy*. *Greenland* abounds more in Falcons (white and gray) than any other place in the World. Formerly these Birds used to be sent to the Kings of *Denmark* as Rarities, because of their extraordinary goodness; and the Kings of *Denmark* Presented them frequently to other Kings and Princes, because Falcons and Hawks are not used in *Denmark*, nor in any of the Northern Countries.

Greenland *Beasts.*

The Sea produces great plenty of Fishes all along the Coasts of *Greenland*; as likewise Sea-Wolves, Sea-Dogs, and Sea-Calves, and an incredible number of Whales. I know not whether I ought to reckon the white Bears of *Greenland* amongst the Terrestrial or Marine Creatures; for, as the black Bears never forsake the Land, and live altogether upon Flesh, so white Bears never leave the Sea, and live upon what Fish they catch. They are much larger and wilder than the black. They hunt after the Sea-Wolves and Dogs, who save their Young ones upon the Ice for fear of the Whales. They are greedy after the young Whales, their Flesh being a greater dainty to them than that of any other Fish: They never of their own accord venture into the main Sea when the Ice is melted: 'Tis not but that they can swim, and live in the Water as well as the Fish, but they much dread the Whales pursuing them by the scent, out of a natural Antipathy, and because they devour their Young ones. It happens sometimes that vast Ice shoals are from the North part of *Greenland* driven towards the South, so that the Bears not daring to venture from the

Its fishes.

White Bears.

the Ice are carried along with it, either into *Iſeland* or *Norway*, and being enraged with Hunger

(*Heu male cum ſolis Norwegum erratur in Oris.*)

deſtroy all they meet in their way, whereof they tell you ſtrange Stories in theſe Countries.

Unicorns. *Greenland* has ever yielded plenty of horned Beaſts, call'd Unicorns. In *Denmark* we have frequent opportunity to ſee many of them entire, and ſome pieces of theſe Horns. If you inquire what ſort of Animals bear theſe Horns, I muſt tell you, Sir, that they are horned Creatures, improperly named Unicorns, having nothing common with that ſo much celebrated Horn of the Creature which bears that name, of what nature ſoever it be. And as this name is ambiguous, ſome do yet queſtion, whether the Creatures that have them are Fleſh or Fiſh. You may obſerve, that the Horns of the Unicorns which I ſaw in *Denmark*, (whether whole or in pieces) are of the ſame ſubſtance, faſhion, and vertue, as thoſe ſeen in *France* and elſewhere. That Beautiful entire Horn I have ſometimes ſpoken of to you, in the King of *Denmark*'s Palace at *Friderickſbourg*, is without diſpute bigger than that at St. *Denys*. I confeſs, 'tis not ſo ſtraight, and bends within two or three foot of the point, but for the reſt, 'tis of the ſame colour, ſhape, and weight as that of St. *Denys*; for the pieces of thoſe Horns I have ſeen in divers places at *Copenhagen*, are eſteemed great Preſervatives againſt Poiſon, as thoſe in *Paris*, and elſewhere, are. Now taking it for granted that all thoſe Horns in *Denmark*, are altogether the ſame with thoſe of *France*, and that theſe of *Denmark* are brought thither from *Greenland*, the main queſtion is, What ſort of Animals bear theſe Horns in *Greenland*? Mr. *Wormius* being the firſt who informed me that they are Fiſhes; this occaſion'd a ſmart Diſpute betwixt us at *Chriſtianople*, this Opinion being contradictory to the ſentiments of all the Naturaliſts who have diſcourſed of it, who repreſent the Unicorn as a Terreſtrial four legg'd Creature, which agrees with divers Paſſages of Holy Scripture which cannot be underſtood but of four legg'd Unicorns. Curious and Learned Perſon having had the goodneſs to give me a farther Account thereof in his Letter from *Copenhagen*, I will inſert the Copy thereof here.

SOme years ago, being at Mr. *Friſe* the Lord Chancellor of *Denmark*'s Houſe (the Predeceſſor of Mr. *Thomaſſon*, the Preſent Lord Chancellor) I took an occaſion to complain to that Great Man, of the Negligence and want of Curioſity of our Merchants and Seamen that frequented *Greenland*, in not enquiring into the Nature of thoſe Animals; the Horns whereof they brought in ſuch plenty to us, without giving themſelves the trouble of bringing along with them ſome part of their Fleſh or Skin, for the better Diſcovery of the whole. The Lord Chancellor anſwer'd, They are more Curious than you imagine, and inſtantly ſent for a great piece of a dry'd Skull, with part of that kind of Horn on it, of about four Foot long. Being extreamly rejoyced to ſee me hold in my hands ſo great a Rarity, and could ſcarce ſufficiently feaſt my Eyes with the ſight of it, as not underſtanding at firſt what it was, I intreated my Lord to give me leave to carry it home to my Houſe, to look upon it there at my own leiſure, which he readily granted. I found this *Cranium* or Skull much like that of the Head of a Whale, having two holes on the top, and which Penetrate to the Pallat or Throat: theſe two holes, being doubtleſs the two Paſſages, thro' which this Fiſh ſpouts up the Water it drinks: I took alſo notice, that what they call'd the Horn, proceeded out of the left ſide of its Jaw. I invited the moſt curious and Ingenious of my Auditors, to be Eye Witneſſes of ſo extraordinary a ſight in my Cloſet; and among the reſt ſent for a Painter, who, in the preſence of all the Company drew the Picture of that Skull, with the Horn, as it really was in Figure, and anſwerable to its bigneſs, according to the Original.

My curioſity ſtopt not here, but underſtanding that ſuch another Creature had been taken near and carried into *Iſeland*. I writ to the Biſhop of *Hole*, whoſe name was *Thorlac Schalonius*, and had been formerly my Diſciple at *Copenhagen*, to ſend me the Draught of that Animal, which he did accordingly; and ſent me word at the ſame time, that the *Iſelanders* call'd it *Narhual*, that is, a Whale that feeds upon dead Carcaſſes; for *Hual* ſignifies a Whale, and *Nara* a dead Carcaſs. 'Twas really the Picture of a true Fiſh, like a Whale: I promiſe to ſhew it to you in your Return from *Chriſtianople*, with that of the Skull, I had from my Lord Chancellor *Friſe*.

Narhual, a great Fiſh.

Mr. *Wormius* fail'd not at our return to fulfill his promiſe, and even beyond it; for not ſatisfied to ſhew me the Draughts of thoſe Fiſhes, he led me into his Cloſet, where I ſaw upon a Table the Skull it ſelf of that Animal, which my Lord Chancellor had formerly delivered to him. He had got it, (at his requeſt) from a *Daniſh* Gentleman,

a Kinſman of Monſieur *Friſe*, who being one of his Co-heirs, had got it for his ſhare, and valu'd at 8000 Rixdollers; he had brought it 20 Leagues to *Copenhagen*, to ſhew it to my Lord Embaſſador. I muſt confeſs, that I could not ſufficiently admire ſo exquiſit a piece of curioſity. After he had carried it to my Lord Embaſſador, he was deſirous to look upon it in the ſame Cloſet. His Excellency viewed it with more than ordinary Satisfaction, and intreated Mr. *Wormius* to lend it him, in order to have a draught made of it, which he intended to carry with him to *Paris*. This great Man, who has a great veneration for all vertuoſo's will be glad to ſhew this Draught among his other curioſities he brings along with him from the North. As he has a particular affection for you, and for all thoſe Gentlemen of the famous and ingenious Society of the Library of Monſieur *Bourdelot*; So I am certain, that his Cloſet (which he deſigns to furniſh and accompliſh, if God grants him life) will after his return into *France*, be free for you, and for all thoſe Gentlemen.

Unicorns. There is no doubt, but that the name of Unicorn is Equivocal, and belongs to ſeveral Animals, as to the Onyx and *Indian* Aſs, mentioned by *Ariſtotle*, and to that wild Beaſt, deſcribed by *Pliny* to have the head of a Stagg, the Body of a Horſe, and the Feet ſolid all of a piece like the Elephant; and beſides this of a wonderful ſwiftneſs and ſtrength, being the ſame Unicorn, mention'd in ſeveral places of the Holy Scripture. As to its Swiftneſs, the ſame is repreſented as ſo Marvellous that God will cauſe *Syrion*, (a Mountain of *Libanus*,) to skip as the Foal of an Unicorn, and its ſtrength ſo exalted that the Power of God is compared to it. The ſtrength of God, (ſaith *Moſes*, the leader of the Children of *Iſrael*,) is like that of the Unicorn. Whence it appears that our Unicorns of the North, which we know to be Fiſh, muſt be of a different kind from the Unicorns believed to be in the South or Eaſtern parts of the World, and are without doubt Terreſtrial Animals, when the Prophet *Iſaiah* foretells the *Jews* that God would drive them and their Kings, (whom he names Unicorns) from *Jeruſalem*. The Unicorns, ſaith he, ſhall deſcend with them: this cannot be underſtood but of a Terreſtrial Creature; if the Prophet had ſuppoſed thoſe Unicorns to be Fiſhes, 'tis likely he would have ſaid, they ſhall ſwim, inſtead of, they ſhall deſcend. I will therefore call them, a kind of Sea-Unicorns, as others have done with Sea-Dogs, Sea-Calves, and Sea-Wolves. This name is not new, ſeeing *Bartholine* a *Daniſh* Author, hath inſerted a peculiar Chapter of Sea-Unicorns, in his Treatiſe of Unicorns. Notwithſtanding which, there remains ſtill another difficulty, *viz.* whether theſe Sea-Unicorns (of which we are now ſpeaking) be really Unicorns, and whether that we call their Horns, be truly Horns, or rather their Teeth. The Reſolution of the firſt doubt depends upon the ſecond; for them to be Teeth, thoſe Fiſhes cannot properly be call'd Unicorns, becauſe they have no Horns, and if they be Horns, they are doubtleſs Unicorns, becauſe they have but one Horn. Mr. *Wormius* affirms, that they are Teeth and not Horns. And I find that *Angrim Jonas* calls them *Dentes* in that place of his *Specimen Iſlandicum*, where he ſpeaks of a Biſhop of *Greenland* named *Arnoldus*, being Shipwrack'd as he was ſailing to *Norway*: the Ship being ſhatter'd to pieces by a Storm in the *Iſthmus* to the Weſt of *Iſeland*. This Shipwrack happen'd in the Year 1126. He mentions the ſeveral things taken up out of this Shipwrack: *Reperti ſunt*, ſaith this old Man, *Dentes Balenarum*, &c. There were caſt aſhoar by the Tide precious and rare Teeth of Whales, *Runick* Letters done upon them, with a red Gum, not to be blotted out, that every one of the Seamen at the end of their Voyage might know their own. And 'tis certain, that this *Angrim Jonas* underſtands by theſe precious Teeth of Whales, the ſame which in *Denmark*, they call, and ought to be underſtood of thoſe Horns we attribute to Unicorns, and of which we now treat; what makes me ſuppoſe them to be Teeth and not Horns, is, that *Ariſtotle* lays it down as an undoubted Truth, That all Unicorns, carry their Horns in the middle of their Fore-heads, but theſe Fiſh have that which we name Horns, at the end of their Snout, or under Jaw, or Gums, in the ſame place where Teeth are fixed. That the Horns are growing in the Fore-head *per Symphyſim*, *i. e.* by an Adjunction, or natural Union with the Bore, but the Teeth are ſunk into the Gums *per Gompheſim*, *i. e.* as a Wedge or Nail that enters the ſubſtance. This was plainly to be ſeen in that Skull, Monſieur *Wormius* ſhewed us, which was ſunk into the Jaw near a Foot deep, and ſtretch'd out in length like a Lance, laid flat in the ſame manner as the Fiſh named *Priſtes*, carries its Sythe, and the *Xiphias*, or Sword-fiſh wears its Sword.

Leſſing, Runick Letters.

I have taken notice of a very good reaſon, or rather Obſervation in *Ariſtotle*, concerning the Horn of theſe Unicorns. He ſays, That all the Animals that have two Horns, are Cloven-footed; but all Unicorns have but one ſolid Claw. That Nature had made the ſame Union, and the ſame Con-

junction

junction of Claws in the Feet, as of the Horns in the Head of the Unicorns, as it has made the same division of Claws and Horns in the Feet and Heads of other Animals. From whence it follows, that the only distinction of the Unicorns from the other Animals, consists in the Unity and Solidity of their Claws and Horns, and by the same reason that the Unicorns have their Claws in their Feet as the other Animals, they bear their Horns in the same place of the Head, namely in the Fore-head: And as the other Beasts that have two Horns, carry them on both sides of their Front: they that have but one, have it in the middle of the Fore-head. But as the Fish, we are speaking of, that have neither Claws nor Feet, cannot have any Horns in their Head, we may from hence conclude, that what some suppose their Horns, being fixed deep into their Jaws, and not fastned to their front, cannot properly be said to be Horns, and therefore are to be reckon'd as Teeth.

At first I my self was not of this Opinion, but as I was disputing about it with Monsieur *Wormius*, the great Marshal of *Denmark*, (of whose high Birth, eminent Vertues, and Dignities he possesses next to the King, my Letters have inform'd you before.) This great Person, who has honoured me with his particular Favour, and taken a singular satisfaction to satisfie my curiosity in every thing I could desire, told me in Relation to this matter, something that confirm'd me in my first Opinion, that they were Horns and not Teeth. He acquainted me, that the King of *Denmark*, his Matter, designing to make a Present of a piece of this sort of Horns, that should be extraordinary beautiful and handsome, he ordered him to cause an entire Horn to be sawed near the Root, where 'tis biggest and most beautiful. As soon as he had sawed a little of the Horn, (which he fancied to be solid) he found it hollow within, and what surprised him most, in the same Concavity, another less Horn, of the same figure and substance as the great one. He order'd the great Horn to be sawed round without touching the little one; and found it to be grown in the inside of the great one, about a Foot long within the Concavity, the remainder of the great one being solid. This made me imagine that the Animals which bear those Horns, cast them as the Stags do theirs, that their great Horns fall off, and others come in their stead; and that it was doubtless for this Reason, that so many Horns separated from their Heads, were carried by the Ice Shoals unto the Coast of *Greenland* over *Iseland*: But I was soon convinced to the contrary, when I saw the Skull before mentioned, and observ'd that long Root that was fixed in its Jaw bone, and that the very same thing that the said Minister told me, he had caused to be sawed, was a Tooth and no Horn: That also 'tis possible that Teeth fall, and others grow in their steads in these Fishes, as well as they fall and grow again in Children, and some Persons of a more advanced Age. 'Tis very frequent that such Teeth as fall are put out, and forced away by other new Teeth that begin to appear before the old ones fall away. The like never happens to the Stags, whose Heads after having cast their Horns, remain as bare as if they never had any, until such time as their new Horns grow again.

The Horn of St. Denys.

But for fear so long a Discourse of Horns should seem tedious, I will conclude it with saying something of the pretended Unicorn's Horn of St. *Denys*. I have told you, that it is altogether, and every where like that of *Denmark*. I will add to this, that the *Danes* are of Opinion, (as most certainly it is) that all those kind of Horns found in *Muscovy*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, came originally out of *Denmark*, where this sort of Merchandize was very frequent, whilst there was a Passage between *Norway* and old *Greenland*, and that they constantly crost'd the Seas from one Coast to the other. The *Danes*, who brought them to Sale in Foreign Countries had no reason to declare them to be Fishes Teeth, but sold them for Unicorn's Horns, to sell them at the higher rate; this they have not only practised formerly, but also continue to do it to this day. 'Tis not long since, that the Company of new *Greenland*, at *Copenhagen*, sent one of their Agents into *Muscovy* with several great pieces of these kind of Horns, and amongst the rest, one end of a considerable bigness, to sell it to the Great Duke of *Muscovy*. The Great Duke being extreamly taken with the beauty thereof, he shewed it his Physician, who understanding the matter, told the Great Duke, 'twas nothing but the Tooth of a Fish; so that this Agent returned to *Copenhagen* without selling his Commodity. After his Return; giving an Account of the Success of his Journey, he exclaimed against the Physician who had spoiled his Market by disgracing his Commodities: Thou art a half-headed Fellow, Replied one of the Directors of the Company, (as he told me since) Why didst thou not offer two or three hundred Ducats to the Physician, to perswade him that they were the Horns of Unicorns? You need not doubt, Sir, but that the Horn of St. *Denys*, did come Originally from the same place, and was sold in the same manner.

Fishes Teeth sold for Horns of an Unicorn.

I can't exactly tell you the time since I saw it; but if the remembrance of the Idea that remains in me, deceives me not, 'tis a Tooth like those they shew in *Denmark*; for it has the same Root as the rest, hollow and Worm-eaten at the end like a rotten Tooth; this being granted as it is really True, I will positively affirm it to be a Tooth, fallen out of the Jaw bone of the same Fish known in *Iseland*, by the name of *Narhual*, and that consequently it is no Horn.

But it is time to return into *Greenland*. The Chronicle of *Iseland* tells us, That the Air of *Greenland* is milder and more temperate than in *Norway*: That there is not so much, nor such frequent Snow, neither the cold so excessive: Not but that it freezes very hard, and sometimes they have grievous Tempests; but those violent Frosts and great Storms happen not often, nor do they continue for any considerable time. The *Danish* Chronicle mentions it as a very strange thing, That in the year 1308, they were afflicted with such dreadful Thunders and Lightening in *Greenland*, that a Church named *Skalholt*, was burnt to the ground: That this Thunder and Lightening was followed by such a prodigious Tempest, that it overthrew the tops of several Rocks, which cast out such abundance of Ashes that they fanfied it Rain'd Ashes. This Tempest was succeeded by an excessive cold Winter, the like had never been known in *Greenland*; the Ice continuing a whole year without melting. One time as I was relating this stupendious Rain of Ashes to my Lord Embassador, he inform'd me, that being at *Rochel*, a Sea Captain lately come from the *Canaries*, assured him that lying at Anchor about six Leagues from those Islands, there hapned to fall just such a shower of Ashes, which lay as thick upon the Deck of his Ship, as if it had Snowed very hard. The cause of this sudden accident was attributed to a violent Earthquake, which having shaken the Fiery Mountains in the *Canaries*, the Ashes were by the Wind carried six Leagues into the Sea. 'Tis very probable, That the Ashes cast out from the *Greenland* Rocks, proceeded from the same cause, and that there are in that Country Sulphurous Mountains, and subterraneous Places, which burn like these of the *Canaries* and elsewhere. This may be verified by the Neighbourhood of Mount *Hecla* in *Iseland*, which lies much more Northerly than this Part of *Greenland*, as also by several Instances of other fiery Mountains in *Lapland*, much farther than the *Arctick Circle*: Besides what questionless you may have taken notice of before, in the old Description of that Country, *viz.* That there are Baths there of such an excessive heat, that they are useful only in Winter.

Air of Greenland.

A violent Storm.

A strange shower of Ashes.

The Summer in *Greenland* is always pleasant both Night and Day, if that continual twi-light, that in Summer abides all the Night in the Air may be called Night. As the Days in Winter are very short, the Nights are consequently very long. Besides that, Nature produces there a wonder which I should scarce relate upon my own Credit, had not the *Iseland* Chronicle Recorded the same as a Miracle, and had I not an entire confidence in Monsieur *Rets*, who did Read and Interpret it to me.

In *Greenland* with the beginning of the Night, a certain Light arises either with the New Moon, or just before it, which gives light to all the Country, in the same degree and manner, as if it were full Moon; and the darker the Nights are, the more conspicuous the light appears. It takes its Course towards the North, whence it is call'd the *Northern Light*. It appears like a flying fiery Meteor, streaming along in the Air, as a high and long Palisado. As it moves from one place to another, it leaves behind it a Smoak in those places, through which it had passed; its swiftness being such, that none but such as have seen it are able to imagine it. It lasts all the Night and vanishes with Sun rising. The enquiry into the true cause of this Meteor, I will leave to those who are better versed in Natural Philosophy than my self, whether certain Vapours arising out of the Earth, enflamed by a continual Motion, are not the most probable cause thereof, as we see with the same swiftness those long Fuzees, or fiery Tongues, to kindle, which fall from, or pass thro' the Sky, or in the same manner as the flaming Meteors fly about the Church-yards. I have been told for certain, that this *Northern Light* is plainly seen as far as *Iseland* and *Norway*, when the Air is clear, and the Night not clouded with any Mists: It gives light, not only to the People of this Northern Climate; but also discovers it self in our Parts. Doubtless this Light is the same which I have heard mention'd by the most Learned, and Judicious Philosopher Monsieur *Gassendi*, to have been frequently seen by him and nam'd *Aurora Borealis* or the *Northern Twi-light*. The most remarkable that he ever saw, was that seen all over *France*, *silente Luna*, or at about the New Moon, (for it was but one day old) in the Night betwixt the 12th and 13th of *September*, *Anno* 1621. He has mentioned it only *en passant* in the Life of Monsieur *Peresk*, but describ'd

A strange Light.

Likes in the North.

described it at large, more compleat in his Learned Observations, and at the end of his Exercitations against Doctor *Flud*, whither I refer you, to avoid Prolixity; and to return to my former Relation.

The *Danish* Chronicle says, That in the Year 1271, a violent Wind from the North-east forced such a vast quantity of Ice shoals loaden with Bears and Wood, to the Coast of *Iseland*, that from thence they conjectured that what was discovered in the West of *Greenland*, was only a small part thereof; and that it extended a great way farther to the North-East. This perswaded some Seamen of *Iseland* to venture upon this Discovery, but could meet with nothing but Ice shoals, some Kings of *Norway* and *Denmark* having a long time before the same thought and design in their heads, they had sent thither several Ships, nay some of them went thither in Person; but with no better success than the Seamen of *Iseland*: What had induced them to attempt this Voyage, was either the Fame, or the general received Opinion grounded upon certain Reports that this Country abounded in Veins of Gold and Silver, and Precious Stones. Or perhaps that Passage in *Job* had made some impression upon their Mind, *Gold comes from the North.* Upon which Account I can't forbear to tell you what the same *Danish* Chronicle says upon that Subject, *viz.* That in former times certain Merchants return'd from thence with great Riches. It says also, That in the Reign of St. *Olaus*, King of *Norway*, some Mariners of *Frizeland* undertook that Voyage for the same purpose; but being by violent Tempests forced among the Rocks of this Coast, they were forc'd to shelter themselves in some Creek. He further tells us, that when they adventur'd ashoar, they found not far from the Sea-shoar some ill built Hutts or Cabins half under ground; and about those Cabins, a great many Mineral Stones, glittering like Gold and Silver Ore, which made them resolve to take a good quantity along with them. In effect every one of them having taken as much as they could well carry away, as they were Marching off to their Ships, they saw coming out of these underground Hutts, a good number of ill shap'd and ill look'd Fellows, resembling more the Devils than Men, with their Bows and Slings, and great Dogs at their heels. This oblig'd these Mariners to hasten their pace to preserve both themselves and their Treasure; but one of them loitering behind, had the Misfortune to fall into the hands of those Savages, who tore him immediately in pieces, in the sight of his Companions. This *Danish* Author adds, that this Country is full of Riches, and therefore 'tis commonly said, That Saturn has hid here his Treasures, and Planted a sett of Devils here to guard them.

Dikes in the North.

In the *Iseland* Chronicle, he has a peculiar Chapter intituled, *The Course and Navigation from* Norway *to* Greenland. The Course into *Greenland*, according to the Account given by the most skilful Pilots, born either in *Greenland*, or returned from thence lately, is as followeth. From *Nordlanden Sundmur* in *Norway*, you direct your Course towards the West, till ye come to *Horen-sunt*, on the Eastern side of *Iseland*, is seven days sail. From *Snofuels Jekel*, a Sulphurous Mountain of *Iseland* to *Greenland*, the shortest way is to sail towards the West. Half way between *Iseland* and *Greenland*, lies *Gundebuirne skeer*. This was the old Passage before the Ice from the North rendred this Navigation very dangerous. 'Tis also Recorded, (but in a separate Paragraph) from *Languerics* to *Iseland*, (which is the most Northerly part towards the *Pole*) are eighteen Leagues to *Ostvehorn*, which signifies the *Eastern Horn*. From *Ostvehorn* to *Hualsbredde*, is twice 24 hours sail. I would not have any body to undertake a Voyage into *Greenland*, according to this direction; the same having always been, as far as I was able to learn, very difficult and dangerous; you may perhaps have taken notice of this from what I have said before, of the return of *Leiffe* into *Greenland*, to his Father *Errick*, Sirnamed the *Red hair'd*, from the fore-mentioned Shipwrack of Bishop *Arnold*, and the disasters that befel the Mariners of *Frizeland*. The same *Iseland* Chronicle has another Chapter, Entituled, *A Copy taken out of an old Book call'd*, Speculum Regale, *or*, The Royal Looking-Glass. Concerning the Affairs of *Greenland*, the Contents whereof are plainer than the former. It says, That in former days, three large Sea Monsters of a strange shape, were seen in the Sea of *Greenland*. The first was by the *Norwegians* call'd *Haffstramb*, which appear'd from the Girdle upwards above Water; its Neck, Head, Face, Nose and Mouth, were altogether like those of a Man, only the Head was extraordinary high, and pointed towards the Crown. It had very large Shoulders, and at the extremities thereof two stumps like Arms, but without hands. The Body was but slender towards the middle, and keeping constantly under Water, below the Girdle, none ever saw the whole shape of this Monster. Its Countenance appear'd like Ice, and as often as it was seen above Water, it prov'd the forerunner of violent Storms.

The strait course to Greenland.

Three strange Monsters.

The

The second Monster. The second Monster was call'd *Marguguer*: in shape, (as far as the Girdle) not unlike a Woman, with large Breasts, its Hair hanging down behind, large Hands, at the extreamities of its stumps of Arms with long Fingers join'd together, with a skin like the Feet of Geese. Sometimes this Monster has been seen holding a Fish in its Hands upon which it fed. It always portended an approaching violent Storm: if it dived under Water, with the Face towards the Mariners, 'twas a sign they should not be Shipwrack'd; but if it turn'd its back to them, 'twas an ill omen, foretelling that they should be cast away.

The third Monster. The third Monster was call'd *Hafgierdingger*; being no Monster to speak properly, but three Mountains of Water raised by violent Storms, which occasioned a Whirlpool, that swallow'd up all the Ships that had the Misfortune to light within this Triangular Whirlpool, made by the Position of these Watery Mountains, out of which seldom any escap'd without Shipwracking. This pretended Monster or Whirlpool, was occasioned by the Currents of the Sea, which meeting with turbulent Winds contrary to the Current, used to surprize and swallow up the Ships.

This same Book declares, That in this Sea are great heaps of Ice raised upon one another, appearing at a distance like huge Statues of strange shapes: It advises those that go into *Greenland*, to bend their Course towards the South-west, before they come near the shoar of that Country, by reason of the great quantity of Ice that swims on these Seas, at a great distance from the shoar, even in the Summer. It advises those that happen to be entangled among the great Ice shoals to put in practice what others have done, in such like emergencies, *viz.* to put their Longboat upon the thickest part of these Ice shoals, with all the Provision they have, and to stay there till this Ice carries them to some Land or other, or else it dissolves, when they may save themselves in their Long-boat.

How to escape from the Ice shoals.

Here ends the History of old *Greenland*; but the History of *Denmark* tells us precisely, that in the year 1348, a furious Plague, call'd the *Black Pestilence*, carried away the greatest part of the Inhabitants of the North, and among the rest, the Seamen and Merchants of *Norway* and of *Denmark*, that were Members of the *Greenland* Company in both Kingdoms. And it is observable, That from this time on, the Voyages and Traffick into *Greenland* were discontinued, and began to be lost. Monsieur *Wormius*, as I remember, told me nevertheless, to have read in an old *Danish* Manuscript, that about the year 1484, in the Reign of King *John*, there were in the City of *Bergen* in *Norway*, above 4 Seamen living that sailed every year into *Greenland*, and brought from thence several Commodities of great value: But having refused to sell them to certain *German* Merchants, come on purpose to *Bergen* to buy them, these *Germans* (without discovering their Design) invited those Mariners to a Supper, and destroyed them all in one Night. This Story as 'tis related carries but little probability along with it; there being at that time no such free, and frequent Passage betwixt *Norway* and *Greenland*. The Narrative I am entring upon being most certain that the Trade and Traffick which *Norway* and *Denmark* formerly had with *Greenland*, was then either quite decayed, or totally ruined.

Of the Tributes of Greenland. You must understand Sir, That the Tributes and Customs of *Greenland* were anciently designed and employed to defray the Charges of the Table of the Kings of *Norway*; and that not a Mariner durst sayl into *Greenland* without leave, upon pain of Death. It happened in the year 1389, That *Henry*, Bishop of *Garde*, went over into *Denmark*, to be present, as I told you before. At the Assembly of the States of this Kingdom, then Assembled in *Funen*, in the Reign of Queen *Margaret*, who united the two Crowns of *Norway* and *Denmark*, It happened, about the same time, That certain Merchants of *Norway*, who had crost'd the Seas to *Greenland* without leave, were accused of having Embezzeled the Tributes and Customs belonging to the Queen's Table. The Queen treated those Merchants severely enough, for they had been infallibly hang'd, if they had not taken a strict Oath upon the Holy Bible, that they had been carried over into *Greenland*, not designedly but by a Storm. And that what Merchandises they had brought from thence were purchased with ready Money, without meddling in the least with the Queen's Revenues; they were discharged upon this Oath. However the severe Prohibitions made upon this occasion, together with the danger of the Seas, produced this Fatal effect, that since that time, neither Merchant, nor Mariner durst venture on this Voyage. The Queen, some time after, sent thither some Ships, which were never heard of since, supposed to be cast away, tho' it was never known either how or where, or in what manner they were lost. This put such a consternation among the old Mariners of *Norway*, that none of them could be prevailed upon to venture again upon those Seas. The Queen, being at that time ingaged in a War with *Sweden*, and consequently meeting;

The danger of Adventurers in to Greenland.

The cause of the interruption of the Commerce with Greenland.

meeting no great Account of *Greenland* was not very forward to force them to these Voyages.

The *Danish* Chronicle, unto which I stand indebted for this History, says, That about the same time, *viz.* in the year of our Lord 1406, *Eskild* Bishop of *Drunthem*, in *Norway*, willing to take the same care of *Greenland*, as his Predecessors had done before: sent thither a certain Person named *Andrew*, to succeed in the place of *Henry*, Bishop of *Garde*, in case he was dead, or to send him word if he was alive. But since this *Andrew* took Shipping for *Greenland*, not the least News could be heard of him; and notwithstanding, all the inquiry that could be made, it was impossible to hear the least Tidings, either of him or of Bishop *Henry*. This was the last Bishop that was sent from *Norway* into *Greenland*.

Of the Tributes of Greenland.

The same *Danish* Chronicle gives us a Catalogue of the Names of all the Kings of *Denmark*, since Queen *Margaret*, to the Reign of *Christian* IV. the present King, with an exact Account of what happen'd in reference to the recovery of *Greenland*, in their respective Reigns. It is absolutely requisite, Sir, you should not be ignorant of this Succession, and of the Fatalities or Misfortunes, which have made us lose even the Knowledge of this Renowned Country, which in former days was so well known, inhabited, and frequented by the People of our World.

Queen Margaret of Norway.

Erick of *Pomerania* succeeded to Queen *Margaret*, but as he was a Foreigner newly come into *Denmark*, he never took the Pains as much as to enquire, whether there was such a Country in the World as *Greenland*.

The King of Denmark.

Christopher of *Bavaria* was Crown'd next after *Erick*, but being all the time of his Reign, imployed in a War against the *Vandals*, then inhabiting *Pomerania*, had but little leisure to look after *Greenland*.

The Family of *Oldenbourg*, that now sways the *Danish* Scepter, began to Reign in the year of our Lord 1448. But King *Christian*, the first of that name, and of that Race, instead of bending his Thoughts towards the North, employed them in the South: For going in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, he got from the Pope the Propriety of the Country of *Dithmarsen*, to be annexed to the Crown of *Denmark*, and leave to establish an University at *Copenhagen*.

Christian the IId. succeeded *Christian* the 1st, and solemnly promised at his Coronation, to use his utmost endeavours for the recovery of *Greenland*: But instead of recovering a Country lost by his Predecessors, he was forced to forsake his own Kingdoms. His Cruelties having caused him to be driven out of *Sweden*, which Queen *Margaret* had united with the two Kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark*, and Established'd in these three Kingdoms but one Government. He departed into *Denmark*, with the same furious Spirit that had possessed him in *Sweden*, so that the *Danes*, not able to suffer him any more than the *Swedes*, deposed him. Whence it is, That he is represented amongst the Kings of *Denmark*, with a broken Scepter in his Hand. His Lord Chancellor *Erick Valkanor*, a *Danish* Gentleman, remarkable for his Vertue, Wisdom and Wit, being made Arch-bishop of *Drunthem* after his Master's Disgrace, retired to his Archbishoprick, where he employed his Mind and Skill in the recovery of *Greenland*. He perused all the Books that mention'd it: He examin'd all the Merchants and Mariners of *Norway*, that could in the least be supposed to have any knowledge of it, and caused a Map to be made of the Passage, leading to it. But just as he was upon the point of putting in Execution so laudable a design in the Year 1524, a great Lord of *Norway* pick'd a Quarrel with him, and forc'd him to abandon both his Archbishoprick and the Kingdom, whence he departed to *Rome*, where he died.

The danger of Adventurers into Greenland.

Frederick the 1st. Uncle to K. *Christian*, had took Possession of the Kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Norway*; and because the Faction of *Christian* was not altogether extinct, *Frederick* fearing the Interest of *Valkanor*, caus'd him to be driven out of *Norway*, and annull'd the Charters given to the respective Companies Erected for the Discovery and Recovery of *Greenland*.

Christian the 3d. succeeded *Frederick* who caused the Passage into *Greenland* to be Attempted, but those he sent, return'd without being able to find it out. This oblig'd this King to repeal all the severe Prohibitions and Orders Publish'd by the King's Predecessors, *viz.* That none should sail into *Greenland* without peculiar Licence. Instead whereof, he granted full Liberty to every one that had a mind to go thither with his leave. But the *Norwegians* being in those days so weak in Shipping, and so miserably Poor, were not in a condition to provide Ships for so difficult and dangerous a Voyage.

The cause of the interruption of the Commerce with Greenland.

King *Frederick* the 2d. Inherited with the Kingdom his Father *Christian*'s 3d's Design. He sent a certain Person named *Magnus Heigningson* to discover *Greenland*. If we may rely upon the Author's Credit in reference to this Voyage, there is a Secret and hidden Cause unknown to all the World, that visibly stops and hinders the designs of recovering this Country. For after *Magnus*

King Frederick II. of Denmark, his endeavours to recover Greenland.

Heigningston had wandered and paſſed thro' many difficulties; he diſcovered *Greenland* at a diſtance, but could not come near it, for as ſoon as he had made the Coaſt, his Ship ſtopt immediately, at which being aſtoniſh'd (and not without reaſon) for it was in the Main Sea, in a great depth of Water without any Ice; beſides, the Wind blew freſh and fair, and the Ship was under full Sail. Thus being unable to go forward, he was forced to return to *Denmark*, where he gave an Account of what had happen'd, to the King, whom he told by way of excuſe, that in the bottom of thoſe Seas there are Rocks of Loadſtone, which had ſtop'd his Ship. If he had but known the ſtory of the *Remora*, perhaps he might have alledg'd that as a Pretence, more probable than that of the Loadſtone. This Expedition happen'd in the Year 1588, or thereabouts, when King *Frederick* the 2d. Reigned. Our *Daniſh* Chronicle tracing exactly the Sequel of the time, hath inſerted between the Reigns of King *Chriſtian* and King *Frederick*, a long Narrative of the Voyage of Captain *Martin Forbiſher*, an *Engliſh* Captain, who undertook the diſcovery of *Greenland*, in the Year 1577. As this Narrative gives us a much clearer inſight into the affairs of *Greenland* and of its Inhabitants, than any other now extant, as far as ever I ſaw till this time; ſo I thought it not amiſs to ſend you a Tranſlation of the Matters contain'd therein.

The Voyage of Martin Forbiſher *into* Green-land.

Martin Forbiſher ſet ſail out of *England*, for *Greenland*, in the ſaid Year 1577; he diſcover'd it, but could not land nor come near it that Year, by reaſon of the Night, the Ice and the Winter, which came very ſuddenly upon him in that Voyage. After his Return into *England*, he acquainted Queen *Elizabeth* with what he had ſeen. The Queen upon his Relation, thought to have recovered this unknown Country. She with the firſt beginning of the Spring, gave him three Ships. With theſe *Forbiſher* ſet ſail, and having got ſight of the Land, came to an Anchor on the Eaſt ſide of it. The Inhabitants of the Country where he landed, fled away at the approach of the *Engliſh*, leaving their Houſes to hide themſelves up and down; nay, ſome of them for fear, climb'd up to the top of the ſharpeſt and higheſt Rocks, from whence they caſt themſelves down into the Sea. The *Engliſh*, who could never ſo far prevail upon, or engage theſe Salvages to come near them, enter'd into their forſaken Dwellings, being properly ſpeaking no more than Tents made with ſkins of Sea-Calves or Whales, ſpread upon four great Poles, ſowed together very Artificially with dry'd Nerves. They took Notice that all thoſe Tents had two Entrances, the one on the Weſtern ſide, the other towards the South, whereby they ſheltred themſelves from the Winds that moſt troubled them from the Eaſt and North. In all thoſe dwellings, they found nothing but an old Woman of a frightful look, and a Young Woman big with Child, whom they took away with them, with a little Infant that ſhe held by the hand. As they took them away by force from the old Woman, ſhe howl'd and cried moſt vehemently. From whence they ſailed along the Coaſt towards the Eaſt, and ſaw a Monſter upon the Water as bi[g] Ox, with a Horn at the end of it of a * Yard and a half long, which they ran- * Of the Dutch ſified to be an Unicorn. Thence they ſteer'd their Courſe to the North Eaſt, and diſcovering Land, they caſt Anchor there, the Country thereabouts appearing very Pleaſant to them. And tho' this Place was within the Continent of *Greenland*, they named it *Anaxerick*, that they might keep it under another name. They found this Country much ſubject to Earthquakes, which overthrew great Maſſy Rocks, and rowled them into the Plains, and that there was no abiding there without manifeſt Danger. However they ſtaid there a while, and becauſe they met with a Sand, glittering as if it were intermix'd with Gold Oar; they loaded *Of Gold Sand.* three Hundred Tunns of it in their Veſſels. They did what they could to draw th[e] vages of this Country to a Con[ver]ſe with them, which they ſeem'd not t[o] willing to; for they anſwered by ſigns, to the ſigns the *Engliſh* made to them, giving them to underſtand, that if they would go higher, they would find what they ſought for. *Forbiſher* Anſwered he would, and for *The Sal-* that purpoſe took his Long boat with ſome *vages of* Soldiers, giving order to his three Ships to *Green-* follow. He paſſed along the Coaſt higher *land.* up, and ſaw a great number of thoſe Salvages upon the Rocks, which made him apprehenſive of a ſurpriſe. The Salvages who conducted him along the Coaſt and were aſhoar perceiving his Jealouſy (that they might not fright him by their numbers) cauſed three Men only to appear from behind an Intrenchment, much handſomer and better habited than the reſt. Theſe deſired the *Engliſh* by ſigns and demonſtrations of love to come aſhoar. *Forbiſher* ſeeing no more than three near the ſhoar, the reſt appearing on the Rocks at a diſtance, row'd towards the ſhoar, without the leaſt fear, but ſome that were conceal'd in a Ditch being impatient (when they ſaw *Forbiſher* rowing towards them) of delay, ran in a Croud to meet the *Engliſh*: this made him keep off at a diſtance. However theſe Salvages being not in the leaſt diſcouraged for that reaſon, endeavour'd

The Houſes of Green-land.

deavour'd ſtill to draw to them the *Engliſh*, by caſting a great deal of raw fleſh upon the Coaſt, as if they had Dogs to deal withal. But finding the *Engliſh* to be afraid to Approach them, theſe Salvages contrived another Artifice. They carried a pretended Cripple to the Sea ſhoar, and there leaving him, they departed, and never appeared for ſome time, as if they were gone a great way off, or for good and all. They ſuppoſed that the *Engliſh*, according to the Cuſtom of Strangers, would come and carry away that weak and infirm Man, (who could not eaſily eſcape their hands) to make uſe of him as an Interpreter. But the *Engliſh* ſmelling the Rat, diſcharged a Muſquet at the Cripple, which rous'd him to that degree, that he was glad to run away as faſt as he could ſet his feet to the Ground. Then the Salvages flock'd in vaſt Numbers to the Shoar, and ſending whole Showers of Stones and Arrows out of their Slings and Bows, the *Engliſh* only laugh'd at it, but in lieu thereof, gave them a Volley of ſhot and Cannon Ball that diſpers'd them all in a Moment.

According to this Relation, thoſe Salvages are Treacherous, Wild and ſo Barbarous, as not to be civilized by flattery. They are Circle of Body, and of an Olive Colour; tho' ſome are of Opinion, that there are amongſt them Negro's as well as in *Ethiopia*. Their Cloathing is of Skins of Sea-Dogs ſowed together, with dry Nerves. Their Women walk with their Hair looſe, they call it behind their Ears to ſhow their Faces, Painted with blew and yellow: They wear no Petticoats as our Women do, but many drawers made of Fiſh skins, which they put one over another; each pair of Drawers has its Pockets, where they keep their Knives, Tined, Needles, and ſmall Looking-glaſſes, and other Trifles brought to them by Stranger, or caſt aſhoar by the Tide of the Sea, after Shipwracks, which often happen here. The Shifts of Men and Women are made of the Bowels of great Fiſh ſowed together, with very ſmall Nerves. Both Sexes wear a kind of looſe Garments which they girt with ſtraps of the skins of Fiſh. They ſtink moſt nauſeouſly, are naſty and filthy: Their Tongues ſerve them inſtead of a Napkin or Handkerchief, neither are they aſhamed of what other Men conceal and cover. Amongſt them thoſe are reckon'd the Richeſt who have moſt Bows, Slings, Boats and Oars: their Bows are but ſhort, and their Arrows ſlender, pointed with Bone or ſharp Horn. They are very dexterous in handling their Bows and Slings, and in darting at the fiſh in the Water with their Javelins. Their Boats are covered all over with Skins of Sea-Dogs which hold no more than one Man at a time. Their great Boats are made of Wood faſtened together, with ſtrong Wooden Pegs and Ribbs, and cover'd with Whale's skins ſowed together with very ſtrong Nerves: theſe Boats carry at moſt but twenty Men at one time; their Sayls are of the ſame ſubſtance as their Shifts, *viz.* of the Bowels of Fiſh ſowed together with ſmall Nerves, and tho' there be no Iron in thoſe Ships, they are ſo artificially and ſtrongly join'd together, that they dare adventure in them a great way into the Main Sea, without dreading the moſt violent Storms or Tempeſts. This Country produces no venomous Creatures except Spiders. They have alſo abundance of Gnats, which with their Stings raiſe large Puſtules and Swellings in the Face. They have no freſh Water but what they procure from the diſſolved Snow.

The Author of this Chronicle is of Opinion, that the violent Froſts bind and ſtop the Veins of the Earth to ſuch a degree, as to hinder the Paſſage of all Freſh Water Springs. Their Dogs are of an extraordinary ſize, ſo that they couple them together, and uſe them to draw their Carriages in the ſame manner as other People do with their Horſes.

Here ends this Relation, which whether this *Daniſh* Author has taken out of the *Engliſh* Travels of *Martin Forbiſher*, or whether he has written by hear-ſay, in imitation of thoſe Ancient *Danes*, who made up and Compos'd the Hiſtory of their times according to the Tales that were ſpread abroad in the World, I am not able to determine. But it is time to return to the Kings of *Denmark*.

Chriſtian the Vth. Son of *Frederick* IId. undertook once more the buſineſs of *Greenland*, reſolving to leave no ſtone unturn'd for the diſcovery thereof, notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs his Father and Grandfather had met with in this Attempt: In order to this Deſign, he ſent for a Captain and skilfull Pilot from *England*, both well acquainted with thoſe Seas, and the Courſe they were to take in this Voyage. The Captain and Pilot being arrived in *Denmark*, three ſtout Ships were Equip'd and committed to the Conduct of *Gotſke Lindenau*, a *Daniſh* Gentleman, as Commodore, who ſet ſail from the *Sound* in the beginning of the warm Seaſon, in the Year 1605. Theſe three Ships kept together for ſome time, till the *Engliſh* Captain being come to the Elevation he long'd for, he ſteer'd his Courſe towards the the South Weſt, for fear of the Ice, that he might with the more ſafety and conveniency approach the Coaſt of *Greenland*. The Courſe he took ſeem'd ſuitable to the Ancient

Chriſtian V. *of* Denmark.

His endeavours to recover Greenland.

Gotske Lindenau *ſailing to* Greenland.

Two courſes into Greenland.

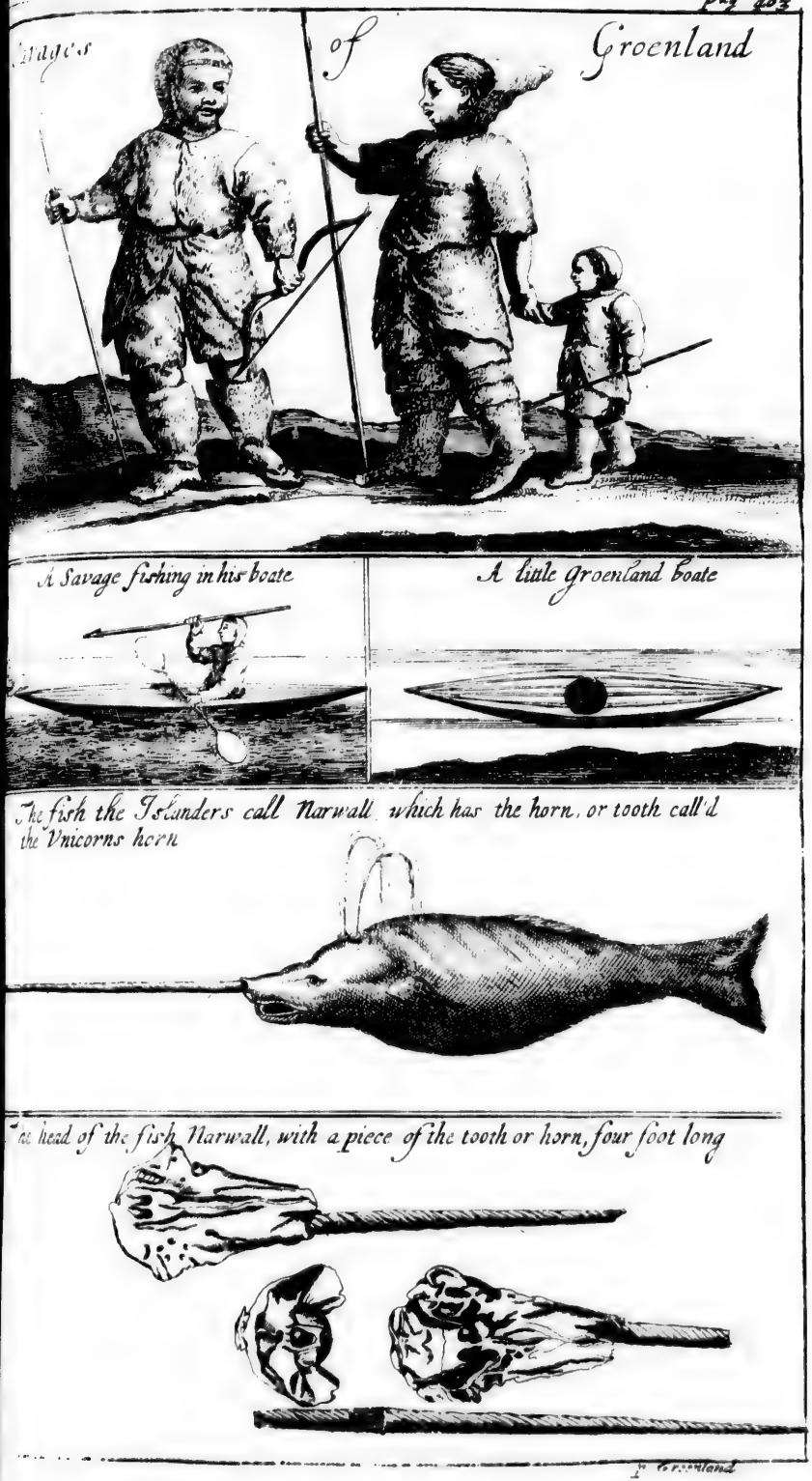
ent Paſſage from *Iſeland* mention'd before. The Relation whereof gives the ſame Directions. The *Daniſh* Commodore judging the *Engliſh* Captain to have taken the wrong Courſe to the South Weſt, ſteer'd his Courſe to the North Eaſt, and arriv'd alone with his Ship in *Greenland*. As ſoon as he caſt Anchor, divers Salvages that had diſcover'd him from the high Shoar, (where they Inhabited) leap'd into their little Boats, and came on board him. He receiv'd them with a great deal of Civility, and Welcom'd them with ſeveral Bumpers of excellent Wine; but theſe Salvages fancying it to be bitter, made very ugly faces at it; but ſeeing ſome Whale Oil, they deſired ſomething of that; accordingly great Pots being fill'd with it, they did drink them off very greedily. Theſe Salvages brought Skins and Furrs, of Foxes, Bears, Sea-Calves, and a great many Horns, which the Author calls Precious, or at leaſt ſome Pieces, Ends and Stumps of them, which they exchanged for Needles, Knives, Lookingglaſſes, Buckles and other ſuch like Trifles, which the *Danes* ſhewed them. They making not the leaſt Account of the Gold and Coined Silver that was offer'd them, but expreſs'd an earneſt deſire for all Steel-Works, a thing moſt in requeſt among them, above all other Commodities. To purchaſe which, they were ready to part with what they eſteem'd moſt precious, *viz.* their Bows, Arrows, Boats and Oars, and when they had nothing elſe to give, they ſtripped themſelves of their Shirts. *Gotske Lindenau* continued three days in this Road, but the Chronicle does not ſay that he Landed here. Doubtleſs he was afraid to venture aſhoar, and to hazard his ſmall number of Men amongſt ſuch Multitudes of Salvages of this Country. He weighed Anchor and departed the 4th day, but before he ſet ſail, detain'd on Board his Veſſel two of thoſe Salvages that were come to Traffick with him, who made ſuch violent efforts to get out of the hands of the *Danes*, that they attempted to leap over Board into the Sea, ſo that they were forced to bind them. Thoſe that remained aſhoar, ſeeing their Companions chained and carried away, made a moſt dreadful noiſe, and ſent whole ſhowers of Arrows and Stones after the *Danes*; but theſe firing a great Gun at them, they were ſoon diſperſed. The Commodore return'd alone with his Ship into *Denmark*.

The *Engliſh* Captain, with his and the other *Daniſh* Ship, arrived in *Greenland*, (as the Chronicle tells us) at the furthermoſt end of the Land, to the Weſt, which could be no other place but *Cape Farewel*: For 'tis moſt certain that he enter'd *Davis*'s Gulph, and ſailed along the Eaſtern Coaſt of that Gulph. He diſcovered a great many good Harbours, a Beautiful Country and large verdent Plains. The Salvages of this part of the Country barter'd with them, as the Salvages of the other part of *Greenland* had done with *Gotske Lindenau*. Theſe indeed ſeem'd to be much more wary, timorous and miſtruſtful than the others, for as ſoon as they had made any exchange of Goods with the *Danes*, they would run and leap into their Boats as if they had ſtolen them, or as if they had been purſued by an Enemy. The *Danes* being very deſirous to Land in one of theſe Harbours, went aſhoar well provided with all ſorts of Weapons. The Country where they ſet foot aſhoar, appear'd to them Pleaſant and Pretty good but Sandy and Stony, like the Grounds in *Norway*. By the Exhalations and Vapours that iſſued out of the Earth, they concluded that there were divers Sulphurous Mines here, eſpecially ſince they found a great many Stones ſuppoſed to belong to the Silver Mines which they carried over into *Denmark*; where out of one hundred weight of theſe Stones, they extracted twenty ſix Ounces of Silver. The *Engliſh* Captain finding ſo many fine Harbours along this Coaſt, gave them *Daniſh* Names, and caus'd a Map to be drawn of them before his departure thence. He alſo ſeiz'd four of thoſe Salvages, the moſt comely they could meet with, one of which was ſo enraged at his Captivity, that the *Danes* finding they could not drag him along with them, they beat out his Brains with the Butt end of their Muſquets, which ſo frighted the other three that they followed them without any further Oppoſition. At the ſame time a Body of Salvages got together, either to revenge the Death of him that was kill'd, or to relieve thoſe that were leading away into Captivity. To effect this, they got betwixt the Sea and the *Danes*, with an intention to engage them before they could reach the Harbour, and prevent their getting on Board. But the *Danes* having ſent a volley of their ſmall ſhot, ſeconded by their Cannon, among them, the Salvages frighted both with the Noiſe and the Fire, fled in great confuſion, ſuffering the *Danes* to Embark without any farther diſturbance, who were no ſooner got on Board, but they weighed Anchor and returned into *Denmark* with the three Salvages, whom they preſented to the King their Maſter, who declared that he thought them much better ſhaped, and leſs barbarous, than thoſe two *Gotske Lindenau* brought along with him, being alſo very different from them in their Habit, Language and Manners.

Silver ſtone.

Davis's Gulph.

The


Savages of Groenland
A Savage fishing in his boate
A little Groenland boate
The fish the Islanders call Narwall which has the horn, or tooth call'd the Vnicorns horn
The head of the fish Narwall, with a piece of the tooth or horn, four foot long

The King's second Adventure into Greenland.

The King of *Denmark* well satisfied with this first Voyage, resolved on a Second. Accordingly the next Year 1606, he sent the same Gentleman *Gotske Lindenau*, with five good Ships into *Greenland*: He set sail from the *Sound* the 8th day of *May*, carrying along with him the three Salvages, the *English* Captain had taken in *Davis*'s Gulph, for to make use of them as his Interpreters. Those poor harmless Creatures express'd an unspeakable Joy when they understood that they were returning back into their own Country. One of them fell sick at Sea, died and was cast over board. *Gotske Lindenau* Steering his Course directly towards *America* (as the *English* Captain had done before) came to the South West point of the Gulph of *Davis* by Cape *Farewel*. One of his five Ships lost her Company in a Mist, but the other four arrived in *Greenland* the 3d of *August*. In the first Road where the *Danes* cast Anchor, the Salvages appear'd in great Numbers near the shoar, but would not Traffick with them, so that as they seem'd to be afraid of the *Danes*, those likewise would not trust them. This obliged them to hoist their Sails, and go up higher to another Place, where they met with a Harbour much more Commodious than the first, but the Inhabitants were as ill humoured as the former; for, being Jealous of the *Danes*, they threatned to fight them if they offer'd to set foot on shoar. The *Danes* not willing to trust these any more than the others, or venture upon a Landing, sailed further; and as they Coasted along the shoar, the Salvages rowed along in their small Boats, and following them at some distance, the *Danes* found a means to surprise at several times, six of these Salvages, whom they carried aboard in their Boats belonging to their Ships. It happen'd that when the *Danes* had cast Anchor at the third Road, a Servant of *Gotske Lindenau*, a bold Fellow, earnestly intreated his Master to suffer him to go alone afhoar, in order to try the Temper of those Salvages, alledging that he hoped either to intice them by the Commodities he would carry along with him, or to save himself by flight if they had any mischievous design against him. The Admiral yielded at last to the importunity of his Servant, but no sooner had he set his foot on shoar, but he was taken, kill'd and torn in pieces by these Salvages, who after this Tragedy withdrew from the shoar, sheltring themselves behind the Hills, beyond the reach of the *Danish* Cannon. The Knives and Swords of these Salvages, are made of the Horns or Teeth of Fishes, commonly call'd Unicorns, sharpen'd with Stones, and are as keen, as if they were of Iron or Steel. *Gotske Lindenau* being convinced that he was not likely to get much advantage by staying in this Country, set sail for *Denmark*, but one of his *Greenland* Prisoners was so much afflicted at his removal from his Native Country, that in despair he cast himself over board into the Sea and was drown'd.

The Salvages of the Danes refuse to Traffick with them.

A bold Adventure to the destruction of the Adventurer.

The *Danes* in their return home, met with the first ship that was separated from them in this Voyage, but did not keep together above five days, when by a most violent Storm they were again separated and scatter'd from one another in such a manner, that they did not meet again till a Month after the storm ceas'd. After much Labour, Hazzard, and a thousand Difficulties they return'd to *Copenhagen* the first day of *October* following.

The third Adventure.

The King of *Denmark* having taken a resolution undertook the third and last Voyage into *Greenland*; he sent two great Ships under the Command of a certain Captain, a Native of *Holstein*, named *Karsten Rickkardsen*, who took into his Service some of the best Mariners of *Norway* and *Iseland*, who being well versed in those Seas, were to serve him as Guides in the dangerous Enterprise. The Chronicle says, this Captain set sail from the *Sound*, the 13th day of *May*, without mentioning the Year, which I could never learn. The 8th day of *June* following, he discovered the tops of the Mountains of *Greenland*, but he could not come near the shoar, by reason of the vast Ice shoals that were settled near to the shoar, and extended a great way into the Sea. The Ice being heap'd upon one another, appear'd at a distance like Mountains or high Rocks. Upon this occasion the Author observes, that some Years the Ice of *Greenland* never melts all the Summer. Thus the Captain of *Holstein*, finding no means to approach the shoar, and being besides this separated by storm from the other Ship, before he came to these vast Ice Mountains, was obliged to return without being able to encompass his design. However the King of *Denmark* was pleased to admit of his Excuses and the difficulties he alledg'd in his behalf. Perhaps you will be curious to know what became of the four first Salvages, and of the five last, the Remnants of all they had taken in the two first Voyages into *Greenland*: I will give you, Sir, a brief Account of them.

Is prevented to approach the shoar by the Ice.

An Account of some Salvages carried from Greenland into Denmark.

The King of *Denmark* appointed certain Persons to take particular care of their food, and to look after them, with this Proviso, however, that they should be at liberty to walk where they pleased. Their food was Milk, Butter, Cheese, raw Flesh, and Fishes, after the same manner as they used to feed in their own Country. It being found impracticable

ſticable to accuſtom them to our Bread, or roaſted or boil'd Meat, much leſs to our Wines; but they ſwallow'd nothing more greedily than great draughts of Oil, or of Whale's Greaſe. They often turn'd their heads towards the North, and by their ſighs expreſs'd the deſire and affection they bore to their Native Country, that after their Keepers were removed, ſome of them who could get to their little Boats and Oars, put off to Sea, with an intention queſtionleſs to croſs the Seas; but being ſurpriſed by a Storm about 10 or 12 Leagues from the *Sound*, were forced upon the ſhoar of *Schonen*, where being taken by the *Peaſants* they were brought back to *Copenhagen*, where they were more ſtrictly guarded by their Keepers afterwards, which put them into ſuch a Melancholy humour, that they pined themſelves to death.

However there being five of theſe Salvages alive, a *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour came into *Denmark*, the King being willing to give the ſaid Miniſter the Divertiſement of ſeeing theſe Salvages to row in their little Canoo's or Boats, tney perform'd the ſame with extraordinary dexterity.

But to give you the beſt Idea I can of the ſhape of theſe Boats, I would have you fancy the *Weaver's* Shuttle, of 10 or 12 foot long, compos'd of large Whale Bones, of the thickneſs of an Inch, or thereabouts, cover'd both within and without, (not unlike the ſticks of an *Umbrello*) with the skins of Sea-Dogs, and Sea-Calves, ſtitched together, with the Nerves of the ſame Creatures.

Their Boats and manner of uſing them.

We muſt alſo ſuppoſe this Engine or Boat to have a round hole on the top, in the middle about the compaſs of both the thighs of a Man; and that it grows narrower and narrower by degrees, at both ends proportionably to its bigneſs, (like our Watermen's Boats upon the *Thames.*) The chief ſtrength and ingenuity of the whole Engine, conſiſting chiefly in the junctures at both ends, where theſe Whale bones are join'd and faſtened together; and in the Opening, Hole, or Circle above, in the Circumference whereof all the Whalebones from the lowermoſt parts meet; the Demi-circle underneath being faſtened to the uppermoſt Circle, or round Hole like a Rundlet, where it opens towards its *Paniers*: It is further to be obſerved, that all the Whalebones underneath and of the ſides of the Boat either paſs thro' or end in this Demi-circle; and that every thing is ſo well join'd together, that what with its light weight, and the good management of the Rower, it will bear againſt the moſt violent Storms at Sea.

The Salvages when they are to make uſe of theſe Boats, get into them by the Hole or Open, at the Top, and ſtretching their Legs towards one or other of theſe two ends, ſtop the overtures left with their Waſtcoats, made of Dog or Sea-Calves skins; theſe they faſten cloſe to their middle, and the Hole wherein they ſit, and cover their heads with certain Bladders or Caps ty'd to the upper part of their Waſtcoats, that let the Weather be never ſo bad, and the Sea never ſo boiſterous; nay tho' they are dip'd ſometimes over head and ears, (which often happens) they are never the worſe for it, no Water entring either thro their Cloaths, or into their Boat. Thus they aways ſwim on the Surface of the Water, and are in leſs danger in Tempeſtuous Weather than a large Ship.

They uſe only one Oar, not above 5 or 6 foot long, and half a foot broad at both ends, which they manage with both hands, graſping it in the middle where it is round.

I did not tell you without very good reaſon, that the ſhape of theſe Boats reſemble a *Weaver's* Shuttle, it being certain that the Shuttle manag'd by the moſt dexterous Workmen, does not go forward with the ſame ſwiftneſs as theſe Boats do upon the Water, by the dexterity of theſe Salvages: The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was extreamly delighted to ſee five of them perform their Task with ſuch incredible ſwiftneſs, and to croſs and paſs by one another with ſo violent a motion, without touching their Oars or Boats.

The King of *Denmark* being curious to try the uttermoſt of their ſtrength, Order'd a Sloop to be Mann'd with 8 pair of Oars, to Row againſt them, but they were ſo nimble, that the Sloop could ſcarce overtake them. The Ambaſſadour was ſo generous as to give a Preſent of Money to every one of theſe Salvages, which they beſtow'd in Cloaths after the *Daniſh* Faſhion: Now ſome of them bought themſelves Boots and Spurs, and Feathers in their Hats, offering to ſerve the King on Horſeback.

But they were ſoon after ſeiz'd with their former Spleneticke fits; all their thoughts being bent upon their Native Country. Two of theſe mention'd before, who got out at Sea, and were caſt upon the ſhoar of *Schonen* being not ſo ſtrictly guarded as the reſt, becauſe no Body believed they would run the ſame hazard again, (after their firſt deliverance) did once more Attempt to row in their Boats croſs the Seas, ſteering their Courſe towards the North; they were purſued as far as the entrance of the *Sound*, but could not be overtaken; ſo that it is probable they were loſt, it being not likely they could reach *Greenland* in their ſmall Boats.

They attempts to return into Greenland.

It

It was generally obſerved, that theſe Salvages would burſt out into Tears, as often as they ſaw a Child on his Mothers or a Nurſes Breaſt; queſtionleſs becauſe they were Married and could not forget their Wives and Children, they had been forced to leave behind them.

Thoſe that remained at *Copenhagen* had a ſtrict Guard put upon them, which ſerved only to encreaſe their deſire to return to their Native Country, becauſe they now deſpaired of ever ſeeing it again.

This had ſuch a Powerful influence upon their Minds, that they all died with vexation, except two who outliv'd their Companions about 10 or 12 Years. The *Danes* did what they could to render their Captivity eaſie, repreſenting to them, that they were, and always ſhould be treated among them like Friends and Country men; which ſeem'd to have ſome influence upon them.

The next thing they did, was to endeavour to inſtruct them in the Chriſtian Faith, but as they could never be brought to learn the *Daniſh* Tongue, and that Faith comes by hearing, it was impoſſible to make them truly ſenſible of the Myſteries of the Chriſtian Religion.

Some People who had taken particular Notice of their Actions, did obſerve them frequently lifting up their Eyes towards Heaven, and to worſhip the Riſing-Sun. One of them died at *Colding* in *Jutland*, being employed in Fiſhing of Pearls in the Water.

For it is obſervable, Sir, that the Muſſels in *Denmark* are ſo full of *Seed Pearls*, (as they call them) that ſcarce any are without them; of theſe Muſſels, vaſt quantities are taken in the River of *Colding*; and ſome among the reſt, which contain very good and round ones: The *Greenland* Salvage having often mention'd, that they had Pearls in his Country, and that he uſed to be employed in fiſhing for them, the Governour of *Colding* took him along with him to his Government, where he gave him ſufficient Employment in the River; the Salvage being an excellent Diver, brought up abundance of the beſt Muſſels, and for the moſt part ſome of that kind, which contained very good Pearls; The Governour was ſo pleaſed at this Succeſs, that imagining no otherwiſe, but that in a little time he ſhould be able to ſell his Pearls by the Buſhel, he made this Poor Salvage dive continually for Pearls (notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Winter Seaſon) to ſuch a degree, that at the laſt the cold kill'd him.

His Companion now become inconſolable by his Death, made ſhift to get into one of their little Boats, and taking the opportunity of the next fair day, croſs'd the Seas to the oppoſite ſhoar of the *Sound*, before any body had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his flight; however he was purſued and overtaken, but not before he was got betwixt 30 and 40 Leagues at Sea. Being given to underſtand by certain ſigns, that he muſt have been infallibly ſwallow'd up by the Waves of the Sea, before he could reach the *Greenland* ſhoar; he anſwered by ſigns, that his intention was to keep along the Coaſt of *Norway*, to a certain light, from whence he would have croſs'd over to *Greenland*, by the direction of the Stars. After his return to *Copenhagen*, he died for grief. This was the end of the unhappy *Greenlanders*.

They were much the ſame, as I formerly deſcribed to you the *Laplanders*, of a low ſtature and broad ſhoulder'd, *forti pectore & armis*, ſtrong limb'd, flat Noſed, with large thick Lips. The remnants of their Boats, Oars, Bows, Arrows, Slings and Garments, are to be ſeen to this day in *Denmark*. I had the opportunity of ſeeing two of their Boats with their Oars at *Copenhagen*, one at Mr. *Wormius*'s, and the other at the Landlord's of our Ambaſſadour. The ſaid Mr. *Wormius* has alſo ſome of their Garments made of Dogs and Sea-Calves skins, ſome of their ſhirts made of the guts of Fiſhes, one of their Veſts made of the skin of a Bird, with the feathers on it of various colours; as alſo their Bows, Arrows, Slings, Knives, Hangers, and their Javelins or Darts, which they uſe in Fiſhing, pointed at the extremities (as well as their Arrows) with Horns, or Teeth ſharpened at the Points. I alſo ſaw here a *Greenland* Almanack, compos'd of 25 or 30 ſmall Canes or Reeds, faſtened to a piece of a ſheep-skin, but the Uſe thereof was known to no-body but the *Greenlanders* themſelves.

The Kings of *Denmark* being quite diſcouraged by ſo many diſappointments in theſe Voyages, ſome Merchants of *Copenhagen* entred into a Society with ſome Perſons of Quality (known to this day by the name of the *Greenland Company*) in order to Proſecute the ſame deſign. This Company ſent in 1636, two Ships to the Gulph of *Davis*, where they came to an Anchor near the ſhoar, which ſurrounds that Bay. They had not been there long, before they ſaw eight Salvages of the Country coming towards them in their ſmall Canoos or Boats; coming aboard, the *Danes* laid out their Knives, Looking-glaſſes, Needles and ſuch like Trifles, and the Salvages their Furr and Dog skins, and Sea-Calves skins; beſides a conſiderable quantity of what they call the Unicorns Horns.

The Daniſh Greenland Company.

Whilſt

Whilſt they were buſy in exchanging theſe Commodities, a Cannon aboard one of theſe Ships happened to be diſcharged at the drinking of a Health; the ſudden noiſe whereof put theſe poor Wretches into ſuch a conſternation, that they run over-board into their Boats, and ſo put to Sea, with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that they could ſcarce well perceive them, till about 200 or 300 Paces from the Ship. The *Danes* ſurpriſed at their unaccountable fear, gave a ſignal to theſe Salvages to return, which they did, as ſoon as they ſaw the fire and ſmoak quite gone. Their manner of Traffick is thus: Having choſen what Commodities they like beſt, they put them together in one bundle; this done, they put in another bundle what Commodities they are willing to exchange for them; and thus adding or diminiſhing till both Parties are ſatisfied, the bargain is ſtruck at laſt.

Much about the ſame time that the *Danes* were buſie in exchanging their Commodities with thoſe of the Salvages, they ſaw one of theſe *Marine Unicorns* lying upon the ſhoar, where being caſt by the Tides, it was left wallowing upon the Sands. As it is generally reported of theſe Sea-Calves, that they love to feed upon Graſs; ſo it is likely that theſe Fiſhes (which may well be call'd Sea-Oxen) take delight to come now and then aſhoar.

The Salvages had no ſooner diſcovered the Prey, but they attack'd and kill'd the Fiſh, and after they had beaten his Horn or Teeth into ſeveral Pieces, carried them aboard immediately and ſold them to the *Danes*. This Fiſh which appears ſo defenceleſs aſhoar, is very fierce at Sea, being the ſame thing at Sea to the Whale, that the Rhinoceros is to the Elephant among the Terreſtrial Beaſts; for he will engage the Whale, and run his Tooth into his ſides. Some affirm, that they are of ſuch ſtrength as to be able to ſplit a Veſſel at Sea, if they run their Teeth againſt it, and that ſeveral Ships have been ſunk by them.

However this Traffick was not the main Reaſon that had induced the *Danes* to beſtow ſuch vaſt Charges upon thoſe Voyages: The Pilot it ſeems, who was the chief Conductor of theſe Ships, had formerly taken notice of a certain Tract near the Sea ſhoar on that Coaſt, the Sand whereof had both the Colour and full Weight of Gold Oar, he thought it beſt to improve this opportunity, he gather'd as much of it, as the Ship aboard of which he was, could well carry, and ſo ſet ſail for *Denmark*, telling the Ships Crew that they were all Rich enough, if they could come ſafely thither.

The *Great Marſhal of Denmark*, who was Governour and the firſt Eſtabliſher of this Company, being ſurpriſed at their ſudden return, the Pilot told him, that his Ship being loaden with Gold, they had done their Buſineſs beyond expectation. But the *Great Marſhal* being a Perſon not eaſily to be impos'd upon, he ſent ſome of this Sand, to the Gold-ſmiths of *Copenhagen*, who not being able to bring as much as one ſingle grain of Gold out of it, the Grand Marſhal was ſo enraged at the folly of the Pilot, that, to give all Poſſible demonſtrations that could be to the reſt of the Company, that he had not the leaſt hand in ſo groſs a Miſcarriage, he commanded the Pilot immediately to weigh Anchor and to throw the whole charge of his pretended Gold Oar into the *Baltick* Sea: The Pilot was forced to obey, but finding himſelf at once deſpoiled of all his hopes, died ſoon after, as it is ſuppoſed, for grief.

However the Great Marſhal had ſufficient occaſion afterwards to repent of this raſh reſolution; for (as he told me himſelf) not long after, ſuch another Gold Duſt or Sand being found in the Mines of *Norway*, an Aſſaymaſter, who was lately ſettled at *Copenhagen*, found means to ſeparate a conſiderable quantity of Gold, in proportion of the Oar, ſo that the *Danes* in all probability, loſt a great Treaſure by the ignorance of the other Goldſmiths (in whoſe skill they confided) who perhaps would not have drawn any Gold ever out of the Oar of *Peru*.

This was the laſt Voyage undertaken by the *Danes* for the Diſcovery of *Greenland*, in this Voyage they brought along with them, that great piece of an Unicorn's horn, which, as we told you before, the Great Duke of *Muſcovy*'s Phyſician diſcover'd to be the Tooth of a Fiſh; which the Maſter of the Houſe, where the Ambaſſadour Lodged, and who belong'd to the *Greenland* Company, ſhew'd us, being valued at 6000 Rix-dollars.

The *Daniſh* Ship at the time of their departure from the *Greenland* Coaſt, ſeized two of the Salvages of that Country aboard them, in order to carry them to *Denmark*: After they were come into the Main Sea; they looſened theſe poor Wretches of their Bonds, who guided by a violent deſire after their Native Country, laid hold of the firſt opportunity, and throwing themſelves over-board, did endeavour to reach that Shoar by ſwimming, tho queſtionleſs they were devoured by the Waves, they being too great a diſtance from it.

I have hitherto given you an Account of what I was able to learn, as well of the *Old* as the *New Greenland*, the firſt Inhabited by the *Norwegians*, the ſecond diſcover'd

by

by the *Norwegians*, *Danes* and *Engliſh*, whilſt they were endeavouring to recover the Paſſage in the firſt. 'Tis very probable that the Paſſage between the *Old Greenland* and *Iſeland*, has been ſtop'd up by the vaſt Ice ſhoals forced thither during the extremity of the Winter Seaſon; and by the ſtrong North-Eaſt Winds from the *Frozen Sea*, and gathered into vaſt Ice Mountains in theſe Streights; whereby the free Paſſage for Ships being quite interrupted, thoſe Mariners who were ſent in queſt after the Recovery of *Old Greenland*, were forced to ſteer their Courſe towards the *Cape Farwel*, and the *Gulph of Davys*, lying to the Eaſt, being that part of the Country now known by the name of *New Greenland*; it being certain by ſo many reiterated tryals and experiments, that the Paſſage betwixt *Iſeland* and the *Old Greenland*, has been quite loſt, which muſt be attributed to its being ſtopped up by the Ice Mountains.

The *Iſeland* Chronicle in that Chapter which treats of the Old Paſſage, mentions ſomething which ſeems much to confirm the Truth of this aſſertion, *viz.* That half ways betwixt *Iſeland* and *Old Greenland*, there were a conſiderable Number of ſmall Rocky Iſles, frequented only by Bears; betwixt which, it is likely, theſe Ice ſhoals might be forced in betwixt thoſe Rocks, with ſuch violence, and in ſuch vaſt heaps, that the Sun being not ſtrong enough to melt them in the Summer Seaſon; they became in proceſs of time to be petrefied, and conſequently ſtop'd up the whole Paſſage into the *Old Greenland*; ſo that ever ſince there has not been the leaſt News heard of the Poſterity of thoſe *Norwegians* that ſettled there.

'Tis not unlikely, that the ſame Plague which raged in 1348, all over the North, being tranſplanted out of *Norway* into *Greenland*, did ſweep away moſt of their Inhabitants, as it happened in divers other Countries of the North. I am apt to perſwade my ſelf, that *Gorske Lindenau*, who as I told you, ſteer'd his Courſe to the North-Eaſt, in his firſt Voyage, did either actually come to the ſhoar of the *Old Greenland*, or at leaſt very near it; and that the two Salvages he took in thoſe Parts, were actually of the Poſterity of the Ancient *Norwegians*, that ſettled in *Old Greenland*.

On the other hand, I have heard it affirm'd by very conſiderable Perſons, who ſaw and converſed with them at *Copenhagen*; that neither theſe, nor the other Salvages, brought from the Gulph of *Davys* (tho' much different both in their Manners and Language) had nothing either in their Language or Manners, that had the leaſt Relation either with *Denmark* or *Norway*; nay, that the Language of thoſe Salvages was ſo far from having any Congruity with that of the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, that even they could not as much as underſtand one word they ſaid.

The *Daniſh* Chronicle takes particular notice, that the three Salvages brought from the Gulph of *Davys* by the *Engliſh* Pilot, ſpoke ſo faſt and thick, that one could not hear them ſpeak diſtinctly, except theſe words, *Oxa indecha*; the ſignification of which words, no body has been able to underſtand hitherto. 'Tis beyond all diſpute, that That part of *Greenland*, known by the name of the *Old Greenland*, is only a ſlender part of that vaſt Tract of Northern Land, ſo often mentioned in this Treatiſe, and, that the ſhoar is oppoſite and neareſt to *Iſeland*, as alſo that the *Norwegians*, who ſettled there, did not advance very far into the Country, no more than thoſe, who ſince that time have diſcover'd the *New Greenland*, did never advance farther than to the Ports, and upon the ſhoar; the moſt of them (as we told you before) not daring as much as to venture to ſet foot aſhoar.

I had it from the Lord Great Marſhal of *Denmark*'s own Mouth, that in the laſt Voyage made thither by the *Danes* in 1636, they by certain ſigns enquired of the *Greenlanders*, who came to Traffick with them, whether there lived another People like themſelves, beyond the Mountains, they ſaw about 10 or 12 Leagues diſtant from the Sea ſide; whereupon the Salvages did give them to underſtand by certain ſigns, that there actually lived other Men, having no hair upon their heads, on the other ſide of thoſe Mountains, That they were of a Gyantick Stature, with vaſt Bows and Arrows, killing all ſtrangers that came into their Country. But no real certainty can be given of theſe People, no more than of the Country they Inhabit; both the Ancient and Modern Hiſtories being ſilent in this Point; the only thing we are certain of, is, That *Greenland* is without Compariſon of a much larger extent, than has been hitherto diſcovered by the *Norwegians*, *Danes* and *Engliſh*.

I was willing to enlarge my ſelf the more upon this Subject, in order to the repreſenting to you, two other things: (1.) That it is not very certain, whether *Greenland* is coherent with the Continent of *Aſia*, near the *Grand Tartary*; (2.) No more, than whether it be contiguous to *America*. Concerning the firſt, I can tell you, that the vaſt Ice Mountains near *Nova Zembla*, have hitherto ſo infeſted the Paſſage thereabouts, that no body has been able to determine, whe-

ther there be a Paſſage that way into the Sea of the Eaſt; For tho' the moſt skilfull Pilots and Mariners have been employed in finding it out, they could never come beyond the Cape of *Spitzbergen*, accounted by the *Danes* a part of *Greenland*, whereabouts they catch moſt of the Whales, Tranſported afterwards into *Europe*: The *Dutch* here have their Hutts for the management of their Trade, and with other Nations, ſend thither Ships every Year.

I can't upon this occaſion forbear to give you an Account of what I had the Honour to learn from the *Grand Marſhal of Denmark*'s own Mouth, concerning this part of *Greenland*, and the adjacent Sea: Nay, ſuch was his Generoſity, that not ſatisfied to have told it me by way of Mouth, he would give himſelf the trouble of writing it in a Letter to me, which I carefully preſerve as a glorious Proof of his generoſity and favour towards me, in hopes of meeting before long, with a favourable opportunity of ſhowing the ſame to you. But what do I ſay of ſhowing you his Letter, when there is ſo great a Proſpect, that you may ſuddenly ſee his Excellency in Perſon; it being at preſent reported here at the *Hague*, as a thing unqueſtionable, that this great Perſon, with the Counteſs *Eleonor* his Spouſe, the Daughter of the King of *Denmark*, are gone lately from *Copenhagen* to *France*, where this great Perſonage is to reſide with the Character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary, from his Majeſty of *Denmark*: This is the ſame great Perſon, of whoſe moſt excellent qualifications, I have ſent ſuch ample Praiſes to our dear Friend Mr. *Burdelot*, when I gave him an Account of that Famous Interview betwixt the two Plenipotentaries of *Sweden* and *Denmark* at the Bridge of *Brensbroe* on Account of a Negotiation of Peace, betwixt the two Northern Crowns; which was at laſt happily concluded by the interceſſion, and indefatigable Care of my Lord Ambaſſador from our moſt Illuſtrious King: This Interview was one of the moſt Glorious that had been ſeen for a long time, where the two Greateſt Men of the two Northern Crowns, *viz.* the *Grand Marſhal of Denmark*, and the Lord Chancellor of *Sweden*, did meet one another with an unexpreſſible Veneration, and all the marks of a moſt generous Courage; and our Ambaſſadour had there the Honour to Eſtabliſh a moſt intimate Friendſhip between thoſe two great Perſonages.

Of the Lord Chancellor of *Sweden*, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak upon another occaſion, and it is beyond my preſent purpoſe to enter upon a Panegyrick of the *Grand Marſhal of Denmark*, ſo I will only aſſure you, that whenever you ſhall have the opportunity of ſeeing this Great Miniſter, you will be ſatisfied both in reſpect of his extraordinary Courage and refined Wit, and by his noble Preſence, that he not only deſerves the Honour of managing all the Affairs of Moment in the North, but alſo of a far greater Empire.

Add to theſe his Hiſtorical Vertues, that he is a compleat Philoſopher who diſdains all Pomp and Vanities, but in lieu hereof is endowed with the moſt generous Inclinations in the World, which renders his Converſation the moſt agreeable in the Univerſe. This great Perſon had in his Service among many others, a certain *Spaniſh* Gentleman named *Leonin*, who being a great Naturaliſt he ſent him to *Spitzbergen*, in order to give him an account of what obſervations he could make there; whereof I will give a brief Account.

This Country is ſituate under the 78 degree of Elevation, and not improperly call'd *Spitzbergen*, i. e. *peaked Mountains*, from thoſe peaked Mountains wherewith it is covered. Theſe Mountains are a Mixture of Sand or rather Gravel, and ſmall flat Stones joined pretty cloſe together, not unlike that which we commonly call the grey *Ardoiſe ſtone*. The Mountains increaſe in Bulk every Year, ſo as to be plainly diſcovered by thoſe who ſail that way; *Leonin* went aſhoar, as deep into the Country as he durſt venture, and found the whole Country, as far as his Eyeſight could carry, all covered with theſe *peaked Hills*; and met with no living Creature except ſome few Foxes; he was not a little ſurpriſed to diſcover upon one of theſe Hills, about a League from the Sea ſide, a ſmall Maſt of a Ship, with one of its Pulleys ſtill faſtened to it; this made him ask the Seamen how that Maſt came there, who told him they were not able to tell, but were ſure they had ſeen it as long as they had uſed that Coaſt. Perhaps formerly the Sea might either cover or come near this Mountain, where ſome Ship or other being ſtranded, this Maſt is ſome remnant of that Wrack.

A deſcription of Spitzbergen.

They have ſome Graſs, but ſo ſhort, that it is ſcarce to be ſeen above Ground, or beyond the Stones; for to ſpeak properly, here is ſcarce any Earth, but only ſmall Stones or Gravel, betwixt which comes forth a ſort of Moſs, like that which grows upon the Barks of Trees; in other parts of

of the Northern Climate, which ſerves for food for the Reendeer, and is ſo nouriſhing to them, that they become abſolutely fat by it; and I remember that the Grand Marſhal had once one of theſe Creatures kill'd, which had at leaſt four Inches of fat.

This Country is a Deſart, and not Habitable, by reaſon of the exceſſive Cold, for tho' the Sun does not ſett here for four whole Months in the Year; and that for 6 Weeks more, it does not go below the Horizon above 3 Ells: To ſpeak after the *Danes*, who ſeem to have taken their menſuration of the Heaven from *Virgil*; meaning that at Midnight (if you may ſo call it) the Sun does approach only within 11 degrees and half of the Horizon in this Country for the ſpace of 6 Weeks: As the Cold is very fierce here, ſo the Sunbeams are very bright and piercing, and conſequently this ſubtilty of the Air, encreaſes the effects of the Cold.

There is no living near theſe Mountains, which ſcarce having any ſolidity, they conſtantly ſend forth certain exhalations, which pierce the whole Body in a very little time; To prevent which, the beſt remedy is to expoſe your ſelf to the Sunbeams in a Place where they may ſurround you on all ſides without any obſtacle.

They have great quantities of Bears in this Country; they are all white, ſome living in the Water, others upon the ſhoar. They are commonly ſeen ſwimming a good way out at Sea, or elſe upon the great Ice ſhoals. The *Grand Marſhal* had cauſed ſeveral of theſe Creatures to be taken alive, which he kept at *Copenhagen*; and when he had amind to ſhew ſome ſport to his acquaintance, they uſed to take a walk along the Sea ſhoar, and in ſome Sandy but deep place where the Water was very clear, cauſe theſe Bears to be thrown into the Water, where they could ſee them dive quite to the bottom; he told me, that it was one of the beſt Diverſions in the World, to ſee thoſe Creatures plunge themſelves down to the bottom of the Sea, and to ſport there for two or 3 Hours ſucceſſively; nay, he believed they would have continued there for a whole day, had they not been drawn out by the Ropes and Chains that were faſtened round their Bodies.

Whales of Spitzbergen. The Sea of *Spitzbergen* produces abundance of Whales of ſuch a bigneſs, that ſome taken hereabouts have been found to be no leſs than 200 foot long, and of a proportionable bigneſs in the Circumference of their Bodies. But they frequently take thoſe of 130 and 160 foot long. Theſe vaſt Creatures have no Teeth, and within theſe vaſt Bodies, they ſeldom find, any thing, except 10 or 12 handsfull of a kind of ſmall black Spiders, progenerated by the corrupted Air of the Sea, and ſome ſmall quantity of green Herbs tore up from the bottom of the Sea; it is moſt probable that theſe Whales don't live upon theſe Spiders, neither upon theſe Herbs, but upon the Sea, which produces both; the Sea hereabouts being ſo covered with theſe Inſects, that it appears quite black, an infallible ſign to thoſe who go about catching of Whales, that they are likely to make a good booty; the Whales generally delight in that part of the Sea, which produces theſe Inſects.

Sometimes they take of theſe Whales in ſo vaſt numbers, and in ſo prodigious a bigneſs, that the Ships are not ſufficient to carry all the Lard, but are forced to leave part of it behind them, in order to carry it away the next Year.

It is obſervable that never any thing corrupts or putrifies in this Country; even the dead Carcaſſes buried 30 Years before, appear as entire and as well coloured, as they did at the ſame Moment they gave up the Ghoſt.

Here are certain Hutts erected a long time ago, for the conveniency of boiling the Whale Oil or Greeſe; theſe appear the ſelf-ſame, without the leaſt alteration, now, as they did from the beginning, when they were built, the Wood being as firm and as freſh, as it was the day it was cut from the Tree. To ſpeak the truth of theſe Northern Parts, the dead fare better here than the living; for if the firſt don't Corrupt the living don't keep long in Health; witneſs poor *Leonin* (before mentioned) who returned from this Voyage ſo cramp'd with Cold, that he lived not long after.

All the Birds you meet with here, are Water-birds, there being not one kind of them living upon Land. They have Ducks in great abundance, beſides divers other ſorts of Water-fowl not known to Strangers. The *Grand Marſhal of Denmark* has ſeveral of them by him ſtuffed out, it being impoſſible to bring them to *Copenhagen* alive. Their Feathers and Beaks, are not unlike thoſe of the *Paroquets*, and their Feet are like thoſe of the *Ducks*. Thoſe that have taken them, aſſure us, that they ſing very deliciouſly, eſpecially when many of them ſing together, they make a moſt harmonious noiſe.

Thoſe that ſail to *Spitzbergen* to catch Whales, arrive there in the Month of *July*, and

and return from thence in *August*. If they come before *July*, they can't Approach the Shoar, by reason of the vaſt Ice ſhoals, and for the ſame reaſon they muſt not venture to ſtay longer than about the middle of *Auguſt* at fartheſt; for nothing is more frequent than to ſee vaſt Ice ſhoals in theſe Seas, ſometimes 60, 70, or 80 Fathoms thick.

Quæ tantum vertice ad auras Æreas,
Quantum radice ad Tartara tendunt.

For in certain places near this ſhoar, the Ice ſhoals are ſo thick, that they reach the bottom of the Sea, and theſe encreaſing by degrees, by the occaſion of new Ice ſhoals, ariſe as high above the Surface of the Water, as they are deep below it. Theſe Ice ſhoals are as bright and tranſparent as Glaſs: What renders the Navigation hereabouts moſt dangerous, is, the uncertainty of the Currents, occaſioned, as I ſuppoſe, by the ſudden melting of the Ice, which ſometimes congeals and melts in different Places, at no great diſtance, at the ſame time.

Uncertainty about Greenland whether a Continent or Iſle.

It ought therefore not to ſeem ſtrange to you, if I am not able to reſolve abſolutely the firſt Propoſition, *viz.* whether *Greenland* is coherent to the Continent of *Aſia*, and the *Grand Tartary* or not; by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance there is between us and the *Frozen Sea*; the uncertainty of the melting of the Ice, the violence of the Tempeſts that reign frequently near theſe Coaſts, the uncertainty of the true Courſe to be taken, the Deſarts you meet with there, and what is worſt, the want of all manner of Subſiſtence and Conveniencies in theſe Deſarts. all theſe taken together, are ſuch inſurmountable obſtacles, as render this Diſcovery paſt all hopes of Succeſs: The ſecond Propoſition being involved in no leſs difficulties than the firſt; we can with no more certainty affirm of this, than of the former, whether *Greenland* joins with the Continent of *America* or not.

Of this I can give you not a more convincing Proof, than what I intended to oblige you with, *viz.* The Account of a Voyage made by a *Daniſh* Captain named *John Munck*, (which I promiſed you long ago) who attempted the Diſcovery of the *Eaſtern Paſſage*, towards the North-Weſt, betwixt *Greenland* and *America*; the ſame being not in the leaſt Foreign to my preſent purpoſe; for beſides that it contains no ſmall varieties, it has a particular relation to *Greenland* and the adjacent Iſles.

Munck's Voyage to diſcover a Paſſage between Greenland and America.

The King of *Denmark* (that now Reigns) being prevailed upon to encourage by his Authority, the Diſcovery of a Paſſage to the *Eaſt Indies*, thro' a ſuppoſed Streight betwixt *Greenland* and *America*, engaged one Captain *Munck* to undertake this Voyage. A certain *Engliſh* Captain named *Hudſon*, had ſome time before attempted the Diſcovery of this Sea and Streights with the ſame deſign, but was loſt in the Voyage tho' no body knows how; it is likely that his boldneſs, having ſome relation to the Preſumption of *Icarus*, his Wings were rendered uſeleſs by the Cold, as the others were by the heat of the Sun, and ſo met with the ſame Fate of Periſhing in the Sea; which like that of *Icarus* got from him the name of *Hudſon's Streights* and *Hudſon's Bay*.

Captain *Munck* ſet ſail from the *Sound* the 16th of *May* 1619, with two Veſſels, equip'd at the Charge of the King of *Denmark*, one Mann'd with 48, and the other with 16 men. He arrived the 28th of *January* on the Cape *Farvel*, (as the *Danes* call it) i. e. *Farewell*; having got its name queſtionleſs from the Opinion the *Danes* have conceived, that ſuch as go beyond it, are paſſing into another World, and take a long Farewell from this part of it: This Cape *Farewell*, as I told you before, lies under 60 degrees and a half of Elevation, in a Mountainous Country, covered always with Snow and Ice; and as theſe vary frequently in colour, and with their whiteneſs and tranſparency, dazle the Eye, the true ſhape of this Cape has not been diſcovered hitherto.

From this Cape Captain *Munck* ſteering his Courſe to the Weſt by North, entered *Hudſon's Streights*, where meeting with abundance of Ice, he avoided the danger thereof, by keeping out at Sea: Hence it is that he adviſes thoſe that will attempt this Paſſage, not to go too far to the Weſt, by reaſon of the many Ice ſhoals, and impetuous Currents that are near the *American* Coaſt. He tells us, that the 8th of *July*, there aroſe ſo thick and ſtrong a Froſt in theſe Seas, that all his Ship tackling were covered with Ice-tags, ſo that they were ſcarce able to manage them; but that the next day from three a Clock in the Afternoon, till Sun-ſett, it was ſo exceſſive hot, that they were forced to pull off their Cloaths.

Comes to Hudſon's Streights.

A ſudden change of Weather.

Coming into *Hudſon's Streights*, he gave it the name of *Chriſtians Streights*, after the King of *Denmark* his Maſter; and Landed ſome of his Men the 17th of *July* in an Iſle upon the Coaſt of *Greenland*. Thoſe that were ſent to view this Iſle, aſſured the Captain, that they had diſcovered ſome footſteps of Men, but no Inhabitants. However the next day they ſaw a whole Troop of them near the Sea-ſhoar, who being amazed and frighten-

The Inhabitants.

ened

ed at the ſight of the *Danes*, did run away as faſt as they could, but had no ſooner hid their Arms, they carried along with them, behind an adjacent huge Maſs of Stones, but they advanced towards the *Danes*, and in an obliging manner, return'd the Salute given by them, with this caution however, to keep betwixt the *Danes* and the Place, where they had concealed their Arms. But the *Danes* found means by ſeveral turnings and windings to amuſe them ſo long, till coming near to the Stone heap, they ſeiz'd upon their Bows, Quivers, and Arrows.

The poor Salvages quite diſmay'd at their loſs, did in the moſt ſubmiſſive Poſture, and with all the engaging ſigns in the World beg the *Danes* to reſtore them their Weapons, giving them to underſtand, that as they lived upon Hunting, and muſt Periſh for want of them, they would give them their Cloaths in exchange for them. The *Danes* moved with Compaſſion, reſtored them their Arms, which they joyfully received upon their bended Knees: The *Danes* to engage them the more, produced their Toys, and made ſome trifling Preſents to the Salvages, who were infinitely delighted with them, and in lieu thereof, gave to the *Danes* divers ſorts of Birds, and ſome fat of Fiſhes. One of theſe Salvages caſting his eyes upon a little Looking-glaſs, in which he ſaw his face, was ſo taken with it, that he put it in his Boſom, and run away as faſt as his leggs could carry him, the *Danes* having the diverſion of laughing at his ſimplicity, as they had occaſion to do ſoon after at the reſt of the Salvages, who ſeeing one of their Ships Crew, with black hair and flat faced, not unlike themſelves, miſtook him for one of their Country men, and Carreſs'd him as if they had been very old Acquaintance.

Captain *Muneck* left this Iſle the next day, being the 10th of *July*, with an intention to purſue his Voyage, but by reaſon of the vaſt Ice ſhoals, was forced to return to his old Station, but could not get ſight of any of the Salvages again, tho' they did all they could to entice them to the Sea-ſhoar, by hanging little Knives, Looking-glaſſes, and other Toys on ſmall Ropes; whether it was out of fear for the *Danes*, or that they were forbidden to keep any further Correſpondence with them by the chief *Judge* or *Governour*, is uncertain.

Captain *Muneck* meeting with no Men, went often a Hunting, and having taken abundance of *Reen-deer* in this Iſle, he gave it the name of *Reinſundt*, i. e. the *Gulph of Renes*, and the Road where they lay at Anchor, *Muneckens*, after his own name. This Iſle lies at 61 deg. 20 min. Elevation; where after having ſet up the Arms of the King of *Denmark* his Maſter, he departed a ſecond time, the 22d of *July*; but was ſoon after ſurpriſed by ſuch violent Tempeſts, and vaſt Ice ſhoals, that with much ado he made ſhift to ſave himſelf the 28th of *July* betwixt two Iſles, where he caſt all his Anchors, and for his better ſecurity, was forced to faſten his Veſſels with long Ropes, on the ſhoar.

It was no ſooner Low-Water, but the *Danes* found themſelves all upon dry Land, and the Water beginning to riſe again, carried along with it ſuch a prodigious quantity of Ice ſhoals, that had they not been day and night upon their guard, they would have been in greater danger here than in the open Sea. *Muneck comes to an Anchor betwixt two Iſles.*

Betwixt theſe two Iſles, where was a huge Ice ſhoal, about 22 Fathoms high; which being looſened from the Shoar, and broken in two Pieces, did ſink to the bottom of the Sea with ſo violent a Motion, that the Waves did ariſe like Mountains, as if it had been in a violent Tempeſt, and put our Ship in great danger of being ſwallowed up by them.

They did not ſee any Inhabitants here, but diſcovered ſeveral foot-ſteps, and other marks which ſufficiently convinced them, that they were either at that time, or had been formerly inhabited by Men. They found here divers Minerals, and among the reſt, great ſtore of *Talc*, of which they carried off ſeveral Tuns into Ships. They ſaw ſeveral other Iſles thereabouts, which in all probability, were Inhabited as well as theſe, but the ſhoar being ſo Rocky and full of Ice, that there was ſcarce ever any thing ſeen like it; the *Danes* durſt not venture too near them. Theſe Iſles are ſituated at 62 deg. 20 min. about 50 Leagues within the *Chriſtian*'s Streights. Captain *Muneck* gave that part where he lay at Anchor, the name of *Hareſound*, i. e. *The Bay or Road of Hares*, from the vaſt number of Hares they ſaw in this Iſle, and ſet up *Chriſtian the Fourth*, there, which the *Danes* generally expreſs by this Character (4.

He left theſe Iſles the 9th of *Auguſt*, ſteering his Courſe to the W. S. W. with a N. W. wind, and the 10th came on the Southern Shore of *Chriſtian*'s Streights, being the *American* Coaſt it ſelf. Purſuing his Courſe, he diſcovered a large Iſle to the N. W. unto which he gave the name of *Sneoeuland*, i. e. the *Snow Iſle*.

The 20th of *Auguſt* he ſteer'd his Courſe from the W. to the N. *and then* (as the Journal ſays) *I took the Right Courſe at the Elevation of* 62 deg. 20 min. But it being a very *The breadth of Hudſon or Chriſtian Streights.*

thick Fogg they could discover no Land; tho' as the same Journal says, *The Streights of Christian is thereabouts, not above* 16 *Leagues broad.* From whence 'tis reasonable to conclude, that it is broader in other Places.

Hudson's or Christians Sea.

Out of the Streight he Sailed into *Hudson's* Sea, the name whereof he changed likewise, as he had done that of the Streights, giving it two names instead of one; for that part which washes the shoar of *America*, he call'd the *New Sea*, and the other part towards the side of *Greenland* (if it may be supposed to belong to that Country) *Christian's Sea.*

He steer'd his Course as much as possibly he could to the W. N. W. till finding themselves at 63 deg. 20 min. Elevation; they were so entangled amongst the Ice, that they were forced to seek for shelter on the *Greenland* Coast, and to pass the Winter there; whence it is that they gave the name of *Munckens Vinter Haven*, i. e. *Muneck's Winter Haven* to that Road; and to the Tract of Land along the Coast, the name of *New Denmark.*

The Author of this Journal has pass'd by in silence several Places they saw in their Passage thither, because having inserted their names in a peculiar Map, he directs his Readers thither for further instructions. He speaks only of two Isles in the *Christians Sea*, call'd by him the *two Sister Isles*, and of one more much larger than the former, towards the *New Sea*, unto which he has given the name of *Dikes Oeuland.* He advises those that intend to pass the *Christians Streights*, to keep in the middle of the Streights as much as possible they can, by reason of the rapidity of the contrary Currents, occasion'd by the flux and reflux of the Seas on both Coasts, which carrying along with them vast Ice shoals, put the Vessels in frequent danger of being lost. He adds, That the Tides in the *Christians Sea*, keep their certain times, from five to five hours, and that these Tides are regulated according to the Course of the Moon.

Muneck's Haven.

Captain *Muneck* came to an Anchor the 7th of *September* at *Munecken's Vinter Haven*, where after having somewhat refresh'd his Men, he ordered his Ships to be drawn into a little Creek near the Harbour, in order to have them refitted, and to preserve them against the force of the Ice: The next thing they had to do, was to erect some Hutts, to defend themselves against the extremity of the cold of the approaching Winter Season, which would not permit them to return homewards at that time. *Muneck's Haven* is situate at the entrance of a River, which was not frozen in *October*, tho' the Sea was already full of Ice near the shoar.

The Country near it.

Captain *Muneck* says, that the 7th of *October*, he went up the River in a Sloop, to view the Situation of the adjacent Country, but could not go further than a League and half, being stop'd by the Rocks that are cross the River: Finding the Passage by the River thus closed up, he took along with him some Soldiers and Seamen, and March'd along with them about 3 or 4 Leagues deep into the Country, in hopes of meeting with some of the Inhabitants, but found nothing like it that way. However, in his return thro' another part of the Country, he found a pretty broad and high Stone, and upon it the figure of a Devil, with his Horns and Claws very distinctly Painted. Near it was a Place inclosed with small Stones about 8 Foot square: on one side of this square place he saw a little Hill composed of small Stones, intermix'd with the Moss of Trees. On the opposite side of the same square, stood another square Stone, not unlike an Altar, resting upon two other Stones, and upon the Altar, he saw three pieces of Charcoal laid crossways upon one another.

One of their Altars.

Captain *Muneck* saw several such like Altars in his return, with Charcoal upon them, just like the former; and tho' he could not as much as get sight of one single Person of the Natives, yet was it observable, that near every one of these Altars they saw, they observed the foot-steps of Men; whence they conjectured, That the Natives of the Country used to assemble near these Altars, to perform their Sacrifices, which in all likelihood they Celebrated either with Fire, or to the Fire. They further took notice, that near those Places, where they discovered these foot-steps of Men, they found abundance of Bones gnaw'd; which as they supposed, were the remnants of the Sacrificed Beasts, eaten by the Salvages at the Sacrifice, after their fashion, or rather torn or gnaw'd to pieces with their hands and teeth, as our Dogs do with a bone.

Their Sacrifices.

In the Woods, thro' which they pass'd, they found abundance of Trees, saw'd cutt in pieces by Iron Instruments, as also abundance of Dogs [illegible] with small twigs of Trees. But [illegible] confirm'd them most of all in their Opinion, *viz.* That this was not destitute of Inhabitants, was, that they had discovered the marks where Tents or Hutts had been erected in divers Places, and many pieces of Bears and Wolf skins, as also of Stags, Sea-Calves, and Dogsskins, which had questionless served to cover these Tents withal; it being more than probable, from what has been said upon this head, that

that these Inhabitants lead a Vagabond life, like the *Scbytes*, or Encamp in Troops like the *Laplanders*.

Living creatures of this country.

The *Danes* having fix'd their Hutts, which were to serve them all the Winter, began to provide Wood to keep themselves warm, and Venison for their food. Captain *Muneck* was the first who shot a white Bear with his own Gun, which they eat with a good Appetite, and say, did relish and digest very well. They also kill'd abundance of Hares, Partridges, and other Birds; which tho' not express'd by their Peculiar Names, he says are very frequent in *Denmark*. He adds, that they catch'd also four black Foxes, and some *Sables*, a name the Northern Nations generally give to the *Sable Martins*.

What most surprised the *Danes* was, That they discover'd in the sky, divers Phenomena's they never observed in *Denmark*. Thus, (as the Journal assures us) there appear'd the 27th of *November*, three distinct Suns on the Firmament, tho' it was a very thick and gross Air. The 24th of *January* next following, two Suns appeared very distinctly, and the 10th of *December*, or the 20th of the *Old Stile*, they observed an Eclipse of the Moon about 8 a Clock at Night; and the same Night they saw for two hours together, the Moon surrounded by a very bright Circle, with a Cross in it, dividing the whole Body of the Moon into 4 parts: This Meteor seem'd to be the forerunner of the ensuing Miseries, and almost total Destruction of the *Danes*, as you will see out of the following Account.

One of their Altars.

Their Sacrifices.

Extremity of cold.

The extremity of the cold began by this time to increase to such a degree, that there lay Ice shoals near the shoar of 300 and 360 foot thick; and their Beer and Wines, nay, even the most Spirituous *Spanish* Wines and strong Brandy's, froze from top to bottom in the Vessels that contained them, which breaking a sunder, and the Liquors being congealed into entire pieces of Ice, they were forced to cut out Pieces of them with their Hatchets, which being melted before the Fire, they afterwards used to drink; nay such was the excess of the cold, that if they happened to forget a small quantity of Water in any of their Tin or Leather Vessels, they found them certainly crack'd the next Morning, in that very place where the Water had begun to freeze.

Misery the D...

Thus the merciless cold, which even did not spare the Metals, encreased its rigour with such violence upon the Bodies of the miserable *Danes*, that they fell all sick one after another, their sickness encreasing according to the rigour of the Season: For, being seized with a violent looseness, they were emaciated to the last degrees, till they dropt one after another; there being about the middle of *March*, not enough left to keep the Guard; so that Captain *Muneck* himself was forced to stand Sentinel at his own Hutt.

The worst was, that this Distemper instead of abating did augment with the approach of the Spring, when their Teeth began to loosen in their Gums, and their Mouths were so full of Ulcers within, that they could eat no Bread, except what was steep'd in Water. Towards *May*, the miserable remnants of the *Danes* were attack'd by the Bloody Flux and such excessive Pains in the Nervous parts, as if they had been pricked without intermission, with the Points of Knives. Their Bodies did decay visibly day by day, turn'd livid and black at last, no otherwise than if they had been beaten with sticks, and some of them lost their Arms and Legs by the violence of the cold. This is properly nothing else than the highest degree of Scurvy, a Distemper very common and sufficiently known in the Northern parts of the World. Such as died were forced to be kept above Ground, the rest wanting strength to bury them.

By this time the want of Bread encreasing, they were constrained to dig under the Snow, where by good chance they found a certain sort of Berries, which they did feed upon for some time; but the worst was, that they would not keep in the least, wherefore they were obliged to boil and eat them immediately. The Journal mentions the 12th of *April* as a very remarkable day, because it then rained the first time, after 7 Months, there having not fain a drop of rain in all that time.

No rain in seven Months.

Birds of Greenland.

The Spring rejoyced them with the sight of many sorts of Birds, none of which had appear'd all the Winter long, but their weakness would not permit them to catch or shoot any of them. About the middle of *May* they saw abundance of wild Geese, Swans, Ducks, an infinite number of small Birds, Partridges, Ravens, Faulcons and some Eagles. Not long after, Captain *Muneck* happened to fall ill among the rest, and on the 4th of *June* was so miserably afflicted with tormenting pains in his Limbs, that for 4 days together he could not stir out of his Hutt. Not imagining otherwise than that his last hour was near at hand; he made his last Will, in which he prayed the next that came to that shoar, to bury his Body, and to be careful of his Journal, in order to deliver it to the King of *Denmark*. But about 4 days after, finding his strength somewhat recovered, he made shift to peep out of his Hutt to see whether

Captain Muneck makes his last Will.

whether any of his Crew were living or not; and out of 64 that came along with him, found only two alive. These poor wretches raviſh'd with joy to ſee their Captain, revived as it were from the Dead, run to him with open Arms, and carried him ſtreightways to a fire, wherewith rubbing his joints, they brought him pretty well to himſelf. They then encouraged one another, reſolving to live if poſſible they could, but how, was the difficulty; they were forced to look for food under the Snow, where now and then they found ſome herbs and roots, which had that happy effect upon them, that they began to recover more and more every day. It being then the 10th of *June*, the Ice began to melt, which gave them opportunity to catch ſome Trouts, Salmons and other fiſhes: Thus what they catch'd by Fiſhing and Hunting, furniſh'd them with ſufficient Food: by which means having now recovered their full ſtrength; they reſolved notwithſtanding all the difficulties and dangers they were to ſurmount, to endeavour to get back to *Denmark*; what haſtened their reſolution, was, that about that time the Summer Seaſon and rainy weather brought aſhoar ſuch vaſt quantities of Gnats, that they were not able to abide there.

Recovers.

According to this reſolution, they left their greateſt Ship behind them, and Embark'd aboard the ſmall Frigat, the 16th of *July*; and ſet ſail from the ſame Port, where I told you they had laid up their Ships, and was by the Captain named *Jens Munckes Bay*, i. e. *John Muncks* Bay or Port, after his own name: Coming into the *Chriſtian Sea*, they met with abundance of floating Ice ſhoals, where they loſt their Sloop, and with much ado got their Veſſel clear, for having loſt their Rudder, they were forced to faſten their Ship to a vaſt Ice Rock, till it could be refitted. The Ice beginning to melt, they found their Sloop again, about 10 days after; but this laſted not long, for the Sea freezing and thawing again by turns, they got, not without a great deal of trouble, thro' the *Chriſtian Streight*, and thence by Cape *Farewel* into the Ocean; where they were ſurpriſed the 3d of *September*, by ſo violent a Tempeſt, that they were in great danger of being loſt; the two Seamen being ſo tired out by the long continuance of the Tempeſt, that being forced to commit themſelves to the Mercy of the Wind and Waves, their Maſt was brought by the Board, and with much ado, they got the Sails out of the Sea into the Ship.

Muneck *Reimbarks with two Seamen only.*

Arrive in Norway.

The fury of the Tempeſt being ſomewhat allay'd for ſome days, gave them leiſure and opportunity to get the 21ſt of *September*, into a part of *Norway*, where they came to an Anchor with one Anchor, the only one they had left.

But when they thought themſelves freed from all danger, they were aſſaulted by another Tempeſt, which put them in more danger than ever they had ſeen before; however they had the good fortune once more to eſcape this danger; having found means to run their Ship among the Rocks, they made ſhift to get aſhoar, till the fury of the Tempeſt being paſt, they refitted their Veſſel, and in ſome days after, got ſafe into *Denmark*, where Captain *Muneck* gave an Account of the Succeſs of his Voyage, to the King, who received him no otherwiſe, than if he had been return'd from the Dead.

One might reaſonably ſuppoſe, that this Voyage would put a Period to Captain *Muneck*'s Misfortunes; but his ill Fate not tired yet of purſuing ſo brave a Man, the odneſs of the Accident that befel him hereafter ought not be paſs'd by in ſilence.

After ſome ſtay in *Denmark*, (during which time he muſed upon his laſt Miſcarriage for want of knowledge of the Country) he began to be perſwaded within himſelf, that there was ſtill a poſſibility of finding out a Paſſage to the Eaſt that way, and therefore reſolved to attempt the ſame a ſecond time. But this being a thing of ſuch a Nature as to require the aſſiſtance of other People, he engaged divers Gentlemen of Quality, and rich Citizens of *Denmark* in the ſame deſign, who entring into a Society, they equip'd two Veſſels, which they committed to the care of Captain *Muneck*.

Muneck *prepares for a ſecond Voyage into* Greenland.

Having taken effectual care to provide his Ships with all neceſſaries, and to remedy all the inconveniences he had been made ſenſible of in his former Voyage; when being juſt ready to depart, the King of *Denmark* demanded the Captain (as he was taking his leave of him) the day fix'd for his departure; and thus entring upon the Diſcourſe of his late Voyage into *Greenland*, the King began to upbraid his Conduct, as if his Ships had been loſt by the Captain's ill management. His Reply happening ſomewhat rougher than the King expected, he puſh'd him with his Cane againſt the breaſt, which the Captain taking to heart, went home to bed, and what with grief, and want of food (which he refuſed to take) died in 10 days after.

Dies of grief.

But it is time to return to the ſubject, that did lead us into this long digreſſion; from what has been ſaid, it ſeems to be evident, that there is a long and broad Canal, if not an entire Sea, betwixt *Greenland* and *America*; notwithſtanding which, as we know but very little of that Coaſt, it remains

The Norwegians were not the firſt Inhabitants of Greenland.

mains doubtful, whether *Greenland* is upon the ſame Continent with *America* or not; tho' it ſeems moſt probable it is not, as I told you before. And Captain *Muneck* was queſtionleſs of the ſame Opinion, without which he would never have taken ſo much pains to engage a whole Society of Gentlemen, to attempt the finding out of this Paſſage to the *Eaſt*.

This Leads me to a Diſcovery of the Miſtake of the Author, who has Publiſhed his Diſſertations concerning the Origin of the *Americans*, which he deduces from the *Greenlanders*; the firſt Inhabitants of which he would make us believe were *Norwegians*; and conſequently that the firſt Inhabitants of *America*, were originally of *Norway*. He pretends to juſtify his Opinion by a certain imaginary affinity betwixt ſome *American* words, that terminate in *Lan* and the termination of *Land*, ſo frequent in the *German*, *Lombard*, and *Norwegian* Languages, and the reſemblance of the manner of living; there is, as he tells you, betwixt the *Americans* and *Norwegians*, who are, if you will believe him, the *Allemanni* of *Tacitus*: But I don't queſtion to convince you of his miſtake, by the following reaſons: (1.) becauſe the *Norwegians* were not the firſt Inhabitants of *Greenland*, as is apparent from what has been ſaid upon the head before; and Mr. *Wormius*, that Learned and Famous Antiquary of the North, is ſo far from tracing the Original of the firſt Inhabitants of *America* out of *Greenland*, that on the contrary, he believes the *Skreglingres*, or Original Natives of *Greenland*, about *Weſtern-burgh*, to have been deſcended from the *Americans*. (2.) He is grievouſly miſtaken in his gueſs, there being little or no likelihood that *Greenland* is join'd to the Continent of *America*, neither is that Paſſage ſo well known, nor ſo eaſie as he would have us imagine. (3.) He is no leſs in an Error, in what he ſays concerning the Affinity of the Languages and manner of living, betwixt the *Norwegians* and *Americans*; the contrary being made ſufficiently evident by the preceeding Relation: But ſuppoſing the *Norwegian* Language to have been introduced in *America*; he muſt find out another Paſſage for theſe Northern People into *America*, than by the way of *Greenland*.

The Norwegians were not the firſt Inhabitants of Greenland.

I will not trouble you with the other Miſtakes this Author has been guilty of in ſeveral Paſſages of his Diſſertations, knowing that you are conſtantly employed in Matters of much more moment, wherewith you have obliged the Learned World; and as I muſt look upon it as an eternal obligation, that you would throw away part of your precious time, in reading ſo unpoliſh'd a Work, that has ſo little reſemblance to the nicety of your own excellent Pieces, I don't queſtion, but that you are as well pleaſed to have done with reading of this Letter, as I am ſatisfied to have finiſh'd it, and to declare to you, that I ſhall always be

SIR,

From the *Hague*, *Jan.* 18, 1646.

Your moſt Humble and moſt Affectionate Servant.

FINIS.

Captain *THOMAS JAMES*'s

STRANGE and DANGEROUS

VOYAGE

In his intended Discovery of the

North-West Passage

INTO THE

SOUTH SEA:

In the Years 1631. and 1632.

Wherein the MISERIES Indured, Both
GOING, WINTERING, RETURNING,

And the RARITIES Observed, both
PHILOSOPHICAL and *MATHEMATICAL*,
Are Related at Large.

Published by His Majesties Command.

To which are added,
A PLAT or CARD for the Sailing in those Seas.

ALSO,
Divers little TABLES of the AUTHOR'S
Of the Variation of the Compass, *&c.*

WITH
An *APPENDIX* concerning LONGITUDE,
By Mr. *Henry Gellibrand*, Astronomy Reader of *Gresham* College, *London*.

AND
An *Advice* concerning the Philosophy of these late Discoveries,
By *W. W.*

THE PREPARATIONS TO THE VOYAGE.

HAving been for many years Importuned, by my Honourable and Worſhipful Friends, to undertake the Diſcovery of that part of the World, which is commonly called, *The North-Weſt Paſſage into the South Sea*, and ſo to proceed to *Japan*, and to Round the World to the Weſtward; being preſt forward withall, by ſignifying to me the Earneſt Deſire the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty had, to be ſatisfied therein: I acquainted my much honoured Friends, the Merchants of *Briſtol* therewith; who, as ever they have been Benefactors and Advancers of them that purſue the Ways of Honour; together with the Enlargement and Benefit of His Majeſty's Kingdoms; did freely offer to be at the Charge of furniſhing forth Shipping for this purpoſe. And now being thus Enabled, I Addreſt my ſelf to the Honourable Sir *Thomas Roe* Kt. (as to a Learned, and furtheſt employed Traveller by Sea and Land, this Day in *England*) who Joyfully preſented theirs and mine own voluntary willingneſs, to do His Majeſty's Service in this kind; who moſt graciouſly accepted of the Offer; and Encouraged me by many Favours in my weak Undertakings. Wherefore with all ſpeed, I contrived in my Mind, the beſt Model I could, whereby I might effect my Deſign. The Adventurers Monies were inſtantly ready, and put into a Treaſurer's Hand, that there might be no want of preſent Pay, for any thing I thought neceſſary for the Voyage.

I was ever of the Opinion, That this particular Action might be better effected by one Ship, than by two Conſorted; becauſe in thoſe Icy Seas, ſo much ſubject to Fogs, they might be eaſily ſeparated; I forbear to ſpeak of Storms and other Accidents; as that a Rendezvous in Diſcoveries, cannot ſurely, or without much hindrance be appointed; and that ſpeedy Perſeverance is the life of ſuch a Buſineſs: Wherefore I reſolved to have but one Ship, the Ship-Boat, and a Shallop.

A great Ship (as by former Experience I had found) was unfit to be forc'd thorow the Ice, wherefore I made choice of a well-conditioned, ſtrong Ship, of the Burthen of 70 Tun; and in G O D, and that only Ship, to put the hope of my future Fortunes.

The Ship reſolved upon, and that in leſs time than Eighteen Months our Voyage could not be effected: I next conſidered how our Ship of Seventy Tuns in Bulk and Weight might now be proportioned, in Victuals, namely, and other Neceſſaries; this was all done, as contractedly as we could: And the number of Men it would ſerve, at ordinary Allowance for the forementioned time, was found to be Twenty Two a

ſmall

ſmall number to perform ſuch a Buſineſs, yet double ſufficient to Sail the Ship with provident Careſulneſs.

The Baker, Brewer, Butcher, and others, undertake their Offices upon their Credits; knowing it to be a general Buſineſs, and their utter undoing if they failed in Performance, but truly they proved themſelves Maſters in their Arts, and have my praiſe for their honeſt Care; in them conſiſting a great part of the Performance of the Voyage.

The Carpenters go in hand with the Ship, to make her as ſtrong and ſerviceable, as poſſible in their Underſtandings they could.

Every thing being duly proportioned, and my ſmall number of Men known, I began to think of the Quality and Ability they ſhould be of.

Voluntary Loyterers I at firſt diſclaimed, and publiſhed I would have all Unmarried, Approved, Able, and Healthy Seamen; in a few days an abundant number preſented themſelves, furniſhed with general ſufficiency in *Marine* Occaſions. I firſt made Choice of a *Boatſwain*, and ſome to Work with him, for fitting the Rigging of the Ship; and as things went forward, Ship'd the *Subordinate Crew*: And all things being perfectly ready, I Ship'd the *Maſter*'s *Mates*; and laſt of all, the *Maſter* of my Ship, and my *Lieutenant*. The whole Company were Strangers to me, and to each other, (as by way of Familiarity) but yet privately recommended by worthy Merchants, for their Ability and Faithfulneſs. I was ſought to by divers, that had been in Places of the chiefeſt Command in this Action formerly; and others alſo that had uſed the *Northerly Icy-Seas*; but I utterly refuſed them all, and would by no means have any with me that had been in the like Voyage, or Adventures, for ſome private Reaſons unneceſſary here to be related; keeping thus the Power in my own Hands, I had all the Men to acknowledge immediate Dependance upon my ſelf alone; both for Direction and Diſpoſing of all, as well of the Navigation, as all other things whatſoever.

In the mean time, the better to ſtrengthen my former Studies in this Buſineſs, I ſeek after *Journals*, *Plots*, *Diſcourſes*, or whatever elſe might help my Underſtanding.

I ſet Skillful Workmen to make me *Quadrants*, *Staves*, *Semicircles*, *&c.* as much, namely, as concern the Fabrick of them; not truſting to their Mechanick Hands, to *divide* them; but had them divided by an Ingenious Practitioner in the *Mathematicks*. I likewiſe had *Compaſs-Needles*, made after the moſt reaſonableſt and trueſt ways that could be thought on: And by the Firſt of *April*, every thing was ready to be put together into our hopeful Ship.

In the mean ſpace, I made Journey up to *London*, to know His Majeſty's further Pleaſure, and to make known to him my Readineſs; who, calling for the beforementioned honourable Knight, I ſpeedily after received His Majeſty's Royal Letters, with Directions for proceeding in my Voyage, and my Diſcharge; whereupon I had forth the Ship into the Road, expecting a fair Wind to begin the Voyage.

A VOYAGE For the Diſcovery of a North-Weſt Paſſage INTO THE SOUTH SEA.

THE 2d of *May* 1631. I took my leave of the Worſhipful Merchant-Adventurers in this Action, in the City of *Briſtol*; and being accompanied with a Reverend Divine, one Mr. *Thomas Palmer*, and divers of the Merchants, with others of my Kindred and Native Countrymen, I repaired on Board. Here Mr. *Palmer* made a Sermon; exhorting us to continue Brotherly-Love amongſt us, and to be bold to profeſs the True *Chriſtian* Religion where ever we ſhould happen, in this our Peregrination. After they had received ſuch Entertainment as my Eſtate could afford them, they departed for *Briſtol*. This Afternoon, I made a Review of all Things, as well of Clothes, and other Neceſſaries, as of Victuals; and where there was found any want, we were preſently furniſhed.

The 3d of *May*, (after Prayer for a proſperous Succeſs to our Endeavours) about three a Clock in the Afternoon, we came to Sail, and ſtood down the Channel of *Severne*, with little Wind, but ſlowly got forward to the Weſtward of *Lundie*; and then the Wind oppoſed it ſelf ſo ſtrongly againſt us, that we were driven to bear up and come to an Anchor in *Lundie*-Road the 5th in the Evening, where we remained until the 8th in the Morning. Now hoping the Wind would favour us, we came to Sail, but we were forc'd to put into *Milford*, where we came to an Anchor about Midnight. Here we remained till the 17th in the Morning; when with the firſt favouring Wind, we proceeded and Doubled about Cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*.

The 22d we were in the Latitude 51. 26. and the *Blaskes* did bear of us North-Eaſt, about 12 Leagues off; which *Blaskes* is in Latitude 52. 4. Here I ordered the Courſe that ſhould be kept; which was generally Weſt North-Weſt, as the Wind would give leave, which in this Courſe and Diſtance is very variable and unconſtant.

The 4th of *June*, we made the Land of *Greenland*, ſtanding in with it to have Knowledge of the Trending of it; it proved very thick foul Weather.

The 5th, by two a Clock in the Morning, we found our ſelves encompaſſed about with Ice; and endeavouring to clear our ſelves of it, (by reaſon we could not ſee far about us) we were the more engaged, and ſtruck many fearful Blows againſt it: at length we made faſt to a great piece, (it blowing a very Storm) and with Poles wrought day and night to keep off the Ice; in which labour we broke all our Poles.

The 6th, about two a Clock in the Morning, we were beſet with many extraordinary great pieces of Ice that came upon us, as it were with witlful violence; and doubtleſs had cruſhed us to pieces, if we had not let fall ſome Sail which the Ship preſently felt. In eſcaping that danger, we ran againſt another great

great piece, that we doubted whether our Ship had not been ſtav'd to pieces; but Pumping, we found ſhe made no Water. The former pieces of Ice had cruſhed our Shallop all to pieces; wherefore I cauſed our long Boat ſpeedily to be had up from betwixt the Decks, and put over-board; by help whereof we again recovered our broken Shallop, and had her up on the Decks, intending to new build her. All this day, we did beat, and were beaten fearfully, amongſt the Ice, it blowing a very Storm. In the Evening, we were encloſed amongſt great pieces, as high as our Poop; and ſome of the ſharp blue corners of them did reach quite under us. All theſe great pieces (by reaſon it was the outſide of the Ice) did heave and ſet, and ſo beat us, that it was wonderful how the Ship could indure one blow of it; but it was God's only Preſervation of us, to whom be all honour and glory. In this Extremity, I made the Men to let fall, and make what Sail they could, and the Ship forced her ſelf thorow it, tho' ſo toſſed and beaten, as I thing never Ship was. When we were clear, we Sayed the Pumps, and found her ſtanch; upon which we went inſtantly to Prayer, and to praiſe God for his merciful delivery of us.

The 7th and 8th days, we endeavoured to Double about Cape *Farewell*, being ſtill peſtered with much Ice.

The 9th, we were in Latitude 59. 00. and we made account the Cape *Farewell* bare of us Due-Eaſt, and ſome 10 Leagues off. The *Blaskes* in *Ireland*, is in Lat. 52. 4. and Cape *Farewell* in Lat. 59. 00. The Courſe is Weſt North-Weſt, and the Diſtance about 410 Leagues. I know very well theſe Latitudes, Courſes, and Diſtance, do not exactly agree with Mathematical Concluſions; but thus we found it by Practice. The variation of the Compaſs in Lat. 52. 30. and 30 Leagues to the Weſtward of *Ireland*, is about 3. 00. to the Eaſtward; in Lat. 57. 00. about 310 Leagues Weſt North-Weſt, from the *Blaskes*, the Compaſs doth vary 9. 00. to the Weſtward: In Lat. 59. 15. ſome 40 Leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape *Farewell*, the Variation is about 14. 45. In this Courſe I have been obſervant, whether there were any Currant that did ſet to the N. E. as ſome have written there did, and that as well in Calm weather, as otherwiſe; but I could not perceive any. The Winds here are variable; and the Sea of an unſearchable depth. We have not ſeen from *Ireland* hitherto any Whales or other Fiſh; the Weather, for the moſt part, was Foggy and Miſty, that wets as bad as Rain.

The 10th, all the Morning, was very foul Weather, and a high-grown Sea, although we had Ice not far off about us, and ſome pieces as high as our Top-Maſt-head. Our long Boat, which we were fain to Towe at Stern, (by reaſon we were Building our Shallop on our Decks) broke away, and put us to ſome trouble to recover her again. This we did, and made means to have her into the Ship, though very much bruiſed; and that I had two Men ſore hurt, and like to be loſt in the heaving of her in. By 8 of the Clock this Evening, we were ſhot up as high as Cape *Deſolation*; for finding here the Land to trend away North and by Eaſt, we certainly knew it to be the Cape. It ſtands in Lat. 60. 00. and the Land from Cape *Farewell* to it, trends N. W. the diſtance about 40 Leagues. The Diſtance from Cape *Deſolation*, to the South end of the Iſland of *Reſolution*, is about 140 Leagues; the Courſe Weſt, half a Point North. The Lat. of the South end of the Iſland, being 61. 20. ſome 12 Leagues to the Weſtward of Cape *Deſolation*, the Variation is 16. 00. In this Courſe, we were much tormented, peſtered and beaten with the Ice, many pieces being higher than our Top-Maſt-head. In our way, we ſaw many Grampuſſes amongſt the Ice, and it ſeemeth the Sea is full of them: The Weather for the moſt part, a ſtinking Fog, and the Sea very black; which I conceive to be occaſioned by reaſon of the Fog.

The 17th at night, we heard the Rut of the Shore, as we thought; but it proved to be the Rut againſt a Bank of Ice that lay on the Shore. It made a hollow and hideous noiſe, like an overfall of Water, which made us to reaſon amongſt our ſelves concerning it; for we were not able to ſee about us, it being dark Night and Foggy. We ſtood off from it, till break of day, then in again; and about four a Clock in the Morning we ſaw the Land above the Fog; which we knew to be the Iſland of *Reſolution*. This laſt Night was ſo cold, that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen. We endeavoured to compaſs about the Southern Point of the Iſland; for that we were ſo much peſtered with the Ice, and blinded with a very thick Fog. Here runs a quick Tide into the Straight, but the Ebb is as ſtrong as the Flood:

The

The Fog was of ſuch a piercing nature, that it ſpoiled all our Compaſſes, and made them flag, and ſo heavy withall, that they would not traverſe. Wherefore I would adviſe any, that ſhall Sail this way hereafter, to provide Compaſſes of *Muſcovia* Glaſs, or ſome other matter that will endure the moiſture of the Weather. As the Fog cleared up, we could ſee the entrance of the Straight to be all full of Ice cloſe thronged together. Endeavouring to go forward, we were faſt encloſed amongſt it; and ſo drove to and again with it, finding no ground at 230 Fathom, four Leagues from the Shore.

The 20th in the Morning, we had got about the Southern Point of the Iſland; and the Wind came up at Weſt, and drove both us and the Ice upon the ſhore. When we were driven within two Leagues of the Shore, we came amongſt the moſt ſtrangeſt Whirlings of the Sea that poſſibly can be conceived: There were divers great pieces of Ice aground in 40 Fathom Water, and the Ebb coming out of the broken Grounds of the Iſland, amongſt theſe Iſles of Ice, made ſuch a diſtraction, that we were carried round, ſometimes cloſe by the Rocks, ſometimes cloſe by thoſe high pieces, that we were afraid they would fall upon us. We were ſo beaten likewiſe with the encountring of the Ice, that we were in a moſt deſperate Eſtate. We made faſt two great pieces of Ice to our ſides, with our Kedger and Grapnels, that drew nine or ten Fathom, that ſo they might be a-ground before us, if ſo be we were driven on the Shore. But that deſign failed us; and now from the top ſeeing in amongſt the Rocks, I ſent the Boat (for now we had finiſhed her) to ſee if ſhe could find ſome place of Security; but ſhe was no ſooner parted, but ſhe was incloſed, and driven to hale up on the Ice, or elſe ſhe had been cruſhed to pieces. They ran her over the Ice from piece to piece; and in the mean ſpace, with the whirling and incountring of the Ice, the two pieces brake away from our ſides, and carried away our Kedger and Grapnels: Then we made ſigns to the Boat, to make all the haſte ſhe could to us, which ſhe perceiving, did; the Men being with much difficulty inforced to hale her over many pieces of Ice. In the mean ſpace, we made ſome ſail, and got to that piece of Ice, that had our Grapnel on it, which we again recovered. By this time, was our Boat come; and we put a freſh Crew into her, and ſent her to fetch our Kedger, which ſhe endeavoured with much danger of Boat and Men. By this time, the Ship was driven ſo near the Shore, that we could ſee the Rocks under us and about us; and we ſhould be carried with the Whirlings of the Waters, cloſe by the Points of Rocks, and then round about back again; and all this, notwithſtanding the ſail we had abroad; that we expected continually when ſhe would be beaten to pieces. In this extremity, I made them to open more Sail, and to force her in amongſt the Rocks and broken Grounds, and where there was many great pieces of Ice a-ground. We went over Rocks, that had but 12 or 13 foot Water on them; and ſo let fall an Anchor. This Anchor had never been able to wind up the Ship, but that (by good fortune) the Ship ran againſt a great piece of Ice that was a-ground. This Ruſh, brake the main Knee of her Beak-head, and a corner of it tore away four of our Main-Shrouds, and an Anchor that we had at the Bowe, faſtened into it, and ſo ſtopt her way, that ſhe did wind up to her Anchor. We ſaw the ſharp Rocks under us, and about us; and had but 15 foot Water; being alſo in the ſides way, where all the Ice would drive upon us: Our Boat we could not ſee, which made us doubt ſhe had been cruſhed to pieces. In her, was the third part of our Company; but by and by we ſaw her come about a point amongſt the Rocks. She had recovered our Kedger; which made us ſomething joyful: With all ſpeed we laid out Hawſers to the Rocks, and every one did work to the beſt of his ſtrength, to Warp her out of this dangerous place, to the Rocks ſide; where we had three fathom Water, and were under the ſhelter of a great piece of Ice that was a-ground, which ſhould keep off the Ice, that otherwiſe would have driven upon us. Here we lay very well all the Ebb; but when the Flood came, we were aſſaulted with pieces of Ice, that every half hour put us into deſpairable diſtreſs. We did work continually, and extreamly, to keep off the Ice. At full Sea, our great piece of Ice (which was our Buckler) was a-float; and do what we could, got away from us, and left us in a moſt eminent danger, by reaſon of the Ice that drove in upon us. But the Ebb being once made, this great piece of Ice came again a-ground very favourable to us, and ſheltered us all the reſt of the Ebb. All Night we wrought hard, to

ſhift

ſhift our Cables and Hawſers; and to make them faſt aloft on the Rocks, that the Ice might the better paſs under them. All Day and all Night it Snow'd hard, and blew a very Storm at Weſt, which drove in all the Ice out of the Sea upon us. In working againſt the violence of the Ice, the Flooke of our Kedger was broken, two Arms of our Grapnels, and two Hawſers, our Shallop being again very much bruiſed; whereupon to work we go on all hands to repair it.

This Tide, the Harbour was choaked full of Ice, ſo that it did ſeem firm and unmoveable; but when the Ebb was made, it did move. Some great pieces came a-ground, which did alter the Courſe of the other Ice, and put us on the Rocks. Here, notwithſtanding all our uttermoſt Endeavours, ſhe ſettled upon a ſharp Rock, about a yard above the Main-Maſt; and as the Water Ebbed away, ſhe hung after the Head, and heel'd to the Offing. We made Cables and Hawſers aloft to her Maſts, and ſo to the Rocks, ſtraining them tough with our Tackles; but ſhe as the Water Ebbed away, ſunk ſtill; that at length ſhe was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Having now done all to the beſt of our Underſtandings, (but to little purpoſe) we went all upon a piece of Ice, and fell to Prayer, beſeeching God to be merciful unto us. It wanted yet an hour to low Water, and the Tide did want a foot and a half to Ebb, to what it had Ebbed the laſt Tide. We were careful Obſervers of the low Waters, and had marks by Stones and other Things which we had ſet up, ſo that we could not be deceived. The Ship was ſo turn'd over, that the Portleſs of the Forecaſtle was in the Water; and we did look every minute when ſhe would over-ſet. Indeed at one time, the Cables gave way, and ſhe ſunk down half a foot at that ſlip; but unexpectedly it began to flow, and ſenſibly we perceived the Water to riſe apace, and the Ship withall. Then was our Sorrow turned to Joy, and we all fell on our Knees, praiſing God for his Mercy, in ſo miraculous a Deliverance.

As ſoon as ſhe was freed from this Rock, we wrought hard to get her further off. All the Flood, we were pretty quiet from the Ice; but when the Ebb was made, the Ice came all driving again upon us, which put us to a great extremity. We got as many pieces betwixt us and the Rocks as we could, to fence us from the Rocks. There came a great piece upon our quarter, which was above 300 of my Paces about, but it came a-ground. Thus did divers great pieces beſides, which was the occaſion, that this Tide the Harbour was quite choakt up; ſo that a Man might go any way over it, from ſide to ſide. When it was three quarters Ebb, theſe great pieces that came a-ground, began to break with a moſt terrible thundering noiſe; which put us in a great fear, that thoſe about us would break us all to pieces. But God preſerved us.

The 22th in the Morning, the Water veer'd to a lower Ebb than the laſt Tide had done by two foot, whereby we ſaw God's mercies apparent in our late extremity. That Flood we had ſome reſpite from our Labours; but after full Sea, our hopes Ebb too. The great piece that was by us, ſo ſtopt the Channel, that the Ice came all driving upon us; ſo that now undoubtedly we thought we ſhould have loſt our Ship. To work thereupon we go, with Axes, Bars of Iron, and any thing proper for ſuch a purpoſe; to break the corners of the Ice, and to make way for it to drive away from us. It pleaſed God to give good Succeſs to our Labours; and we made way for ſome, and fended off the reſt; and got ſo much of the ſofter ſort of the Ice betwixt us and the Rocks, that we were in pretty ſecurity. But at low Water, thoſe pieces that were a-ground, breaking, kept a moſt thundering noiſe about us. This day I went aſhore, and built a great Beacon with Stones upon the higheſt place of the Iſland, and put a Croſs upon it, and named this Harbour, *The Harbour of God's Providence*. In the Evening, the Harbour was fuller of the Ice than ever it had been ſince we came hither; and the greater pieces grounded, and ſtopt the reſt, that none went out the Ebb, but the Ship lay as if ſhe had lain in a bed of Ice.

The 23d in the Morning, with the Flood, the Ice drove up amongſt the broken grounds; and with the Ebb, drove all out (it being then very Calm) except one extraordinary great piece; which coming a-ground not far from us, ſettled it ſelf in ſuch a manner, that we much fear'd him. But there came no more great Ice after him; otherwiſe we muſt have expected as great danger, as at any time heretofore. I took the Boat, and went aſhore upon the Eaſtern-ſide, to ſee if I could find any place freer from danger than this unfortunate place, where amongſt the Rocks I diſcried a

likely place. From the top of the Hill where I was, I could ſee the Ship. It was now almoſt low Water; at which inſtant the forementioned piece of Ice brake with a terrible noiſe into four pieces, which made me doubtful it had not ſpoiled the Ship, it being full half Maſt high. I made what haſte I could to the Boat, and ſo to the Ship, to be ſatisfied; where I found all well, God be thanked, for that the Ice had broken from the Ship-ward. I inſtantly ſent away the Boat, to Sound the way to a Cove that I had found; which was a very dangerous paſſage for the Boat. At her return, we Unmoor'd the Ship, and with what ſpeed poſſible warpt away from amongſt this terrible Ice. We were not a Mile from them, but they brake all to pieces; and would ſurely have made us bear them company, but that God was more merciful unto us. We got about the Rocks, and ſo into this little Cove which I had ſo newly diſcovered. Here we made faſt to the Rocks, and thought our ſelves in indifferent ſafety; which being done, I went aſhore again, to wander up and down, to ſee what I could diſcover. I found it all broken rocky Grounds, and not ſo much as a Tree, Herb, or Graſs upon it: Some Ponds of Water there were in it, which were not yet thawed, and therefore not ready for the Fowl: We found not in the Snow any footing of Deer, or Bears, but Foxes we ſaw one or two.

We found where the Salvages had been, but it was long ſince. They had made five Hearths, and we found a few Firebrands about them; and ſome Heads and Bones of Foxes, with ſome Whale-Bones: I could not conceive to what purpoſe they ſhould come thither; for we could find none or very little Wood on the ſhoares ſide, and no Fiſh at all; though we did daily endeavour to take ſome. But it may be the Seaſon was not yet come. I named this Cove by the Maſter's Name of my Ship, *Price's Cove*. The Latitude of it is 61. 24. the Variation. The Firebrands and Chips which I ſpake of, had been cut with ſome Hatchet or Inſtrument of Iron. From the top of the Hills, we could ſee the Iſlands that are on the South ſhore, and commonly called Sir *Thomas Button*'s Iſles: They did bear South and By-Eaſt, half a Point Eaſterly; ſome 14 or 15 Leagues diſtant upon the Change day, it flows here ſeven a Clock and a half, and the Tide higheſt at moſt three Fathoms. The Flood comes from the Eaſtwards, and thither it returns. I have been obſervant from the top of the Hills, whence I might deſcry the great pieces of Ice two or three Leagues from the Shore, drive to and again with the Flood and Ebb indifferently. Hence I collected, that aſſuredly there is no Currant ſets in here, but that it is a meer Tide. Near the Shore, the Eddies whirl into twenty Manners, when the Ebb is made; which is, becauſe it comes out of the broken ground amongſt the Ice that is a-ground near the Shore: Beſides which reaſon, there be divers Rocks lying under Water, on which you ſhall have now 30, then 12, and anon but 8, and then 20 Fathom; and theſe uncertainties occaſions ſuch diſtractions. I would therefore adviſe none to come too near thoſe dangerous Shores, for fear he loſe his Ship, and ſo by conſequence all: The laſt Night we took better reſt than we had done in ten Nights before.

And this Morning, being the 24th, there ſprung up a fair gale of Wind at Eaſt; and after Prayer we unfaſtened our Ship, and came to Sail, ſteering betwixt great pieces of Ice, that were a-ground in 40 Fathom, and twice as high as our Top-Maſt-head.

We went forth of this Cove, upon the Flood, and had none of thoſe Whirlings of the Waters, as we had at our going into it. We endeavoured to gain the North Shore, and kept our ſelves within a League of the Shore of the Iſland of *Reſolution*, where we had ſome clear Water to ſail thorow. In the Offing, it was all thick throng'd together, as might be poſſible. By twelve a Clock we were faſt incloſed, and notwithſtanding it blew very hard at Eaſt, yet we could make no way through it; but the hard corners of the Ice did grate us with that violence, as I verily thought it would have grated the Planks from the Ships ſides. Thus we continued in torment till the 26th day, driving to and again in the Ice, not being able to ſee an Acre of Sea from Top-Maſt-head.

The 26th, was Calm Sun-ſhine Weather, and we took the Latitude and Variation. The Latitude is , the Variation we Sounded, and had ground at 140 Fathom, ſmall white Sand. I cauſed the Men to lay out ſome Fiſhing Lines, but to no purpoſe; for I could not perceive that the Bait had been ſo much as touched. The Nights are very cold, ſo that our rigging freezes; and the freſh Ponds of Water ſtand upon the Ice above half an Inch thick.

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The 27th, there sprung up a little Gale at South-East, and the Ice did something open. Hereupon we let fall our Foresail, and forced the Ship thorow the throng of Ice. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, at W. N. W. and blew hard; which caused us to fasten to a great piece, to which we remained Moor'd till the 29th.

The 28th, I resolved, that here is no Currant, and that by many Experiments which I have made: namely, by taking Marks on the Land, and noting our drift to and again with the Ebb and Flood for many days together, as well in Calm Weather as otherwise. By all these Experiments, I found exactly, that the Tide was no stronger there than that betwixt *England* and *France*.

The 29th in the Morning, there sprung up a fine Gale at E. and the Ice did open something, so that we did force the Ship thorow it with her Foresail. By 12 a Clock, we were gotten into some open Water, with a fine Gale of Wind at East, and so clear Weather that we could see the Island of *Resolution*. The North-end did bear of us E. N. E. some 12 Leagues off.

From the 29th, till the 5th of *July*, we sailed continually thorow the Ice, with variable Winds and Fogs, and sometimes Calm. At Noon we had a good Observation, and were in Latitude 63. 15. and then we saw *Salisbury* Island, bearing W. by N. some seven Leagues off, with much Ice betwixt it and us; to Weather which, we were driven to stand to the Northward. Soon after we saw *Prince Charles*'s Cape and *Mill* Island; and to the N. N. W. (and indeed, round about us) the Sea most infinitely pestered with Ice. This did grieve me very much; for whereas I had determined to prosecute the Discovery to the North-Westward, I saw it was not possible this year. We were moreover driven back again with contrary Winds, still closed and pestered with Ice, and with all the Perils and Dangers incident to such Adventures, so that we thought a thousand times that the Ship had been beaten to pieces.

By the 15th of *July* we were got betwixt *Digge*'s Island and *Nottingham*'s Island, not being able to get more Northward. There for an hour or two we had some open Water.

But before I proceed further, it were not amiss in some manner to describe the *Straight*, which begins at the Island of *Resolution*, and ends here at *Digges*'s Island. If you go down into the Bay, the Straight is about 120 Leagues long; and trends W. N. W. and E. S. E. generally. In the entrance, it is about 15 Leagues broad; and then on the Southward side is a great Bay. About the middest it is likewise about 15 Leagues broad, and then the Land opens something wider; so that betwixt *Digges*'s Island, and Cape *Charles*, it is about 20 Leagues broad: Betwixt which two, stands *Salisbury* Island and *Nottingham* Island. If it be clear Weather, you may see both the South and the North shores; ordinarily, the depth in the middle of the Straight is 120 Fathoms, white Sand: A certain Tide runs in it, and no Current: The North Shore is the straightest, and the cleerest from Ice too. Along the North Shore, you have many low small Islands which cannot be seen far off from the Land; and in many places, the Land makes as if it had small Sounds into it. The Main-land on both sides is indifferent high Land. And so much for Discourse may suffice, referring you to the *Plot* for the particulars.

The 16th, Being now resolved of the Impossibility to do any thing to the North Westward, for the Reasons aforesaid, I gave order to the Master of my Ship to Steer away, W. S. W. to have a sight of *Mansfield*'s Island, which the next day by three a Clock in the Afternoon, we had; having had so much dangerous foul Weather amongst the Ice, that we strooke more fearful blows against it than we had ever yet done. This was the first day that we went to half Allowance of Bread Flesh days, and I ordered things as sparingly as I could. Two of our Men complain likewise of Sickness; but soon afterward recovered. In the Evening we came to an Anchor, and I sent the Boat ashore to try the Tides. They brought me word, that whilst the Boat was ashore, it flowed about some three foot; and as we found by the Ship, and by the Ice, the Water at that time came from the W. S. W. and that at the highest Tides (so far as they could perceive) it had not highed above two Fathom: They found that the Savages had been upon it, by certain Fires which they found, and heaps of Stones, Tracks of other Beasts, but Foxes they could not find. The Wind was so contrary, and the Weather so Foggy, that we were fain to spend some Powder to recover our Boat again.

Next Morning, being the 17th, the Wind came ſomething favourable, and we Weighed. The Shore being ſomething clear of Ice, (though very thick all to the Offing) we ſtood alongſt it S. and S. by W. ſome 10 Leagues. In the Afternoon, the Wind came contrary, and we came again to an Anchor, within a Mile of the Shore; for to Sea-board, was all thick Ice, and unpaſſable. I went aſhore my ſelf, to be reſolved of the Tide, and found whilſt I was aſhore, that it did Flow two Foot; and at that time the Flood came from the S. W. by W. I doubted it was an half Tide, which afterwards I found to be true. I found where the Savages had been upon the Iſland; but could ſee little or no drift-Wood on the Shore, no Beaſts on the Iſland, nor Fiſhes in the Sea. It Flows on the Change Day about a 11 a Clock. We ſaw ſome Fowl on it; of which we killed one, and returned on Board. This Iſland is very low Land, little higher than a dry Sand-Bank. It hath Ponds upon it of freſh Water, but no Graſs; and is utterly Barren of all Goodneſs.

The 18th in the Morning, the Wind came ſomething favourable, and we Weighed and came to Sail; for the Ice was all come about us. We endeavoured to proceed to the Weſtward, intending to fall with the Weſtern-Land about the Latitude 63. 00. By 12 a Clock (having been much peſtered) we were come to a firm range of Ice; but it pleaſed God that the Wind larged, and we Stowed away S. S. W. at Noon in Latitude 62. 00. By four in the Evening (having eſcaped dangerous Blows) we were come (as we thought) into an open Sea, and joyfully ſteered away W. and W. by N. although that Joy was ſoon quailed. By 10 at Night we heard the Rut of the Ice; and it grew a thick Fog, and very dark with it: nevertheleſs we proceeded, and the nearer we came to it, the more hideous noiſe it made.

The 19th, by three in the Morning, we were come to it, and as it did clear a little, we could ſee the Ice; which were as thick rands of Ice, as any we had yet ſeen. Theſe being unpaſſable, and moreover the Wind at N. W. we Stowed alongſt it, hopeing to Weather it to the Southward; but at laſt, we became ſo blinded with Fog, and ſo incompaſſed with Ice, that we could go no further.

The 20th in the Morning (notwithſtanding the Fog) we endeavoured to get to the Weſtward; our Ship beating and knocking all this while moſt fearfully.

In this Wilfulneſs we continued till the 21ſt. when being faſt amongſt the Ice, I obſerved we were in Latitude 60. 33. and then looking what Damage our Ship might have received, we could perceive that below the Plate of Iron, which was before her Cut-Water, ſhe was all bruiſed and broken; the two Knees ſhe had before, to ſtrengthen her, ſpoiled and torn; and many other Defects, which we could not by any means come to mend. Notwithſtanding all this, and the extraordinary thick Fog, (that we could not ſee a Piſtol ſhot about us) we proceeded with the hazard of all.

Till the 27th; which was the firſt time we had clear Weather to look about us: The Wind withal came up at South, and the Ice did open ſomething; ſo that we made ſome way thorow it to the Weſtward. In the Evening, we were faſt again, and could go no further; the Wind veering from the South to the Eaſt, and blowing a freſh Gale. This occaſioned our Griefs the more, that with a good Wind we could not go forward; putting therefore a Hawſer upon a piece of great Ice, to keep the Ship cloſe to it, we patiently expected for better Fortune. Since we came from *Mansfield*'s Iſland, our depth was commonly 110 and 100 Fathom Oozie ground. Now the Water begins to Shoild; for this preſent 27th, driving faſt to and again in the Ice, we have but 80 Fathom ground as before.

The 28th and 29th, we were ſo faſt incloſed in the Ice, that notwithſtanding we put abroad all the Sail that was at our Yards, and that it blew a very hard gale of Wind, the Ship ſtirred no more than if ſhe had been in a Dry-Dock. Hereupon we went all boldly out upon the Ice, to ſport and recreate our ſelves, letting her ſtand ſtill, under all her Sails. It was flat, extraordinary large Ice, the worſt to deal withall that we had yet found. I meaſured ſome pieces, which I found to be 1000 of my Paces long. This was the firſt day that our Men began to Murmur, thinking it impoſſible to get either forwards or backwards. Some were of the Opinion, that it was all ſuch Ice betwixt us and the Shore. Others, that the Bay was all covered over; and that it was a doubt whether we could get any way, or to any Land, to Winter in. The Nights were long; and every Night it did ſo freeze, that we could

could not Sail amongſt the Ice by Night, nor in thick foggy Weather. I comforted and encouraged them the beſt I could; and to put away theſe Cogitations, we drank a Health to His Majeſty on the Ice; not one Man in the Ship, and ſhe ſtill under all her Sails. I moſt ingeniouſly confeſs, that all their Murmuring was not without reaſon: Wherefore doubting that we ſhould be frozen up in the Sea, I ordered that Fire ſhould be made but once a day; and that with a certain number of Shides, that the Steward ſhould deliver to the Cook by tail, the better to prolong our Fuel whatſoever ſhould happen.

The 30th, we made ſome way thorow the Ice; we heaving the Ship with our Shoulders, and with Mawls and Croes of Iron, breaking the corners of the Ice, to make way. As we got forwards, the Water ſhoalded apace; ſo that I believe it to be ſome Iſland. At Noon we Obſerved thorow the Fog, with the Quadrant, upon a piece of Ice, and were in Latitude 58. 54. our Depth 30 Fathom. We put out Hooks, to try to catch ſome Fiſh, but to no purpoſe, for there is not any in this Bay.

The 31ſt, we laboured as aforeſaid, and got ſomething forward. At Noon we were in Latitude 58. 40. our Depth 23 Fathom. It was very thick hazie Weather, or elſe I think we ſhould have ſeen the Land.

The firſt of *Auguſt*, the Wind came up at Weſt, which drove us to the Eaſtward, where our Depth increaſed to 35 Fathom. At Noon, (by Obſervation with the Quadrant, on the Ice) we were in Latitude 58. 45. At ſix a Clock this Evening, we might perceive the Ice to heave and ſet a little; which was occaſioned by a ſwelling Sea that came out of the South-Weſt. This did comfort us very much; hoping ſhortly we ſhould get out of the Ice.

The 2d, it did blow hard at S. W. and yet we could not feel the forementioned ſwelling Sea; which did again quench the hopes we had formerly conceived.

The 3d, we did ſee a little open Water to the Northweſtward; and did feel a ſwelling Sea from the Weſt; which doth aſſure us, that there is an open Sea to the Weſtward.

The 5th, we ſaw the Sea clear; but could by no means work our ſelves to it with our Sails; wherefore about ſix in the Evening, we let fall an Anchor in 50 Fathom Water; and ſtood all with Poles and Oars to fend off the Ice, and let it paſs to Leewards. We continued this continued this Labour all Night.

The 6th, in the Morning, the Wind came up at N. W. and we Weighed with much Joy, as hoping now to get into an open Sea to the Southward. This by Noon we had done, and were in Latitude 58. 28. very free of Ice. The Wind did large upon us, ſo that we ſtood away N. W. to get up as high to the Northward as we could; and ſo to come Coaſting to the Southward. We went to Prayer, and to give God thinks for our delivery out of the Ice.

The 9th, (being in Latitude 59. 40.) we came again to the Ice, which lie very thick to the North: Since we came out of the Ice, our Depth increaſed to 110 Fathom, and now decreaſeth again: So that I think we approached towards the Shore.

The 10th proved very thick foggy Weather; the Wind contrary, and the Water ſhoalding apace, we came to an Anchor in 22 Fathom.

The 11th, in the Morning, we Weighed, and made in for the Shore, and about Noon ſaw the Land, our Depth being 16 Fathom, in Latitude 59. 40. The Land to the N. of us did trend N. by E. and ſo made a point to the Southward, and trended away W. by S. which we followed; making it for that place, which was formerly called *Hubbert's* Hope. And ſo it proved indeed, but it is now hopeleſs.

Two or three Words now, concerning the Bay that we have paſt over. It is from *Digge's* Iſland, to the Weſtern-Land (in Latitude aforeſaid) about 160 Leagues, the Courſe W. S. W. the Variation.

The Tides do ſet in the middle of the Bay, Eaſt and Weſt, as we have often tryed by our Lead a-ground: But nearer the Shores, as they are forced by the Land, I am of the opinion that in the Ocean, or in large Bays, the Tides do naturally ſet E. and W. and that this doth give little hope of a Paſſage. The greateſt Depth we had in the Bay was 110 Fathom, and ſo ſhoalding as you approach to Land, we Coaſted round about this forementioned little Bay, which is ſome 18 Leagues deep in 8 and ſix Fathoms, and in the bottom of it, we were in two Fathom and a half Water, and ſaw the firm Land almoſt round about us. Then we proceeded to the Southward ſix and ſeven Fathom Water, within ſight of the breach of the Shore, keep-

ing the Lead continually going, and in the Night we would come to an Anchor. This Night here being little Wind, we came to an Anchor with our Kedger; but in VVeighing of him, we loſt him, having no more aboard us.

The 12th, we were in Lat. 58. 46. ſome two Leagues from the Shore. The Variation is about 17 Deg.

The 13th in the Afternoon, (it being ſomething Hazie) we ſaw ſome Breaches a-head us: our Depth was 9 and 10 Fathom; and Luffing to clear our ſelves of them, we ſuddenly ſtruck upon the Rocks; the Ship then being under our two Topſails, Foreſail, and Spritſail, with a freſh gale of Wind. In this fearful Accident, we ſtruck all our Sails amain; and it did pleaſe God to ſend two or three good ſwelling Seas, which did heave us over the Rocks, into three Fathom and preſently into three Fathom and a half, where we Chopt to an Anchor; and aſſayed the Pumps; but we found ſhe made no Water, although ſhe had three ſuch terrible Blows, that we thought her Maſt would have ſhivered to pieces, and that ſhe had been aſſuredly Bulged. We hoiſted the Boat over-board, and double Mann'd her, to go ſeek and ſound a way out of this perilous place. She was no ſooner gone, but there roſe a Fog; ſo that we were fain to ſpend ſome Powder that ſhe might hear whereabouts we were. The Wind dull'd ſomething, otherwiſe it had doubtful whether ſhe could ever have recovered to us again. After ſhe had been abſent about two hours, ſhe brought us word, that it was all Rocks and Breaches round about us; and that withal, ſhe had found a way, where there was not leſs than two Fathom and a half, and that afterwards the Water did deepen. We did preſently Weigh, and follow the Boat, and paſt over two Ledges of Rocks, on which there was ſcarce 14 foot Water: then it did deepen to three, four, and ſo to 14 Fathom; then it ſhoalded again to nine. It being now Night, we came to an Anchor; where we rid indifferent well all the Night. In the Morning, the Wind came contrary, ſo that we could not go that way we intended to clear our ſelves, and therefore we went to Work, to fit our Holds, to Splice our Cables; and made ready two Shot, and ſo placed them in the Hold, that they might upon all Occaſions run clear; the ends of them being faſtned to the Main-Maſt. We likewiſe lookt to our Anchors, and fitted our ſpare ones. We got out our long Boat from betwixt the Decks; which was very much broken and bruiſed. The Carpenter went to work to fit her, (for I intended to Tow the Shallop at Stern) and ſo to have the Boats ready at an inſtant, either to lay out Anchors, or to be ſerviceable to what God ſhould be pleaſed to try our Faith and Patience withall; for in him was our only truſt, and our hope upon his favour in our honeſt Endeavours. At Noon, in Latitude 57. 45. we could ſee the Land from the N. W. to the S. E. by E. with Rocks and Breaches; and the Rocks that we came over, dry above Water, whereby I knew it flows here two Fathoms at leaſt. At Noon, I ſent the Boat off to Sound to the Eaſtward; becauſe the Water ſhoalded when we came to an Anchor. She brought us word, the ſhoaldeſt Water ſhe had been in was ſeven Fathom. We intending thereupon to Weigh, the Wind came Eaſterly, ſo that we could not budge; but lay here the 14th all Night with a ſtiff gale of Wind.

The 15th in the Evening, our Cable galded off; by reaſon of which perilous and ſudden Accident, in which we had not time to put a Buoy to it, we loſt our Anchor, and were driven into four Fathom Water, before we could ſet our Sails. This when we had done, we ſtowed S. S. E. the Wind being at Eaſt, but the Water ſhoalded to three Fathom. Then we ſtowed N. N. E. and it did deepen by Degrees to 10 Fathom; and becauſe it grew dark, we came to an Anchor, and rid a good ſtreſs all Night.

The 16th in the Morning, the Wind came up at N a freſh Gale; and we Weighed and came to Sail. By nine a Clock it grew to be a very Storm; and we turned to and again in 10 Fathom Water. In the Evening, the Wind dull'd; and we ſtood S. W. to have a ſight of Port *Nelſon*; which Courſe we ſtood all Night, by the Stars, being in Lat. 57.25. the Variation about 17 Degrees.

The 17th in the Morning, we ſtood South; and our Depth decreaſed by Degrees to eight Fathoms. At Noon we had good Obſervation, being in Latitude 57. 15. and we make Account, that we are ſome ſix or ſeven Leagues of the Southern-ſide of Port *Nelſon*. Here the colour of the Water changed; and was of a puddleliſh and ſandy-red colour. We ſtood into ſix Fathoms, and could not ſee the Land from Top-Maſt-head; ſo Night coming on, and it beginning to blow hard at Eaſt by South, we ſtood off again into ten and twelve Fathoms,

where

where the Water was again of the colour of the Sea.

The 18th, as the Wind and Weather favoured us, and the Storm was broken up, we ſtood in again South, and came again into thick puddliſh Water, into eight, ſeven, and ſix Fathom, and then off again, for that it grew thick foggy Weather, keeping our Lead continually going, Night and Day.

The 19th, being fine clear Sun-ſhine Weather, we ſtood in again into the thick puddliſh Water, into eight Fathom, where we came to an Anchor to try the Tides; for that from Top-Maſt-head we could not now ſee the Land. We were at Noon (by good Obſervation) in Latitude 57. 20. and the Tide did ſet N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. It did run two Knots and a half in two Glaſſes: I reſolved that this was nothing but Shoalds to the Land. In the Afternoon it began to Snuffle and Blow, ſo that we had much ado to get up our Anchor. This being done, we ſtood E. S. E. but the Water ſhoalded apace. Then we ſtood E. and it deepened a little. In the Evening the Wind came up at W. and then we ſtood E. S. E. into 10 and eight, and afterwards S. E. as our Depth did guide us by our Lead and the colour of the Water, into ſeven and ſix Fathoms.

The 20th, at ſix in the Morning, we ſaw the Land, it being a very low flat Land. We ſtood into five Fathoms, to make it the better, and ſo ſtood alongſt it. At Noon we were in Latitude 57.00. We named it, *The New Principality of South Wales*, and drank a Health in the beſt Liquor we had to Prince *Charles* his Highneſs, whom God preſerve. We ſtood alongſt it, and came to a Point where it trends to the Southward; near to which Point, there are two ſmall Iſlands. In the Evening it was Calm, and we came to an Anchor. The Tide ſet as aforeſaid. There we rid all that Night, and the next day, by reaſon the Wind was contrary. There went a chopping ſhort Sea; and the Ship did labour at it exceedingly leaping in Spreetſail-yard, Forecaſtle, and all; for as yet we had not trimmed her well, to ride. About nine at Night, it was very dark, and it did blow hard. We did perceive by the Lead, the Ship did drive; wherefore bringing the Cable to Capſtang, to heave in our Cable, (for we did think we had loſt our Anchor) the Anchor hitcht again, and upon the chopping of a Sea, threw the Men from the Capſtang. A ſmall Rope in the dark, had gotten foul about the Cable, and about the Maſters Leg too; but with the help of God he did clear himſelf, though not without ſore bruiſing. The two Mates were Hurt; the one in the Head, the other in the Arm. One of our luſtieſt Men was ſtrucken on the Breaſt with a Bar, that he lay ſprawling for life; another had his Head betwixt the Cable, and hardly eſcaped. The reſt were flung where they were ſore bruiſed; But our Gunner (an honeſt and a diligent Man) had his Leg taken betwixt the Cable and the Capſtang, which wrung off his Foot, and tare all the fleſh off his Leg, and cruſhed the Bone to pieces, and ſorely withall bruiſed all his whole Body; in which miſerable manner he remained crying till we had recovered our ſelves, our memory and ſtrengths to clear him. Whilſt we were putting him and the reſt down to the Chirurgeon; the Ship drove into ſhoalde Water, which put us all in fear; we being ſo ſorely weakened by this blow, which had hurt eight of our Men. It pleaſed God, that the Anchor held again; and ſhe rid it out all Night. By Midnight, the Chirurgeon had taken off the Gunner's Leg at the Gartering place, and dreſt the others that were hurt and bruiſed; after which we comforted each other as well as we could.

The 22th, we Weighed, and ſtood a little off into deeper Water, expecting a better Wind; which in the Afternoon favoured us. We ſtood in again for the Shore, and alongſt it we proceeded. It is very ſhoald about four Leagues off, and full of Breaches.

The 23th, at Noon, we were in Latitude 56. 28. In the Evening, the Wind came contrary, and we were fain to turn to and again. All this Month, the Wind hath been very variable, and continued not long upon one Point; yet it happened ſo, that we can get but little forward.

The 26th, there ſprung up a fine gale at Weſt, but very thick Weather; nevertheleſs we ſtood into ſeven and ſix Fathom, the Water very thick and puddleiſh. At Noon it cleared; and we could ſee that we were imbayed in a little Bay, the Land being almoſt round about us.

We ſtood out of it, and ſo alongſt it, in ſight, till the 27th in the Morning; when we came to higher Land than any we had yet ſeen ſince we came from *Nottingham* Iſland. We ſtood into it, and came to an Anchor in five Fathom. I ſent off the Boat, well-mann'd and arm'd, with order in Writing what they were

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to do, and a charge to return again before Sun-ſet. The Evening came, and no News of our Boat; we ſhot and made falſe fires, but had no anſwer; which did much perplex us, doubting that there had been ſome diſaſter befaln her, through careleſsneſs, and in her we ſhould loſe all. We aboard, at preſent, were not able to Weigh our Anchor, nor Sail the Ship. At laſt we ſaw a fire upon the Shore, which made us the more doubtful, becauſe they did not anſwer our ſhot, nor falſe Fires with the like. We thought withall, that it had been the Salvages, who did now triumph in their Conqueſt. At length, they came, all ſafe and well; and excuſed themſelves, in that upon their coming aſhore, it did Ebb ſo ſuddenly, that a Bank of Sand was ſo preſently dry without them, as they could not come away, till that was covered again; and with that they pacified me: They reported, That there was great ſtore of drift-Wood, on the Shore; and a good quantity growing on the Land. That they ſaw the Tracks of Deer and Bears, good Store of Fowl, (of which they had killed ſome) but no ſign of People. That they paſt over two little Rivers, and came to a third; which they could not paſs: That it did flow very near three Fathoms ſometimes, as appeared by the Shore. That it was low Water at four a Clock; that the Flood came from the N. W. and that it flowed half Tide, which both they and we had perceived by the Ship. At low Water, we had but three Fathom, where we did ride. The Wind began to blow hard at E. whereupon we weighed and ſtood to the Northward till Midnight; then in again: And in the Morning we ſaw the Land, and then it began to blow hard, and as we ſtood off, it encreaſed to a very Storm; ſo that at length we could not maintain a pair of Courſes, but tried under our Main-Courſe, all Day and all Night; ſometime turning her Head to the Landward, ſometime to the Offing.

The 29th, in the Morning, we made account we had droven back again ſome 16 or 18 Leagues; and in the Morning (as it cleared) we ſaw a Ship to Leeward of us ſome three or four Leagues; ſo we made Sail and bore up with her. She was then at an Anchor in 13 Fathom. It was His Majeſty's Ship, and Captain *Fox* commanded in her.

I ſaluted him according to the manner of the Sea, and received the like of him. So I ſtood in to ſee the Land, and thought to Tack about, and keep Weather of him, and to ſend my Boat on Board of him; but the Wind ſhifted, ſo that for that time I could not. In the Evening, I came to Weather of him, and ſent my Boat on Board of him, who preſently weighed, and ſtood off with me till Midnight, and then we ſtood in again.

In the Morning, Captain *Fox* and his Friends, came on Board me; where I entertained them in the beſt manner I could, and with ſuch freſh Meat as I had gotten from the Shore: I told him, how I had named the Land, *The South Principality of Wales*. I ſhewed him how far I had been to the Eaſtward; where I had landed; and in brief, I made known to him all the dangers of this Coaſt, as far as I had been. He told me, how he himſelf had been in Port *Nelſon*, and had made but a curſory diſcovery hitherto; and that he had not been aland, nor had not many times ſeen the Land. In the Evening, after I had given his Men ſome Neceſſaries, with Tobacco and other Things which they wanted, he departed an Board his Ship; and the next Morning ſtood away S. S. W. ſince which time I never ſaw him. The Wind ſomething favouring me, I ſtood in for the Shore, and ſo proceeded alongſt it in ſight.

This Month of *Auguſt* ended with Snow and Hail; the Weather being as cold, as at any time I have felt in *England*.

The firſt of *September*, we coaſted along the Shore in ten Fathoms, and when it cleared, in ſight of Land. At length the Water ſhoalded to ſix and five Fathom, and as it cleared, we ſaw it all Breaches to Leeward, ſo we hull'd off, N. N. E. but ſtill raiſed Land. By Night, we had much ado to get ſafely out of this dangerous Bay. At Midnight, the Wind came up at S. and ſo we took in our Sails, and let the Ship drive to the Northward into deeper Water. This Day, was the firſt time, the Chirurgeon told me, that there were divers of the Men tainted with Sickneſs. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 12.

The 2d, we ſtood in again for the Shore, but as we came into ſhoald Water, it began to blow, the Weather being winterly and foul, threatning a Storm; wherein we were not deceived, for that in ſtanding off we had a violent one.

By

By Midnight it broke up, and the 3d in the Morning we stood in again; and by a eleven we saw it. Here we found the Land to trend S. S. E. and S. so that we knew we were at a Cape Land; and named it *Cape Henrietta Maria*, by her Majesties Name, who had before named our Ship. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 05. and that is the height of the Cape.

From Port *Nelson* to this Cape, the Land trends (generally) E. S. E. but makes with Points and Bays; which in the particulars doth alter it a Point, two or three. The Distance is about 130 Leagues; the Variation at this Cape taken by Amplitude, is about 16 Degrees. A most shoald and perilous Coast, in which there is not one Harbour to be found.

The 3d Day in the Afternoon, we had a tearing Storm at N. which continued till midnight in extream violence.

The 4th in the Morning (the Storm being broke up) we stood in again S. W. The Weather was very thick, and we Sounded continually; but by Noon it cleared, and we saw the Land. Here it did trend S. by E. and the Tides did set alongst it, with a quick Motion. In the Evening there came a great rowling Sea out of the N. N. E. and by eight a Clock it blew very hard at S. E. and by reason of the incounter of the Wind and this great Sea, the Sea was all in a Breach; and to make up a perfect Tempest, it did so Lighten, Snow, Rain and Blow, all the Night long, that I was never in the like: We shipt many Seas, but one most dangerous, which rackt us fore and aft, that I verily thought it had sunk the Ship, it strook her with such a violence. The Ship did labour most terribly in this distraction of Wind and Waves; and we had much ado to keep all things fast in the Hold, and betwixt Decks.

The 5th in the Morning, the Wind shifted S. W. but changed not his Condition; but continued in his old anger and fury. In the Afternoon, it shifted again to the N. W. and there showed his uttermost Malice; and in that tearing violence, that nor I, nor any that were then with me, ever saw the Sea in such a Breach. Our Ship was so tormented, and did so labour, with taking it in on both sides, and at both ends, that we were in a most miserable Distress in this so unknown a place. At eight a Clock in the Evening, the Storm brake up, and we had some quietness in the Night following, not one having slept one wink in 30 hours before. If this Storm had continued Easterly, as it was at first, without God's Goodness we had all perished.

The 6th, the Wind was at S. W. so that we could do no good to the Westward. We spent the time therefore in trimming of our Ship: We brought all our Coals (which for the most part was great Coal) aft; as we also did some other Things, and all to lighten her afore. Others did pick our Bread, whereof there was much wet; for do what we could, we shipt abundance of Water betwixt Decks, which ran into the Hold, and into our Bread-Room; for the Sea, indeed, so continually over-rackt us, that we were like *Jonas* in the Whales-Belly. We over-looked our Tacks and Shoots, with other Riggings of Stress; because that henceforward we were to look for no other but Winter Weather. This Evening our Boatswain (a painful Man, and one that had laboured extreamly these two or three days) was very Sick, Swouning away three or four times; insomuch that we thought verily he would presently have died.

The 7th in the Morning, the Wind came up at S. E. and we stood away S. W. under all the Sail we could make. In this Course, we saw an Island, and came close aboard it, and had 20 Fathom Water, which was some comfort to us; for hitherto we could not come within four or five Leagues of the Shore, at that depth. This Island stands in Latitude 54. 10. In the Afternoon we stood away S. W. and in the Evening had the Shoalding of the Western Shore, in ten, eight, and seven Fathom, but it was so thick, that we could not see the Land. It is about 14 Leagues betwixt this Island and the Main.

The 8th was thick, foggy, and Calm; which so continued till the 9th about six in the Morning; The Wind then coming up at S. S. W. (though very foggy) we stood to the Eastward, keeping our Lead going continually. In the Evening the Water shoalded to ten and nine Fathom, wherefore we stood off and on all Night.

The 10th we made it; finding it an Island of about eight or nine Leagues long. It stands in Latitude 53. 5. and about 15 Leagues from the Western-Shore. The part of it that we Coasted, trends W. N. W. I named it my Lord *Weston*'s Island: We stood still away to the Eastward, it being broken foggy

Weather. In the Afternoon, we diſcryed Land to the Eaſtward of us; which made like three Hills or Hummocks: Towards them we Sail, keeping our Lead ſtill going, and very circumſpect. At length we alſo ſaw Land to the Southward of us; whereupon we Loof up, and now make for that; by Courſe as we had ſet it in the thick dark Fog. We came in amongſt ſuch low broken Grounds, Breaches, and Rocks, that we knew not which way to turn us; but God be thanked it was but little Wind, and ſo we came to an Anchor: Soon after it cleared, at which time we could ſee nothing but Sands, Rocks, and Breaches, round about us; that way only excepted which we came in. I ſent preſently the Boat to Sound amongſt the Shoalds and Rocks, that if we ſhould be put to extremity, we might have ſome knowledge which way to go. This Night proved Calm and fair Weather, and we rid quietly.

The 11th in the Morning, I went in the Boat aſhore my ſelf; and whilſt I was a Land, I ſent the Boat about amongſt the broken Grounds, to Sound. I found this Iſland utterly barren of all Goodneſs; yea, of that which I thought eaſily to have found; which was Scurvy-Graſs, Sorrel, or ſome Herb or other, to have refreſhed our ſick People. I could not perceive that the Tide did flow here (ordinarily) above two foot. There was much drift Wood on the Shore; and ſome of it drove up very high, on the North-ſide of the Iſland; whereby I judged that the Storms were very great at North in the Winter. Thus I returned aboard; and ſent many of our ſick Men to another part of the Iſland, to ſee if they themſelves could fortunately find any relief for their Griefs. At Noon, by good Obſervation, we were in Latitude 52. 45. In the Evening, our Men returned comfortleſs; and then we Weighed and ſtood to the Weſtward, coming to an Anchor under another Iſland, in 20 Fathoms.

The 12th in the Morning, it began to blow hard at S. E. which was partly of the Shore; and the Ship began to drive; it being ſoft oozie ground. We heaved in our Anchor thereupon, and came to Sail under two Courſes. Whilſt the moſt were buſie in heaving out of Top-ſails; ſome, that ſhould have had ſpecial Care of the Ship ran her aſhore upon the Rocks; out of meer careleſneſs, in looking out and about or heaving of the Lead after they had ſeen the Land all Night long, and might even then have ſeen it, if they had not been blinded with ſelf conceit, and been enviouſly oppoſite in Opinions. The firſt blow, ſtruck me out of a deep Sleep, and I running out of my Cabin, thought no other at firſt, but I had been wakened (when I ſaw our danger) to provide my ſelf for another World.

After I had controul'd a little Paſſion in my ſelf, and had checkt ſome bad Counſel that was given me, to revenge my ſelf upon thoſe that had committed this Error: I ordered what ſhould be done to get off theſe Rocks and Stones. Firſt, we hal'd all our Sail aback-ſlays; but that did no good, but make her beat the harder: whereupon we ſtruck all our Sails amain; and furdel'd them up cloſe, tearing down our Stern, to bring the Cable thorow the Cabin to the Capſtang, and ſo laid out an Anchor to heave her aſtern. I made all the Water in hold to be ſtav'd, and ſet ſome to the Pumps to Pump it out, and did intend to do the like with our Beer; Others I put to throw out all our Coals, which was ſoon and readily done. We quoiled out our Cables into our long Boat; all this while, the Ship beating ſo fearfully that we ſaw ſome of the Sheathing ſwim by us. Then ſtood we, as many as we could, to the Capſtang; and heaved with ſuch a good will, that the Cable brake, and we loſt our Anchor. Out, with all ſpeed, therefore, we put another: We could not now perceive whether ſhe did Leak or no; and that by reaſon we were imployed in pumping out the Water, which we had Bulged in Hold; though we much doubted, that ſhe had received her Death's wound; wherefore we put into the Boat the Carpenter's Tools, a Barrel of Bread, a Barrel of Powder, ſix Muskets, with ſome Match; and a Tinder-Box, Fiſh, Hooks and Lines, Pitch and Okum; and to be brief, whatever could be thought on in ſuch an extremity. All this we ſent aſhore, to prolong a miſerable life for a few days. We were five hours thus beating, in which time ſhe ſtruck 100 blows; inſomuch, that we thought every ſtroke had been the laſt that it was poſſible ſhe could have endured. The Water, we could not perceive in all this time to flow any thing at all: at length, it pleaſed God, ſhe beat over all the Rocks, though yet we knew not whether ſhe were ſtanch. Whereupon, to pumping we go on all hands, till we made the Pumps ſuck; and then we ſaw how

how much Water she did make in a Glass. We found her to be very leaky; but we went to Prayer and gave God thanks it was no worse; and so fitted all things again, and got further off and came to an Anchor. In the Evening, it began to blow very hard at W. S. W. which if it had done whilst we were on the Rocks, we had lost our Ship without any Redemption. With much ado, we Weigh'd our Anchor, and let her drive to the Eastward amongst the broken Grounds and Rocks, the Boat going before, Sounding. At length, we came amongst Breaches, and the Boat made signs to us that there was no going further. Amongst the Rocks therefore we again came to an Anchor, where we did ride all Night, and where our Men which were tired out with extream Labour, were indifferent well refreshed. Here I first noted, that when the Wind was at S. it flowed very little or no Water at all, so that we could not bring our Ship aground to look to her; for we did Pump almost continually.

The 13th at Noon we Weighed, and stood to the Westward; but in that Course, it was all broken Grounds, Shoalds and sunken Rocks; so that we wondered with our selves, how we came in amongst them in a thick Fog. Then we shap'd our Course to the Northward, and after some Consultation with my Associates, I resolved to get about this Land, and so to go down into the bottom of *Hudson*'s Bay, and see if I could discover a way into the River of *Canada*; and if I failed of that, then to Winter on the Main Land; where there is more comfort to be expected, then among Rocks or Islands. We stood alongst the Shore, in sight of many Breaches. When it was Night, we stood under our Foresail, the Lead still going. At last, the Water shoalded upon us, to ten Fathom, and it began to blow hard. We Tackt about, and it did deepen to 12 and 14 Fathom, but by and by, it shoalded again to eight Fathom. Then we Tackt about again, and suddenly it shoalded to six and five Fathom, so we struck our Sail amain, and chopt to an Anchor, resolving to ride it out for Life and Death. We rid all Night a great stress; so that our bits did rise, and we thought they would have been torn to pieces.

At break of day the 14th, we were joyful Men; and when we could look about, we descried an Island some two Leagues off, at W. by N. and this was the shoald that lay about it. Here did run a distracted, but yet a very quick Tide; of which we taking the opportunity, got up our Anchor, and stood N. W. to clear our selves of this Shoald. In the Afternoon, the Wind came up at N. E. and we stood alongst the Eastern shore in sight of a multitude of Breaches. In the Evening it began to blow a Storm not Sail-worthy, and the Sea went very high, and was all in a Breach. Our Shallop, which we did now Tow at Stern, being Moor'd with two Hawsers, was sunk; and did spin by her Moorings, with her Keel up, 20 times in an hour. This made our Ship to Hull very broad, so that the Sea did continually over-rake us; yet we endured it, and thought to recover her. All Night, the Storm continued with violence, and with some Rain in the morning, it then being very thick Weather. The Water shoalded apace, with such an over-grown Sea withal, that a Sail was not to be endured; and what was as ill, there was no trusting to an Anchor. Now therefore began we to prepare our selves, how to make a good end of a miserable tormented life. About Noon, as it cleared up, we saw two Islands under our Lee, whereupon we bare up to them; and seeing an opening betwixt them, we endeavoured to get into it before Night; for that there was no hope of us, if we continued out at Sea that Night. Therefore come Life, come Death, we must run this hazard. We found it to be a good Sound; where we rid all Night safely, and recovered our Strengths again, which were much impared with continual Labour. But before we could get into this good Place, our Shallop broke away, (being Moor'd with two Hawsers) and we lost her to our great Grief. Thus now had we but the Ship-Boat, and she was all torn and bruised too. This Island was the same that we had formerly Coasted the Western side of, and had named my Lord *Weston*'s Island. Here we remained till the 19th, in which time it did nothing but Snow and blow extreamly, insomuch that we durst not put our Boat over-board.

The 19th, the Wind shifted N. N. E. and we Weigh'd and stood to the Southward; but by Noon the Wind came up at S. and so we came to an Anchor under another Island, on which I went ashore, and named it, *The Earl of Bridgwater's Island*. The Carpenter wrought hard in repairing our Boat: Whilst I wandered up and down on this Desart Island, I could

could not perceive, that ever there had been any Salvages on it; and in brief, we could find neither Fiſh, Fowl, nor Herb upon it, ſo that I returned comfortleſs on Board again. The Tides do high about ſome ſix Foot, now that the Wind is Northerly. The Flood comes from the North, and it doth flow half Tide. The full Sea this Day was at one a Clock. Here, ſeeing the Winds continue ſo Northerly, that we could not get about to go into *Hudſon*'s Bay; we conſidered again what was beſt to do, to look out for a Wintering place. Some adviſed me to go for Port *Nelſon*, becauſe we were certain that there was a Cove, where we might bring in our Ship. I liked not that Counſel; for that it is a moſt perilous place, and that it might be ſo long ere we could get thither, that we might be debar'd by the Ice. Moreover, ſeeing it was ſo cold here, as that every Night our Rigging did freeze; and that ſometimes in the Morning, we did ſhovel away the Snow half a foot thick off our Decks, and in that Latitude too: I thought it far worſe in the other place. I reſolved thereupon, to ſtand again to the Southward, there to look for ſome little Creek or Cove for our Ship.

The 21th, the Wind came up at N. and we Weighed, although it was a very thick Fog, and ſtood away S. W. to clear our ſelves of the Shoalds that were on the point of this Iſland. This Iſland is in Lat. 53. 10. When we were clear, we ſteer'd away S. At Noon the Fog turned into Rain, but very thick Weather, and it did thunder all the Afternoon, which made us doubt a Storm; for all which, we adventured to proceed. In the Evening, the Wind encreaſed, and blew hard; wherefore we took in all our Sails, and let her drive to the Southward, heaving the Lead every Glaſs. Our Depth, when we took in our Sails, was 30 Fathom, and it did encreaſe to 45. which was a great comfort to us in the dark: At Midnight, our Depth began ſuddenly to decreaſe; and as faſt as the Lead could be heaved, it ſhoalded to 20 Fathom, wherefore we chopt to an Anchor and trimmed our Ship *aft*, to mount on the Sea, and fitted all things to ride it out. There was no need to bid our Men watch, not one of them putting his Eyes together all the Night long. We rid it out well all the Night, although the Sea went very lofty, and that it did blow very hard.

The 22d in the Morning, when we could look about us, we ſaw an Iſland under our Lee ſome Leagues off, all being Shoalds and Breaches betwixt us and it. At Noon (with the help of the Windward Tide) we attempted to heave up our Anchor, although the Sea ſtill went very lofty. Joining all our Strengths therefore, with our beſt skills, God be thanked, we had it up; but before we could ſet our Sails we were driven into nine Fathom. Indeavouring thereupon to Double a Point, to get under the Lee of this Iſland, the Water ſhoalded to ſeven, ſix, and five Fathom, but when we were about, it did deepen again, and we came to an Anchor in a very good place; and it was very good for us that we did, for the Wind increaſed to a very Storm. Here we rid well all the Night, took good reſt, and recovered our ſpent Strengths again. The laſt Night and this Morning it did Snow and Hail, and was very cold: Nevertheleſs, I took the Boat and went aſhore to look for ſome Creek or Cove to have in our Ship, for ſhe was very leaky, and the Company become ſickly and weak, with much Pumping and extream Labour. This Iſland, when we came to the Shore, it was nothing but ledges of Rocks, and Banks of Sand, and there went a very great Surf on them. Nevertheleſs, I made them row thorow it, and aſhore I got with two more, and made them row off without the Breaches; and there to come to an Anchor and to ſtay for me: I made what ſpeed I could to the top of a Hill, to diſcover about, but could not ſee what we looked for: Thus becauſe it began to blow hard, I made haſte towards the Boat again. I found that it had Ebbed ſo low, that the Boat could not by any means come near the Shore for me, ſo that we were fain to wade thorow the Surf and Breaches to her; in which, ſome took ſuch a Cold, that they did complain of it to their Dying-Day. But now it began to blow hard, ſo that we could not get but little to Windward toward our Ship, for the Wind was ſhifted ſince we went aſhore, and return to the ſhore, we could not, by reaſon of the Surf. Well, we Row for life; they in the Ship, let out a Buoy by a long Warp, and by God's Aſſiſtance we got to it, and ſo haled up to the Ship, where we were well welcom'd, and we all rejoyc'd together. This was a Premonition to us, to be careful how we ſent off the Boat, for that it was Winter Wea-

Weather already. I named this Island, *Sir* Thomas Roe's *Island*: It is full of small Wood; but in other Benefits not very rich, and stands in Latitude 52. 10. At Noon we Weighed, seeing an Island that bare S. S. E. of us, some four Leagues off, which was the highest Land we had yet seen in this Bay; but as we came near it, it suddenly shoalded to six, five, and four Fathom, wherefore we struck our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor; but it was very foul ground, and when the Ship was winded up, we had but three Fathom at her Stern. As it cleared, we could see the Breaches all alongst under our Lee, holding it safe therefore to stay long here, we settled every thing in order, for the Ship to fall the right way. We had up our Anchor, got into deep Water, and stood over again for Sir *Thomas Roe*'s Island; which by Night we brought in the Wind of us, some two Leagues off, which did well shelter us. The Tides run very quick here amongst these Shoalds; and their times of running Ebb, or Flood, be very uncertain: Their Currants are likewise so distracted, that in the Night there is no Sailing by the Compass; wherefore we were fain to seek every Night some new place of Security to come to an Anchor.

The 24th in the Morning, it did lower, and threaten a Storm, which made us with the Windward Tide, Weigh to get nearer under the Island. It was very thick foggy Weather; and as we stood to the North Eastward, we came to very uncertain depths; at one cast 20 Fathom, the next seven, then 10, five, eight, and three, and coming to the other Tack, we were worse than we were before, the Currants making a fool of our best Judgments in the thick Fog when we could see no Land-Marks. It pleased God that we got clear of them, and endeavoured to get under the Lee of the Island. This being not able to do, we were fain to come to an Anchor in 35 Fathom, some two Leagues off the Shore: All this Afternoon (and indeed all Night too) it did Snow and Hail, and was very Cold.

The 25th we Weighed, and thought to get to the Eastward; but as we Tackt to and again, the Wind shifted so in our Teeths, that it put us within a quarter of a Mile of the very Shore; where we chopt to an Anchor, and rid it out for Life and Death. Such Miseries as these we endured amongst these Shoalds and broken Grounds, or rather more desperate than I have related, (very unpleasant perchance to be read) with Snow, Hail, and stormy Weather, and colder than ever I felt it in *England* in my life. Our Shoote-Anchor was down twice or thrice a day, which extream Pains made a great part of the Company sickly.

All this lasted with us, until the 30th of this Month of *September*, which we thought would have put an end to our Miseries; for now we were driven amongst Rocks, Shoalds, Over-falls, and Breaches round about us, that which way to turn we knew not; but there rid amongst them in extremity of distress. All these Perils, made a most hideous and terrible noise in the Night Season; and I hope it will not be accounted ridiculous, if I relate with what Meditations I was affected, now and then, amongst my ordinary Prayers; which I here afford the Reader, as I there conceived them in these few ragged and torn Rhimes.

OH, my poor soul, why dost thou grieve to see,
So many Deaths muster to murther me?
Look to thy self, regard not me; for I
Must do, (for what I came) perform, or die.
So thou mayst free thy self from being in
A dung-hill dungeon; a meer sink of sin,
And happily be freed, if thou believe,
Truly in God through Christ, and ever live.
Be therefore glad yet: ere thou go from hence,
For our joint Sins, let's do some Penitence,
Unfeignedly together. When we part,
I'll wish the Angels joy, with all my heart.
We have with confidence relied upon
A rusty Wire, touch'd with a little Stone,
Incompast round with Paper, and alas
To house it harmless, nothing but a Glass,
And thought to shun a thousand dangers, by
The blind direction of this senseless fly.
When the fierce Winds shatter'd black nights asunder,
Whose pitchy Clouds, spitting forth Fire and Thunder,
Hath shook the Earth, and made the Ocean roar;
And run to hide it, in the broken shore:
Now thou must Steer by faith; a better guide,
I will bring thee safe to Heaven against the Tide
Of Satans Malice. Now let quiet gales
Of saving Grace, inspire thy zealous Sails.

The first of *October* was indifferent fair Weather, and with a Windward Tide, out went our Boat, to Sound a Channel to help us out of this perilous Place. The Boat, within two hours returned; and told us, how she had been a way where there was no less than 12 Fathom. We presently thereupon Weighed, but found it otherwise, and came amongst many strange Races, and Over-falls, upon which there went a very great and breaking Sea: As we proceeded, the Water shoalded to six Fathom.

Well! There was no remedy, we muſt go forward, happy be lucky, ſeeing there neither was any riding, and as little hope to turn any way with a Sail, but that there appeared preſent death in it. It pleaſed God ſo to direct us, that we got thorow it, having no leſs than five ſeveral, and all very uncertain depths. The Water, ſometimes deepened to 20 Fathoms, then upon a ſudden, it ſhoalded to ſeven, ſix, and five Fathoms; ſo we ſtruck all our Sails amain, and chopt to an Anchor, where we rid till Midnight, for life and death, it blowing a mercileſs gale of Wind, and the Sea going very lofty, and all in a breach: The Ground was foul Ground too, inſomuch that we doubted our Cable every Minute.

The 2d in the Morning was little Wind; wherefore taking the opportunity of the Tide, the Boat went forth to Sound; which returning again in two hours, told us how they had Sounded about that ſhoald, and had found a place of ſome ſafety to ride in, and had been in no leſs Water than five Fathom. We Weighed, and found our Cable galled in two places; which had ſoon failed us, if the foul Weather had continued. We ſtood the ſame way that the Boat did direct us; but it proved ſo Calm, that we came to an Anchor in 18 Fathom. I took the Boat, and went aſhore on an Iſland that was to the Southward of us, which I named, *The Earl of* Danby's *Iſland*. From the higheſt place in it, I could ſee it all broken Grounds and Shoalds to the Southward; and rather worſe than any thing better than that which we had been in. I found that the Salvages had been upon it, and that it was full of Wood. I made haſte to the Boat to ſound the Bay for fear of Shoalds and ſunken Rocks, but found it indifferent good. Toward the Evening it began to blow hard; wherefore we made towards the Ship. She put forth a Buoy and a Warp, and we rowing for life to recover her, were put to the Leeward of her; but by getting hold of the Warp, we hal'd up to her. The Boat we left half full of Water, our ſelves being as wet as drown'd Rats; and it made us the more rejoyce, that we had eſcap'd this great danger. All this Night, we had a very hard rode-ſteede, it blowing a moſt violent gale of Wind, with Snow and Hail.

The 3d about Noon, the Wind dull'd, and we had up our Anchor, ſtanding in further into the Bay into four Fathom and a half Water. Here we came again to an Anchor, with our ſecond Anchor; for many of our Men are now ſick, and the reſt ſo weakened, that we can hardly weigh our Shoote-Anchor: I took the Boat, and went preſently aſhore to ſee what Comfort I could find: This was the firſt time that I put foot on this Iſland, which was the ſame that we did after Winter upon. I found the Tracks of Deer, and ſaw ſome Fowl; but that that did rejoyce me moſt, was, that I did ſee an opening into the Land, as if it had been a River. To it we make with all ſpeed, but found it to be Barr'd, and not two Foot Water at full Sea on the Bar; and yet within, a moſt excellent fine Harbour, having four Fathom Water. In the Evening, I return'd aboard, bringing little Comfort for our Sick Men more than Hopes.

The 4th, it did Snow and Blow very hard, yet I got aſhore, and appointed the Boat to go to another place, (which made like a River) and to Sound it. In the mean time, I went with four more, ſome four or five Miles up into the Country, but could find no relief all that way for our Sick, but a few Berries only. After we had well wearied our ſelves in the troubleſome Woods, we return'd to the Place I had appointed the Boat to tarry for me; where at my coming I ſtill found her, ſhe having not been where I had ordered her, for it had blown ſuch a fierce gale of Wind, that ſhe could not row to Windward. Thus we return'd aboard with no good News. It continued foul Weather, with Snow and Hail, and extream Cold, till the 6th, when with a favouring Wind, we ſtood in nearer to the Shore, and here Moor'd the Ship.

The 7th, it Snow'd all day, ſo that we were fain to clear it of the Decks with Shovels, and it blew a very Storm withal. It continued Snowing and very cold Weather, and it did ſo freeze, that all the Bows of the Ship, with her Beakhead, was all Ice; about the Cable alſo, was Ice as big as a Man's middle. The Bows of the Boat were likewiſe frozen half a Foot thick, ſo that we were fain to hew and beat it off. The Sun did ſhine very clear; and we tore the Topſails out of the Tops, which were hard frozen in them, into a lump; ſo that there they hung a Sunning all day, in a very lump; the Sun not having power to Thaw one drop of them. After the

Boat

Boat was fitted, we Rowed towards the Shore, but could not come near the place where we were used to Land, for that it was all thickned Water with the Snow, that had fallen upon the Sands, that are dry at low Water. This made it so difficult to Row, that we could not set through it with four Oars, yet something higher to the Westward, we got ashore. Seeing now the Winter to come thus extreamly on upon us, and that we had very little Wood aboard, I made them fill the Boat, and went aboard and sent the Carpenter and others to cut Wood, others to carry it to the Waterside, whilst the Boat brought it aboard, for I doubted that we were likely to be debar'd the Shore, and that we should not go to and again with the Boat. It was miserable and Cold already aboard the Ship; every thing did freeze in the Hold, and by the Fire side: Seeing therefore that we could no longer make use of our Sails, (which be the Wings of a Ship) it raised many Doubts in our Minds that here we must stay and Winter. After we had brought so much Wood aboard as we could conveniently Stow, and enough as I thought would have lasted two or three Months, the sick Men desired that some little House or Hovel might be built a-shore, whereby they might be the better sheltered, and recover their Healths. I took the Carpenter, (and others whom I thought fit for such a purpose) and chosing out a Place, they went immediately to work upon it. In the mean space, I my self, accompanied with some others, wandered up and down in the Woods, to see if we could discover any signs of Salvages, that so we might the better provide for our Safeties against them. We found no appearance that there was any on this Island nor near unto it: The Snow by this time was half-Leg high; and Stalking through it, we returned comfortless to our Companions, who had all this time wrought well upon our House. They aboard the Ship, took down our Top-sails in the mean while, and made a great Fire upon the Hearth in the Hatch-way; so that having well thaw'd them, they folded them up, and put them betwixt Decks, that if we had any Weather, they might bring them again to Yard: Thus in the Evening we returned aboard.

The 12th, we took our Main-sail from the Yard, which was hard frozen to it, and carried it ashore to cover our House with all, being first fain to Thaw it by a great fire: By Night they had covered it, and had almost hedged it about; and the six Builders did desire to lie in it ashore that Night, which I condescended unto, having first fitted them with Muskets and other Furniture, and a charge to keep good watch all Night. Moreover, they had ashore two Greyhounds, (a Dog and a Bitch) which I had brought out of *England*, to kill us some Deer, if happily we could find any.

By the 13th at Night, our House was ready; and our six Builders desired they might Travel up into the Country to see what they could discover.

The 14th, betimes in the Morning, being fitted with Munition, and their Order to keep together, (but especially to seek out some Creek or Cove for our Ship) they departed. We aboard, took down our two Top-Masts and their Rigging, making account if we did remove, to make use of our Foresail and Mizen.

The 15th in the Evening, our Hunters returned very weary, and brought with them a small, lean Deer, in four quarters, which rejoyced us all, hoping we should have had more of them to refresh our Sick Men withall. They reported, that they had wandered above 20 miles, and had brought this Deer above 12 miles, and that they had seen nine or ten more. The last Night, they had a very cold Lodging in the Woods; and so it appeared, for they lookt all almost starved, nor could they recover themselves in three or four days after. They saw no sign of Salvages, nor of any ravening wild Beasts, nor yet any hope of Harbour.

The 17th, my Lieutenant, and five more, desired they might try their Fortunes in Travelling about the Island. But they had far worse luck than the others, although they endured out all Night, and had wandered very far in the Snow, (which was now very deep) and returned comfortless and miserably disabled with the Coldness. But what was worse than all this, they had lost one of their Company, *John Barton*, namely, our Gunner's Mate; who being very weary, meerly to save the going about, had attempted to go over a Pond that was a quarter of a Mile over; where when he was in the very middest, the Ice brake and closed upon him, and we never saw him more. Considering these Disasters, I resolved to Fish no more with

with a golden Hook; for fear, I weakned my ſelf more with one Hunting than twenty ſuch dear Deers could do me good. Being now aſſured, that there was no Salvages upon the Iſland, nor yet about us on the other Iſlands; no, nor on the Main neither, as far as we could diſcover, (which we further proved by making of Fires) and that the cold Seaſon was now in that extremity, that they could not come to us, if there were any; we comforted and refreſhed our ſelves, by ſleeping the more ſecurely. We changed our Iſland Gariſon every week, and for other refreſhing we were like to have none till the Spring.

From this 10th, to the 29th, it did (by *interims*) Snow and blow ſo hard, that the Boat could hardly adventure aſhore, and but ſeldom Land, unleſs the Men did wade in the thick congealed Water, carrying one another. We did ſenſibly perceive withall, how we did daily ſink into more Miſeries. The Land was all deep covered with Snow, the Cold did multiply, and the thick Snow-Water did increaſe; and what would become of us, our moſt merciful God and Preſerver knew only.

The 29th, I obſerved an Eclipſe of the Moon, with what care poſſibly I could, both in the trial of the Exactneſs of our Inſtruments, as alſo in the Obſervation: I refer you to the Obſervation in the latter end of this Relation, where it is at large deſcribed. This Month of *October* ended with Snow and bitter cold Weather.

The firſt of *November* I caſt up my Accounts with the Steward concerning our Victual, the third part of our time being this day out. I found him an honeſt Man; for he gave me an Account every Week what was ſpent, and what was ſtill in the hold remaining under his Hand: I would take no Excuſe of Leakage or other waſte, unleſs he did daily ſhow it me. Every Month, I made a new Survey; and every ſix Months, put what we had ſpared, by it ſelf; which now was at leaſt a Months Proviſion of Bread, and a Fortnights of Peaſe and Fiſh, *&c.*

The 3d, the Boat endeavoured to get aſhore, but could not ſet thorow the thick congealed Water.

The 4th, they found a Place to get aſhore, and ſo once in two or three days, till the 9th, bringing Beer to our Men aſhore in a Barrel, which would freeze firmly in the Houſe in one Night. Other Proviſion they had ſtore. The Ice Beer being Thaw'd in a Kettle, was not good; and they did break the Ice of the Ponds of Water, to come by Water to drink. This Pond-Water had a moſt loathſome ſmell with it; ſo that doubting leſt it might be infectious, I cauſed a Well to be ſunk near the Houſe. There we had very good Water, which did taſte (as we flattered our ſelves with it) even like Milk.

The 10th, (having ſtore of Boards for ſuch a purpoſe) I put the Carpenter to work, to make us a little Boat which we might carry (if occaſion were) over the Ice and make uſe of her, where there was Water. At Noon I took the Latitude of this Iſland by two Quadrants, which I found to be 52. 00. I urged the Men to make traps to catch Foxes, for we did daily ſee many. Some of them were pied, black and white; whereby I gathered that there was ſome black Foxes, whoſe Skins, I told them, were of a great value; and I promiſed, that whoſoever could taken one of them, ſhould have the Skin for his Reward: Hereupon, they made divers Traps, and waded in the Snow (which was very deep) to place them in the Woods.

The 12th, our Houſe took fire, but we ſoon quenched it. We were fain to keep an extraordinary fire Night and Day; and this Accident made me order a watch to look to it continually; ſeeing, that if our Houſe and Clothing ſhould be burnt, that all we were but in a woful Condition. I lay aſhore till the 17th, all which time our Miſeries did increaſe. It did Snow and Freeze moſt extremely. At which time, we looking from the Shore towards the Ship, ſhe did look like a piece of Ice in the faſhion of a Ship, or a Ship reſembling a piece of Ice. The Snow was all frozen about her, and all her fore-part firm Ice, and ſo was ſhe on both ſides alſo. Our Cables froze in the Hawſe, wonderful to behold. I got me aboard, where the long Nights I ſpent, with tormenting Cogitations; and in the Day time, I could not ſee any hope of Saving the Ship. This I was aſſured of, that it was moſt impoſſible to endure theſe Extremities long. Every Day the Men muſt beat the Ice off the Cables; while ſome within board, with the Carpenters long Calking Iron, did dig the Ice out of the Hawſes; in which work, the Water would freeze on their Clothes and Hands, and would ſo Benumb them, that they could hardly get into the

Ship.

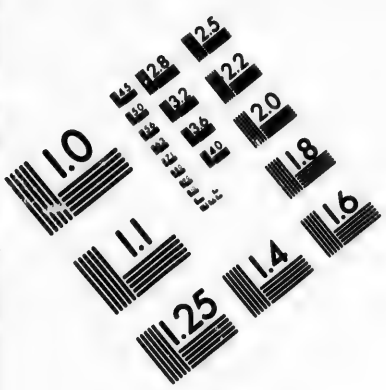
Ship, without being heav'd in with a Rope.

The 19th, our Gunner, (who as you may remember, had his Leg cut off) did languiſh irrecoverably, and now grew very weak; deſiring, that for the little time he had to live, he might drink Sack altogether, which I ordered he ſhould do.

The 22th in the Morning he died. An honeſt and a ſtrong-hearted Man. He had a cloſe-boarded Cabin in the Gun-room, which was very cloſe indeed; and as many Clothes on him as was convenient, (for we wanted no Clothes) and a Pan with Coals, and a Fire continually in his Cabin: For all which warmth, his Plaiſter would freeze at his Wound, and his Bottle of Sack at his Head. We committed him at a good diſtance from the Ship unto the Sea.

The 23th, the Ice did increaſe extraordinarily, and the Snow lay on the Water in flakes, as it did fall; much Ice withal drove by us, yet nothing hard all this while. In the Evening, after the watch was ſet, a great piece came athwart our Hawſe, and four more followed after him, the leaſt of them a quarter of a Mile broad; which in the dark did very much aſtoniſh us, thinking it would have carried us out of the Harbour, upon the ſhoalds Eaſter-point, which was full of Rocks. It was newly congealed, a matter of two Inches thick, and we broke thorow it, the Cable and Anchor indaring an incredible ſtreſs, ſometimes ſtopping the whole Ice. We ſhot off three Muskets, ſignifying to our Men aſhore, that we were in Diſtreſs; who anſwered us again, but could not help us. By ten a Clock it was all paſt; nevertheleſs, we watched carefully, and the Weather was warmer than we had felt it any time this Month. In the Morning, at break of Day, I ſent for our Men aboard, who made up the Houſe, and arrived by ten, being driven by the way, to wade thorow the congealed Water, ſo that they recovered to the Boat with difficulty. There drove by the Ship many pieces of Ice, though not ſo large as the former, yet much thicker: One piece came foul of the Cable, and made the Ship drive.

As ſoon as we were clear of it, we joyned our Strengths together, and had up our Eaſtermoſt Anchor; and now I reſolved to bring the Ship a-ground, for no Cables nor Anchors could hold her: But I will here ſhow you the Reaſons why I brought her no ſooner a-ground. Firſt, It was all Stony-ground, ſome Stones lying dry, three or four foot above Water; ſo that it was to be ſuſpected, that it was the like all about us. Secondly, It did ordinarily flow but two Foot and a half here; and if ſhe ſhould bed deep in the Sands, we could not ever come to dig her out again; for that ſhe would not be dry, by four or five Foot. Thirdly, It was a looſe Sand, which might riſe with the Surf, or ſo mount about her; that all our weak powers could not heave it away in the next Spring-time. Fourthly, We doubted the Tides would not high ſo much in the Summer as they did now. Fifthly, We could not bring her out of the Tides way, which doth run ſomething quick here; and the Ice, beſides, might drive and mount up upon her, and ſo over-ſet her, or tear her, and carry away her Planks, Iron-works and all; ſo that we ſhould have nothing left to finiſh our Pinnace with. Sixthly, If it did blow a Storm at N. W. or thereabouts, the Water would flow ten Foot and upwards; and that Wind being off the Shore, it would blow away all the Ice, and there would come in an extraordinary great Surf about the ſhoald Eaſtern-Point, which was occaſioned by a deep Overfall. Moreover, ſhe would Beat extreamly; and if ſhe were put up by the Sea, or that Surf, it was very doubtful that we ſhould never have her off again. For theſe Reaſons we endured all the extremity, ſtill hoping upon ſome good and fortunate Accident. But now all our provident Deſigns we ſaw to become Fooliſhneſs; and that a great deal of miſerable Labour had been ſpent in vain by us. With the Flood we Weighed our Weſtermoſt Anchor, perceiving God's Aſſiſtance manifeſtly, becauſe it happened to be fine warm Weather, otherwiſe we had not been able to work. The Wind was now South, which blew in upon the Shore, and made the loweſt Tides. We brought the Ship into 12 Foot Water, and laid out one Anchor in the Offing, and another in ſhoald Water, to draw her a land at command. Our Hope alſo was, that ſome Stones that were to the Weſtward of us, would fend off ſome of the Ice. We then being about a Mile from the Shore, about ten a Clock in the dark Night, the Ice came driving upon us, and our Anchors came home. She drove ſome two Cables length; and the Wind blowing



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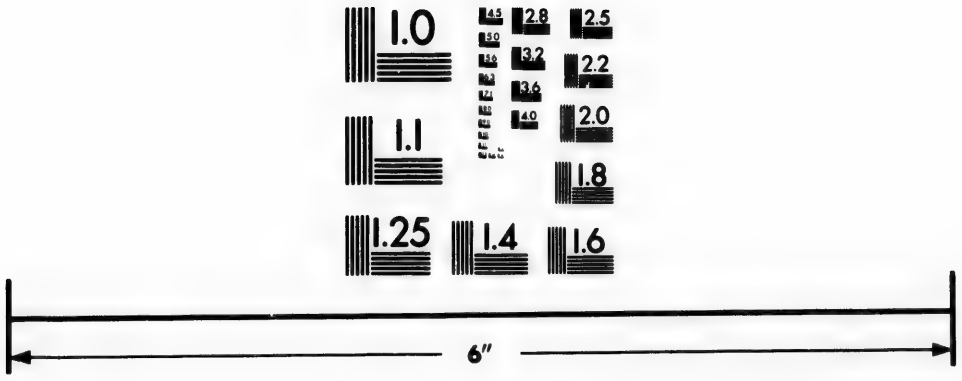

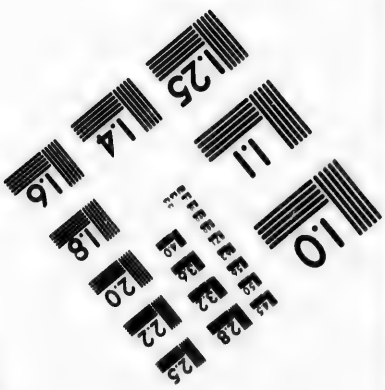

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on the Shore, by two a Clock ſhe came a-ground, and ſtopt much Ice; yet ſhe lay well all Night, and we took ſome reſt.

The 25th, the Wind ſhifted Eaſterly, and put abundance of Ice on us. When the Flood was made, we incouraged one another, and to Work we go, drawing home our Anchors by main force, under great pieces of Ice, our endeavour being to put the Ship to the Shore. But to our great Diſcomforts, when the half Tide was made, (which was two hours before High-Water) the Ship drove amongſt the Ice to the Eaſtward, (do what we could) and ſo would have on the ſhoald Rocks. As I have formerly ſaid, theſe two days, and this day, was very warm Weather, and it did Rain, which it had not yet but once done, ſince we came hither; otherwiſe, it had been impoſſible we could have wrought. Withall, the Wind ſhifted alſo to the South, and at the very inſtant, blew a hard puff; which ſo continued for half an hour. I cauſed our two Top-ſails to be had up from betwixt Decks, and we hoiſted them up with Ropes in all haſte, and we forced the Ship aſhore, when ſhe had not half a Cables length to drive on the Rocky Shoalds. In the Evening we broke way thorow the Ice, and put an Anchor to Shoreward in five Foot Water, to keep her to the Shore if poſſible it might be. Here Sir *Hugh Willoughby* came into my Mind, who without doubt was driven out of his Harbour in this manner, and ſo ſtarved at Sea. But God was more merciful to us. About nine a Clock at Night, the Wind came up at North-Weſt, and blew a very Storm. This Wind was off the Shore, which blew away all the Ice from about us, long before we were afloat. There came in a great rowling Sea withall about the Point, accompanied with a great Surf on the Shore. And now were we left to the Mercy of the Sea on the Ground. By ten, ſhe began to rowl in her Dock; and ſoon after, began to Beat againſt the Ground. We ſtood at the Capſtang as many as could, others at the Pumps; for we thought that every fifth or ſixth blow would have ſtaved her to pieces. We heaved to the uttermoſt of our ſtrengths to keep her as near the Ground as we could. By reaſon of this Wind, it flowed very much Water, and we drew her up ſo high, that it was doubtfull if ever we ſhould get her off again. She continued thus Beating, till two a Clock the next Morning, and then ſhe again ſettled. Whereupon we went to Sleep to reſtore Nature; ſeeing the next Tide we expected to be again tormented.

The 26th, in the Morning-Tide, our Ship did not float, whereby we had ſome quietneſs. After Prayers, I called a Conſultation of the Maſter, my Lieutenant, the Mates, Carpenter, and Boat-ſwain; to whom I propoſed, that now we were put to our laſt Shifts, and therefore they ſhould tell me what they thought of it: Namely, whether it were not beſt, to carry all our Proviſion aſhore; and that when the Wind ſhould come Northerly, it were not ſafeſt to draw her further off, and ſink her. After many Reaſonings they allowed of my purpoſe, and ſo I communicated it to the Company, who all willingly agreed to it. And ſo we fell to getting up of our Proviſions; firſt our Bread, of which we landed this Day two Dry-Fats with a Hogſhead of Beef; having much ado to ſet the Boat thorow the thick congealed Water. In the Evening, the Wind came up at N. E. and E. and fill'd the Bay choakfull of Ice.

The 27th, the Bay continued full of Ice, which I hoped would ſo continue and freeze, that we ſhould not be put to ſink our Ship. This Day we could Land nothing.

The 28th, at break of day, three of our Men went aſhore over the Ice, unknown to me; and the Wind coming up at W. drove the Ice from betwixt us and the Shore, and moſt part out of the Bay alſo: And yet not ſo, that the Boat could go aſhore for any thing. I made the Carpenter fit a place againſt all ſudden Extremities, for that with the firſt N. W. or Northerly Wind, I meant to effect our laſt project. In the run of her, on the Starboard-ſide, he cut away the Sealing and the Plank to the Sheathing ſome four or five Inches ſquare, ſome four Foot high from the Keel of her, that ſo it might be Boared out at an inſtant. We brought our Bread which was remaining in the Bread-room, up into the great Cabin, and likewiſe all our Powder, ſetting much of our light dry things betwixt Decks.

The 29th, at five a Clock in the Morning, the Wind came up at W. N W. and began to blow very hard. It was ordinary for the Wind to ſhift from the W. by the N. round about. So

firſt

first I ordered the Cooper to go down in Hold, and look to all our Cask; those that were full, to mawle in the Bungs of them; those that were empty, to get up, or if they could not be gotten up, to Stave them. Then to quoil all our Cables upon our lower Tire; and to lay on our spare Anchors, and any thing that was weighty, to keep it down from rising. By seven a Clock, it blew a Storm at N. W. our bitter Enemy. The Ship was already Bedded some two Foot in the Sand, and whilst that was a flowing, she must Beat. This I before had in my Consideration; for I thought she was so far driven up, that we should never get her off. Yet we had been so ferrited by her last beating, that I resolved to sink her right down, rather than run that hazard. By nine a Clock, she began to rowl in her Dock, with a most extraordinary great Sea that was come; which I found to be occasioned by the forementioned Overfall. And this was the fatal Hour that put us to our Wits end. Wherefore I went down in Hold with the Carpenter, and took his Auger and bored a hole in the Ship, and let in the Water. Thus with all speed, we began to cut out other places, to bore thorow, but every place was full of Nails. By ten, notwithstanding, the lower Tire was coved with Water; for all which, she began so to beat in her Dock, more and more, that we could not work, nor stand to do any thing in her: Nor would she sink so fast as we would have her, but continued beating double blows; first abaft, and then before, that it was wonderful, how she could endure a quarter of an hour with it. By twelve a Clock, her lower Tire rose; and that did so counter-beat on the inside, that it beat the bulk-heads of the Bread-Room, Powder-Room, and Fore-piece, all to pieces; and when it came betwixt Decks, the Chests fled wildly about, and the Water did flash and fly wonderfully; so that now we expected every Minute when the Ship would open and break to pieces. At one a Clock she beat off her Rudder, and that was gone we knew not which way. Thus she continued beating till three a Clock; and then the Sea came up on the Upper-Deck, and soon after, she began to settle. In her, we were fain to Sink the most part of our Bedding and Clothes; and the Chirurgeons Chest with the rest. Our Men that were ashore, stood looking upon us, almost dead with Cold, and Sorrows to see our Misery and their own. We look'd upon them again; and both upon each other with woeful Hearts. Dark Night drew on, and I bade the Boat to be haled up, and commanded my loving Companions to go all into her; who, (in some refusing Compliments) expressed their faithful Affections to me, as loth to part from me. I told them, that my meaning was to go ashore with them. And thus, lastly, I forsook the Ship.

We were 17 poor Souls now in the Boat; and we now imagined, That *we were leapt out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire*: The Ebb was made, and the Water extraordinary thick congealed with Snow; so that we thought assuredly, it would carry us away into the Sea. We thereupon double-Man'd four Oars, appointing four more to sit ready with Oars; and so with the help of God we got to the Shore, halling up the Boat after us. One thing was most strange in this thick Water: Namely, That there went a great swelling Sea. Being arrived upon the Land, we greeted our Fellows the best we could; at which time they could not know us, nor we them by our Habits nor Voices, so frozen all over we were, Faces, Hair, and Apparel. And here I mean to take breath a-while, after all this long and unpleasant Relation of our miserable Endeavours; craving leave first of all to speak a word or two in general.

The Winds, since we came hither, have been very variable and unconstant; and till within this fortnight, the Southerly Wind was the coldest. The reason I conceive to be, for that it did blow from the Main-Land, which was all covered with Snow; and for that the North Winds came out of the great Bay which hitherto was open. Add to that; we were now under a South Bank which did shelter us, so that we were not so sensible of it.

A N. W. a N. W. by N. and a N. N. W. Wind (if it blew a Storm) would raise the Tides extraordinarily: And in brief, from the W. N. W. to the N. N. E. would raise the Tides in proportion, as they did blow from the middle Point: The Wind being on the opposite Points (if it blew) it would flow very little at all. The harder it blew, the less Water it would flow. If it were little Wind, or Calm, it would flow indifferently. The Tides do high ordi-

ordinarily (without being forced) about three Foot; but being forced with the forementioned Winds, upwards of ten Foot. I could perceive no difference betwix Neap and Spring-Tides: It flows half Tide; that is, the Flood comes from the Northward; and thither returns again, two hours before it be high Water; and it is commonly ſo ſeen in moſt Bays or Inlets.

OUR WINTERING.

Our Wintering.

AFter we had haled up the Boat, we went alongſt the Breach-ſide in the dark, towards our Houſe, where we made a good Fire, and with it, and Bread and Water, we Thawed and comforted our ſelves, beginning after that to reaſon one with another, concerning our Ship. I requir'd that every one ſhould ſpeak his Mind freely. The Carpenter (eſpecially) was of the Opinion, that ſhe was fonder'd, and would never be ſerviceable again. He alledged, that ſhe had ſo beaten, that it was not poſſible, but that all her Joints were looſe, and Seams open; and that by reaſon it flowed ſo little Water, and no Creek nor Cove being near, wherein to bring her a-ground, he could not Deviſe how he might come to mend it. Moreover, her Rudder was loſt, and he had no Iron-work to hang on another. Some alledged, that we had heaved her up ſo high upon the Sands, that they thought we ſhould never have her off again, and that they were aſſured ſhe was already Dockt three Foot. Others, that ſhe lay in the Tides way, and that the Ice might tear her to pieces off the Ground; beſides which, two of our Anchors we could not now get from under the Ice; which when the Ice brake (which would be of a great thickneſs by the Spring) would break our Anchors to pieces, and then we ſhould have no Anchors to bring us home withall, ſuppoſed we got off the Ship, and that ſhe proved Sound alſo. I comforted them the beſt I could with ſuch-like Words, My Maſters and faithful Companions, be not diſmaid for any of theſe Diſaſters, but let us put our whole truſt in God; It is he that giveth and he that taketh away; he throws down with one hand, and raiſeth up with another: His will be done. If it be our Fortunes to end our days here we are as near Heaven as in *England*; and we are much bound to God Almighty for giving us ſo large a time of Repentance, who as it were daily calls upon us, to prepare our ſelves for a better life in Heaven. I make no doubt, but he will be merciful to us both here on Earth, and in his bleſſed Kingdom; he doth not in the mean time deny, but that we may uſe all honeſt means to ſave and prolong our natural Lives withall; and in my Judgment, we are not yet ſo far paſt hope of returning into our Native Countries, but that I ſee a fair way by which we may effect it. Admit the Ship be foundered, (which God forbid, I hope the beſt) yet have thoſe of our own Nation, and others, when they have been put to theſe Extremities, even out of the Wreck of their loſt Ship, built then a Pinnace, and recovered to their Friends again. If it be objected, That they have happened into better Climates, both for temperateneſs of the Air, and for pacifick and open Seas; and provided withall, of abundance of freſh Victuals; yet there is nothing too hard for couragious Minds, which hitherto you have ſhown, and I doubt not will ſtill do, to the uttermoſt.

They all proteſted to work to the uttermoſt of their Strength, and that they would refuſe nothing that I ſhould order them to do, to the uttermoſt hazard of their lives. I thank'd them all; And to the Carpenter for his cheerful undertaking, I promiſed to give him ſo much Plate preſently, as ſhould be worth Ten Pound Sterling; and if ſo be I went to *England* in the Pinnace, I would give her him freely, and Fifty Pounds in Money over and above; and would moreover, gratifie all them, that I ſhould ſee

painful

painful and induſtrious. Thus we then reſolved, to build us a new Pinnace with the Timber we ſhould get upon the Iſland; that in the Spring, if we found not the Ship Serviceable, we might tear her up, and Plank her with the Ships Planks. And ſo for this Night we ſettled our ſelves cloſe about the Fire, and took ſome reſt till day-light.

The 30th betimes in the Morning, I cauſed the Chirurgeon to cut the Hair of my Head ſhort, and to ſhave away all the Hair of my Face, for that it was become intolerable, and that it would be frozen ſo great with Ice-ſickles: The like did all the reſt.

The firſt of *November* we fitted our ſelves to work. The firſt thing we were to do, was to get our Clothes and Proviſions aſhore, and therefore I divided the Company. The Maſter and a convenient Company with him, were to go aboard, and to get things out of the Hold. The Cock-ſwain with his Gang, were to go in the Boat, to bring and carry things aſhore. My ſelf, with the reſt, to carry it half a Mile thorow the Snow, unto the place where we intended to build a Store-Houſe: As for the heavier Things, we purpoſed to lay them upon the Beach. In the Afternoon the Wind was at South South Weſt, and the Water veer'd to ſo low an Ebb, that we thought we might get ſomething out of our Hold: We Launched our Boat therefore, and with Oars, ſet thorow the thick congealed Water: It did freeze extream hard, and I did ſtand on the Shore with a troubled Mind, thinking verily that with the Ebb the Boat would be carried into the Sea, and that then we were all loſt Men. But by God's Aſſiſtance, they got ſafely to the Ship, and made a Fire there, to ſignifie their arrival aboard. They fell preſently to work, and got ſomething out of the Hold, upon the Decks; but Night coming on, they durſt not adventure to come aſhore, but lay on the Bed in the great Cabbin, being almoſt ſtarved.

The firſt of *December* was ſo Cold, that I went the ſame way over the Ice to the Ship, where the Boat had gone yeſterday. This day we carried upon our Backs in Bundles, 500 of our Fiſh, and much of our Bedding and Clothes, which we were fain to dig out of the Ice.

The 2d was mild Weather; and ſome of the Men going over the Ice, fell in, and very hardly recovered; ſo that this day we could Land nothing, neither by Boat nor Back: I put them therefore to make us a Store-Houſe aſhore. In the Evening, the Wind came up at Weſt; and the Ice did break and drive out of the Bay: It was very deep and large Ice, that we much doubted it would have ſpoiled the Ship.

The 3d day, there were divers great pieces of Ice that came athwart the Ship; and ſhe ſtopt them, yet not ſo, that we could go over them. We found a way for the Boat; but when ſhe was loaden, ſhe drew four foot Water, and could not come within a flight-ſhot of the Shore. The Men therefore muſt wade thorow the thick congealed Water, and carry all things out of the Ship upon their Backs. Every time they waded in the Ice, it ſo gathered about them, that they did ſeem like a walking piece of Ice, moſt lamentable to behold. In this extream cold Evening, they cut away as much Ice from about the Boat as they could, and pickt it with Hand-ſpikes out of her, and endeavouring to hoiſe her into the Ship: There being ſmall hope that ſhe could go to and again any more. But uſe what means they could, ſhe was ſo heavy, that they could not hoiſe her in, but were fain there to leave her in the Tackles by the Ship's ſide.

The 4th, being Sunday, we reſted; and performed the Sabbath-Duties of a Chriſtian.

The 5th and 6th were extream Cold; and we made Bags of our Store-ſhirts, and in them carried our looſe Bread over the Ice aſhore upon our Backs. We alſo digged our Clothes and new-Sails with Hand-ſpikes of Iron, out of the Ice, and carried them aſhort, which we dried by a great Fire.

The 7th day was ſo extreamly Cold, that our Noſes, Cheeks, and Hands, did freeze as white as Paper.

The 8th and 9th it was extream Cold, and it did Snow much, yet we continued our Labour, in carrying and rowling things aſhore. In the Evening the Water raiſed the Ice very high, and it did break two Thoughts of our Boat, and break in the ſide of her; but for that time we could not help it.

The 10th, our Carpenter found Timber to make a Keel, and a Stern, for our Pinnace; the reſt wrought about our Proviſions until the 13th day; and that we ſpent in digging our Boat out of the

Ice, which we were fain to do to the very Keel; and dig the Ice out of her, and then we got her up on the Ice; in which doing, many had their Noſes, Cheeks, and Fingers, frozen as white as Paper. The Cold now encreaſed moſt extreamly. By the 19th, we could get no more things out of our Hold; but were fain to leave five Barrels of Beef and Pork, all our Beer, and divers other things, which were all firm frozen in her.

The 21ſt was ſo Cold, that we could not go out of the Houſe.

The 23th we went to have our Boat aſhore, running her over our Oars, but by ten a Clock there came ſuch a thick Fog, that it was as dark as Night. I made them give over, and make what haſte we could to the Shore; which we had much ado to find, for the time, loſing one another. At the laſt, we met all at the Houſe, the miſerableſt frozen that can be conceived. Upon divers, the Cold had raiſed Bliſters as big as Wall-Nuts. This we imagined to come, by reaſon that they came too haſtily to the Fire. Our Well was now frozen up; ſo that dig as deep as we could, we can come by no Water. Melted Snow-Water is very unwholeſome, either to Drink or to Dreſs our Victuals. It made us ſo ſhort-breathed, that we were ſcarce able to ſpeak. All our Sack, Vinegar, Oil, and every thing elſe that was liquid, was now frozen as hard as a piece of Wood, and we muſt cut it with a Hatchet. Our Houſe was all frozen on the inſide, and it froze hard within a yard of the fires ſide. When I landed firſt upon this Iſland, I found a Spring under a Hills ſide; which I then obſerving, had cauſed ſome Trees to be cut for Marks to know the Place again by. It was about three quarters of a Mile from our Houſe. I ſent three of our Men which had been formerly with me, thither upon the 24th. Theſe wadeing thorow the Snow, at laſt found the place, and ſhoveling away the Snow, they made way to the very head of it. They found it ſpring very ſtrongly, and brought me a Can of it, for which I was right joyful. This Spring continued all the year, and did not freeze, but that we could break the Ice and come to it. We labour'd very hard theſe three or four days, to get Wood to the Houſe, which we found to be very troubleſome, through the deep Snow.

We then ſettled our Bedding and Proviſions, providing to keep *Chriſtmas*-Day Holy, which we Solemnized in the joyfulleſt manner we could; So likewiſe did we St. *John*'s Day; upon which we named the Wood we did Winter in, in Memory of that Honourable Knight, Sir *John Winter*, *Winter's Foreſt*. And now inſtead of a *Chriſtmas* Tail, I will here deſcribe the Houſe that we did live in, with thoſe adjoyning.

When I firſt reſolved to build a Houſe, I choſe the warmeſt and convenienteſt Place, and the neareſt the Ship withall. It was amongſt a Tuft of thick Trees, under a South-Bank, about a flight-ſhot from the Sea's ſide. True it is, That at that time we could not dig into the Ground, to make us a Hole or Cave in the Earth, (which had been the beſt way) becauſe we found Water within two Foot digging; and therefore that project fail'd. It was a white light Sand; ſo that we could by no means make up a Mud-Wall. As for Stones, there were none near us; which, moreover, were all now covered with the Snow. We had no Boards for ſuch a purpoſe, and therefore we muſt do the beſt we could, with ſuch Materials as we had about us.

The Houſe was ſquare, about 20 foot every way, as much namely, as our Main-Courſe could well cover: Firſt we drove ſtrong ſtakes into the Earth, round about, which we watteled with Boughs, as thick as might be, beating them down very cloſe. This our firſt work was ſix Foot high on both ſides; but at the ends, almoſt up to the very top, there we left two holes for the light to come in at; and the ſame way the Smoak did vent out alſo. Moreover, I cauſed at both ends, three rows of thick Buſh-Trees, to be ſtuck up, as cloſe together as might be poſſible. Then at a diſtance from the Houſe, we cut down Trees, proportioning them into lengths of ſix Foot, with which we made a Pile on both ſides, ſix Foot thick, and ſix Foot high; but at both ends, ten Foot high, and ſix Foot thick: We left a little low Door to creep into; and a Portal before that, made with Piles of Wood, that the Wind might not blow into it. We next of all faſtned a rough Tree aloft over all; upon which we laid our Rafters, and our Main-Courſe over thoſe again; which lying thwart-ways over all, did reach down

down to the very ground on either ſide. And this was the Fabrick of the out-ſide of it. On the inſide, we made faſt our Bonnet-ſails, round about. Then we drove in Stakes and made us Bed-ſtead frames, about three ſides of the Houſe; which Bed-ſteads were double one under another, the lowermoſt being a foot from the Ground: Theſe, we firſt fill'd with Boughs, then we laid ſome ſpare Sails on that, and then our Bedding and Cloths. We made a Hearth or Cauſie in the middle of the Houſe, and on it, made our fire; ſome Boards we laid round about our Hearth to ſtand upon, that the cold damp ſhould not ſtrike up into us. With our Waſt-clothes we made us Canopies and Curtains, others did the like with our ſmall Sails.

Our ſecond Houſe was not paſt 20 foot diſtant from this, and made for the watteling much after the ſame manner, but it was leſs, and covered with our Fore-Courſe: It had no Piles on the South-ſide, but in lieu of that, we piled up all our Cheſts, on the inſide; and indeed the reflex of the Heat of the Fire againſt them, did make it warmer then the Manſion-Houſe. In this Houſe, we dreſt our Victuals, and the ſubordinate Crue did refreſh themſelves all day in it.

A third Houſe, (which was our Store-Houſe) we likewiſe made, ſome 20 paces off from this, for fear of firing. This Houſe was only a rough Tree faſtened aloft, with Rafters laid from it to the Ground, and covered with our new Suit of Sails. On the inſide, we had laid ſmall Trees, and covered them over with Boughs, and ſo Stor'd up our Bread and Fiſh in it, about two foot from the Ground, the better to preſerve them. Other things lay more careleſly.

Long before *Chriſtmas*, our Manſion-Houſe was covered thick over with Snow, almoſt to the very Roof of it. And ſo likewiſe was our ſecond Houſe; but our Store-Houſe all over, by reaſon we made no Fire in it. Thus we ſeemed to live in a heap, and Wilderneſs of Snow; forth a-doors we could not go, but upon the Snow; in which we made us Paths middle-deep in ſome Places, and in one ſpecial place, the length of ten Steps. To do this, we muſt Shovel away the Snow firſt; and then by treadding, make it ſomething hard under foot: The Snow in this Path, was a full yard thick under us. And this was our beſt Gallery for the Sickmen, and for mine own ordinary Walking. And both Houſes and Walks, we did daily accommodate more and more, and make fitter for our Uſes.

The 27th we got our Boat aſhore; and fetcht up ſome of our Proviſions from the Beach-ſide into the Store-Houſe; and ſo by degrees did we with the reſt of our Proviſions; with extremity of Cold and Labour, making way with Shovels thorow the deep Snow, even from the Sea-ſide unto our Store-Houſe. And thus concluded we the old year 1631.

January, 1632.

THe firſt of *January* (and for the moſt part of all the Month) was extream Cold.

The 6th, I obſerved the Latitude with what exactneſs I could, (it being very clear Sun-ſhine Weather) which I found to be 51. 52. This Difference is, by reaſon that here is a great *Refraction*.

The 21ſt, I obſerved the Sun to riſe like an Oval, alongſt the Horizon: I call'd three or four to ſee it, the better to confirm my Judgment; and we all agreed, that it was twice as long as it was broad. We plainly perceived withall, that by degrees, as it gate up higher, it alſo recovered its roundneſs.

The 26th, I Obſerved, when the Eaſtern-edge of the *Moon* did touch the Planet *Mars*, the *Lion's Heart* was then in the Eaſt-quarter 21. 45. above the *Horizon*; but all this was not done with that Exactneſs that I have done other Obſervations.

The 30th and 31ſt, there appeared in the beginning of the Night, more Stars in the Firmament than ever I had before ſeen by two thirds. I could ſee the Cloud in *Cancer* full of ſmall Stars, and all the *Via Lactea* nothing but ſmall Stars; and amongſt the *Pleiades*, a great many ſmall Stars. About ten a Clock, the *Moon* did riſe; and then a quarter of them was not to be ſeen. The Wind for the moſt part of this Month, hath been Northerly, and very cold; the warmeſt of which time we imployed our ſelves in fetching Wood, working upon our Pinnace, and other things that happened. In the beginning of this month, the Sea was all firmly frozen over, ſo that we could ſee no Water any way. I hope it will not ſeem tedious to the Readers, if I here deliver mine own Opinion, how this abundance of Ice comes to be ingendered.

The

The Land that encircles this great Bay, (which lies in a broken irregular Form, making many little Shoald Bays, and Guts, being moreover, full of Illands and dry Sands) is for the moſt part low and flat, and hath flat Shoalds adjoyning to it, half a Mile or a Mile, that are dry at low Water. Now you muſt know, that it flows half Tide (as I have often experienced) that is, from whence the Flood commeth, the Water thither returneth, two hours before it be high Water, or full Sea. It ſeldom Rains after the middle of *September*, but Snows; and that Snow will not melt on the Land nor Sands: At low Water, when it Snows, (which it doth very often) the Sands are all covered over with it; which the half Tide carries officiouſly (twice in 24 hours) into the great Bay, which is the common Rendezvous of it. Every low Water are the Sands left clear, to gather more to the increaſe of it. Thus doth it daily gather together in this manner, till the latter end of *October*, and by that time hath it brought the Sea to that Coldneſs, that as it Snows, the Snow will lie upon the Water in Flakes without changing his colour; but with the Wind is wrought together; and as the Winter goes forward, it begins to freeze on the Surface of it, two or three Inches or more in one Night; which being carried with the half Tyde, meets with ſome obſtacle, (as it ſoon doth) and then it crumples, and ſo runs upon it ſelf, that in a few hours it will be five or ſix foot thick. The half Tide ſtill flowing, carries it ſo faſt away, that by *December* it is grown to an infinite multiplication of Ice. And thus by this ſtoring of it up, the Cold gets the Predomination in the Sea, (which alſo furniſheth the Springs and Water in the low flat Lands) that it cools it like it ſelf. This may appear by our Experience, though in all this, I freely ſubmit my ſelf unto the better Learned. Our Men found it more mortifying Cold to wade thorow the Water in the beginning of *June*, when the Sea was all full of Ice, than in *December*, when it was increaſing. Our Well, moreover, out of which we had Water in *December*, we had none in *July*.

The Ground at ten foot deep, was frozen. The quantity of the Ice, may very eaſily be made appear, by *Mathematical Demonſtration*; and yet I am not of the Opinion, that the Bay doth freeze all over. For the 21ſt, the Wind blowing a Storm at North, we could perceive the Ice to riſe ſomething in the Bay.

February, 1632.

The Cold was as extream this month as at any time we had felt it this year; and many of our Men complained of Infirmities. Some, of Sore-Mouths, all the Teeth in their Heads being loſe, their Gums ſwoln, with black rotten Fleſh, which muſt every day be cut away. The Pain was ſo Sore on them, that they could not Eat their ordinary Meat. Others complained of Pain in their Heads and their Breaſts; ſome of Weakneſs in their Backs; others of Aches in their Thighs and Knees; and others, of Swellings in their Legs. Thus were two thirds of the Company under the Chirurgeon's Hand. And yet nevertheleſs, they muſt work daily, and go abroad to fetch Wood and Timber; notwithſtanding the moſt of them had no Shooes to put on. Their Shooes, upon their coming to the Fire, out of the Snow, were burnt and ſcorcht upon their Feet; and our Store-Shooes were all ſunk in the Ship. In this Neceſſity they would make this Shift; to bind Clouts about their Feet, and endeavoured by that poor help, the beſt they could to perform their Duties. Our Carpenter likewiſe is by this time faln Sick to our great Diſcomforts. I practiſed ſome Obſervations by the Riſing and Setting of the Sun, Calculating the Time of his Riſing and Setting, by very true running Glaſſes. As for our Clock and Watch, notwithſtanding we ſtill kept them by the Fires ſide, in a Cheſt wrapt in Clothes, yet were they ſo frozen, that they could not go. My Obſervations by theſe Glaſſes, I compared with the Stars coming to the *Meridian*. By this means we found the Sun to riſe 20 Minutes before it ſhould; and in the Evening to remain above the Horizon 20 Minutes (or thereabouts) longer then it ſhould do. And all this by reaſon of the Refraction.

Since now I have ſpoken ſo much of the Cold, I hope it will not be too coldly taken, if I in a few Words make it ſome way to appear unto our Readers.

We made three differences of the Cold, all according to the Places. In our Houſe; in the Woods; and in the open Air, upon the Ice, in our going to the Ship.

For

For the laſt, it would be ſometimes ſo extream, that it was not indurable; no Cloathes were proof againſt it; no motion could reſiſt it. It would, moreever, ſo freeze the Hair on our Eye-lids, that we could not ſee; and I verily believe, that it would have ſtifled a Man in a very few hours: We did daily find by Experience, that the Cold in the Woods would freeze our Faces, or any part of our Fleſh that was bare; but it was yet not ſo mortifying as the other. Our Houſe on the out-ſide was covered two third parts with Snow; and on the inſide frozen, and hang'd with Ice-ſickles. The Cloathes on our Beds would be covered with Hoar-Froſt, which in this little habitacle, was not far from the Fire. But let us come a little nearer to it. The Cook's Tubs, wherein he did Water his Meat, ſtanding about a yard from the Fire, and which he did all day ply with melted Snow-Water; yet in the Night-Seaſon, whilſt he ſlept but one watch, would they be firm frozen to the very bottom: And therefore was he fain to Water his Meat in a Braſs-Kettle cloſe adjoyning to the Fire; and I have many times both ſeen and felt by putting my Hand into it, that ſide which was next the Fire, was very warm, and the other ſide an Inch frozen: I leave the reſt to our Cook, who will almoſt ſpeak Miracles of the Cold. The Surgeon, who had hung his Bottles of Syrups, and other Liquid things, as conveniently as he could to preſerve them, had them all frozen: Our Vinegar, Oil, and Sack, which we had in ſmall Cask in the Houſe, was all firm frozen. It may further in general be conceived, that in the beginning of *June*, the Sea was not broken up; and the ground was yet frozen, and thus much we found by Experience, in the burying of our Men; in ſetting up the King's Standard towards the latter end of *June*; and by our Well, at our coming away in the beginning of *July*; at which time upon the Land, for ſome other Reaſons, it was very hot Weather.

March, 1632.

The firſt of this Month being St. *David*'s Day, we kept Holiday, and ſolemnized it in the manner of the Antient *Britains*, praying for his Highneſs Happineſs *Charles* Prince of *Wales*.

The 15th, one of our Men thought he had ſeen a Deer; whereupon he with two or three more deſired that they might go to ſee if they could take it: I gave them leave; but in the Evening they returned ſo diſabled with Cold, which did riſe up in Bliſters under the Soles of their Feet and upon their Legs, to the bigneſs of Walnuts, that they could not recover their former Eſtate (which was not very well) in a fortnight after.

The 26th, three more deſired that they alſo might go out to try their Fortunes; but they returned worſe diſabled, and even almoſt ſtifled with the Cold.

This Evening, the *Moon* roſe in a very long Oval alongſt the Horizon.

By the laſt of this Month, the Carpenter had ſet up 17 Ground Timbers, and 34 Staddles, and (poor Man) he proceedeth the beſt he can, though he be fain to be led unto his Labour.

In brief, all this Month hath been very Cold. The Wind about the N. W. The Snow as deep as it hath been all this Winter: But to Anſwer an Objection that may be made; You were in a Wood (may ſome Men ſay unto us) and therefore you might make Fire enough to keep you from the Cold. It is true, we were in a Wood, and under a South-Bank too, or otherwiſe we had all ſtarved. But I muſt tell you withal, how difficult it was to have Wood in a Wood: And firſt, I will make a Muſter of the Tools we had. The Carpenter in his Cheſt had two Axes indeed; but one of them was ſpoil'd in cutting down Wood to pile about our Houſe before *Chriſtmas*: When we came firſt a-Land, we had but two whole Hatchets, which in a few days broke two Inches below the Sockets. I called for three of the Coopers Hatchets: The Carpenters Axe and the Coopers beſt Hatchet I cauſed to be lockt up: The other two Hatchets to be new Helv'd, and the Blades of the two broken Hatchets, to be put into a cleft piece of Wood, and then to be bound about with Rope-Yarn as faſt as might be, which muſt be repaired every day. And theſe where all the Cutting-Tools we had: Moreover, the 6th of *February* the Carpenter had out his beſt Axe about ſomething, and one of the Company in his abſence, by his undiſcreet handling of it, brake that too, two Inches below the Socket; we muſt henceforth order theſe pieces of Tools the beſt we could;

wherefore I gave order, that the Carpenter ſhould have one of the Cooper's Hatchets: They that lookt for Timber in the Woods, the other: And they that cut down Wood to burn, were to have the two pieces. And this was before *Chriſtmas.*

The three that were appointed to look crooked Timber, muſt Stalk and Wade, (ſometimes on all four) thorow the Snow; and where they ſaw a Tree likely to fit the Mould, they muſt firſt heave away the Snow, and then ſee if it would fit the Mould; If not, they muſt ſeek further: If it did fit the Mould, then they muſt make a Fire to it, to Thaw it; otherwiſe it could not be cut. Then cut it down, and fit it to the length of the Mould; and then with other help, get it home, a Mile thorow the Snow.

Now for our Firing. We could not burn green Wood, it would ſo Smoke, that it was not indurable; yea, the Men had rather Starve without in the Cold, than ſit by it. As for the dry Wood, that alſo was bad enough in that kind; for it was full of Turpentine, and would ſend forth ſuch a thick Smoke, that would make abundance of Sote; which made us all look, as if we had been free of the Company of Chimney-Sweepers. Our Cloathes were quite burnt in pieces about us; and for the moſt part, we were all without Shooes: But to our Fuellers again. They muſt firſt (as the former) go up and down in the Snow, till they ſaw a ſtanding dry Tree; for that the Snow covered any that were fallen. Then they muſt hack it down with their pieces of Hatchets, and then others muſt carry it home thorow the Snow. The Boys with Cutlaſſes, muſt cut Boughs for the Carpenter; for every piece of Timber that he did work, muſt firſt be Thaw'd in the Fire; and he muſt have a Fire by him, or he could not work. And this was our continual labour throughout the forementioned Cold; beſides our tending of the Sick, and other neceſſary Imployments.

April, 1632.

The firſt of this Month, being *Eaſter-Day*, we ſolemnized as religiouſly as God did give us grace. Both this day, and the two following Holy-days were extream Cold: And now ſitting all about the Fire, we reaſoned and conſidered together upon our Eſtate: We had five Men (whereof the Carpenter was one) not able to do any thing. The Boatſwain, and many more, were very infirm; and of all the reſt, we had but five that could Eat of their ordinary Allowance. The Time and Seaſon of the year came forwards apace, and the Cold did very little mitigate. Our Pinnace was in an indifferent forwardneſs; but the Carpenter grew worſe and worſe. The Ship (as we then thought) lay all full of ſolid Ice; which was weight enough to open the Seams of any new and ſound Veſſel; eſpecially of one that had lain ſo long upon the Ground as ſhe had done. In brief, after my Diſputations, and laying open of our miſerable and hopeleſs Eſtates, I reſolved upon this Courſe: That notwithſtanding it was more Labour, and though we declined, weaker ſtill and weaker; yet that with the firſt warm Weather, we would begin to clear the Ship, that ſo we might have the time before us, to think of ſome other Courſe. This being ordered, we lookt to thoſe Tools we had, to dig the Ice out of her; we had but two Iron-Bars aſhore, the reſt were ſunk in the Ship, and one of them was broken too. Well! we fell to fitting of thoſe Bars, and of four broken Shovels that we had; with which we intended (as after we did) to dig the Ice out of her; and to lay that Ice on a heap, upon the Larboard-Bow, and to ſink down that Ice to the ground ſo faſt, that it ſhould be a Barricado to us, when the Ice brake up, which we feared would tear us all to pieces.

The 6th was the deepeſt Snow we had all this year; which fill'd up all our Paths and ways, by which we were uſed to go unto the Wood: This Snow was ſomething moiſter and greater than any we had all this year; for formerly it was as dry as Duſt, and as ſmall as Sand, and would drive like Duſt with the Wind.

The Weather continued with this Extremity, until the 15th; at which time our Spring was harder frozen, then it had been all the year before. I had often obſerved the Difference betwixt clear Weather and miſty Refractious Weather, in this manner. From a little Hill which was near adjoyning to our Houſe; in the cleareſt Weather, when the Sun-ſhone with all the purity of Air that I could conceive, we could not ſee a little Iſland, which bare off us S. S. E. ſome four Leagues off; but if the Weather

ther were miſty, (as aforeſaid) then we ſhould often ſee it, from the loweſt place. This little Iſland I had ſeen the laſt year, when I was on *Danby* Iſland.

The 13th, I took the Height of it Inſtrumentally, ſtanding near the Sea's ſide; which I found to be 34 Minutes, the Sun being 28 degrees high. This ſhows, how great a Refraction here is. Yet may this be noted by the way; That I have ſeen the Land elevated, by reaſon of the Refractious Air; and nevertheleſs, the Sun hath riſen perfect round.

The 16th was the moſt comfortable Sun-ſhine day that came this year; and I put ſome to clear of the Snow from the upper Decks of the Ship; and to clear and dry the great Cabbin, by making Fire in it. Others I put to dig down thorow the Ice, to come by our Anchor, that was in ſhoald Water; which the 17th in the Afternoon we got up and carried aboard.

The 18th, I put them to dig down thorow the Ice, near the Place where we thought our Rudder might be. They digged down, and came to Water; but no hope of finding of it: We had many Doubts, that it might be Sanded, or that the Ice might have carried it away already the laſt year; or if we could not recover it by digging before the Ice brake up, and drove, there was little hope of it.

The 19th, we continued our Mineing Work aboard the Ship, and returned in the Evening to Supper aſhore. This day, the Maſter, and two others, deſired that they might lie aboard, which I condeſcended to; for indeed they had lain very diſcommodiouſly all the Winter, and with ſick Bed-Fellows; as I my ſelf had done, every one in that kind taking their Fortunes. By lying aboard, they avoided the hearing of the miſerable groanings; and lamenting of the ſick Men all Night long, enduring (poor Souls) intolerable Torments.

By the 21ſt, we had laboured ſo hard, that we came to ſee a Cask, and could likewiſe perceive that there was ſome Water in the Hold. This we knew could not be Thawed Water; becauſe it did ſtill freeze Night and Day very hard aboard the Ship, and on the Land alſo.

By the 23th in the Evening, we came to pierce the forementioned Cask, and found it was full of very good Beer, which did much rejoyce us all, eſpecially the Sickmen, notwithſtanding that it did taſte a little of Bulge-Water. By this we at that time thought that the holes we had cut to ſink the Ship, were frozen, and that this Water had ſtood in the Ship all the Winter.

The 24th, we went betimes in the Morning to work; but found that the Water was riſen above the Ice where we had left work, about two Foot; for that the Wind had blown very hard at North the Night before. In the Morning, the Wind came about South, and blew hard, and although we had little reaſon for it, we yet expected a lower veer of the Water. I thereupon put them to work on the outſide of the Ship, that we might come to the lower hole, which we had cut in the Stern-Shootes. With much labour by Night, we digged down thorow the Ice to it, and found it unfrozen, (as it had been all the Winter) and to our great Comforts, we found that on the inſide, the Water was Ebb'd even with the hole; and that on the outſide, it was Ebb'd a Foot lower. Hereupon I made a ſhot-board to be nail'd on it; and to be made as tight as might be, to try if the Water came in any other way. As to the other two holes, we had digged on the inſide, we found them frozen. Now I did this betimes, that if we found the Ship foundered, we might reſolve of ſome Courſe to ſave, or prolong our Lives, by getting to the Main before the Ice were broken up; for, as for our Boat, it was too little, and bulged, beſides that, our Carpenter was by this time paſt hope; and therefore little hope had we of our Pinnace. But which was worſt of all, we had not four Men able to Travel through the Snow over the Ice, and in this miſerable eſtate were we at this preſent.

The 25th, we ſatisfied our Longing; for the Wind now coming about Northerly, the Water roſe by the Ships ſide (where we had digged down) a foot and more above the Hold, and yet did not riſe within board. This did ſo incourage us, that we fell very luſtily to digging, and to heave out the Ice out of the Ship. I put the Cook, and ſome others, to Thaw the Pumps; who by continual pouring of hot Water into them, by the 27th in the Morning they had cleared one of them; which we aſſaying, found that it did deliver Water very ſufficiently. Thus we fell to Pumping; and having cleared two foot Water, we then

then left to have a ſecond trial. Continuing our Work thus, in digging the Ice, by the 28th we had cleared our other Pump, which we alſo found to deliver Water very well: We found likewiſe, that the Water did not riſe any thing in Hold.

The 29th, it Rained all day long, a ſure ſign to us, that Winter was broken up.

The 30th, we were betimes aboard at work; which day, and the 31ſt, were very Cold, with Snow and Hail; which did pinch our ſick Men more than any time this year. This Evening being *May* Even, we returned late from our Work to our Houſe, and made a good Fire, and choſe Ladies, and did ceremoniouſly wear their Names in our Caps, endeavouring to revive our ſelves by any means. And becauſe you hear us in this Merry Humour, I will make known to you what good Cheer we kept at *Chriſtmas* and *Eaſter*; and how we had Dieted our ſelves all the Winter.

At our coming forth of *England*, we were ſtored with all ſort of Sea Proviſions; as Beef, Pork, Fiſh, *&c.* but now that we had little hope of refreſhing, our Cook did order it in this manner.

The Beef which was to ſerve on *Sunday* Night to Supper, he did Boil on *Saturday* Night, in a Kettle full of Water, with a Quart of Oat-Meal, about an Hour: Then taking the Beef out, he Boiled the reſt till it came to half the quantity; and this we called Porridge; which with Bread we did Eat, as hot as we could; and after this we had our ordinary of Fiſh. *Sunday* Dinner, we had Pork and Peaſe; and at Night the former Boiled Beef made more Porridge. In this manner, our *Tueſday*'s Beef was Boiled on the *Monday* Nights; and the *Thurſday*'s upon the *Wedneſday*. And thus all the Week (except *Friday* night) we had ſome warm thing in our Bellies every Supper. And (ſurely) this did us a great deal of good. But ſoon after *Chriſtmas*, many of us fell ſick, and had ſore Mouths, and could neither eat Beef, Pork, Fiſh, nor Porridge. Their Diet was only this: They would Pound Bread, or Oatmeal in a Mortar, to Meal; then fry it in a Frying-Pan, with a little Oil, and ſo Eat it. Some would Boil Peaſe to a ſoft paſte, and feed as well as they could upon that. For the moſt part of the Winter, Water was our Drink. In the whole Winter, we took not above a dozen Foxes; many of which would be dead in the Traps, two or three days, oftentimes; and then when the Blood was ſettled, they would be unwholeſome. But if we took one alive, that had not been long in the Trap, him we Boiled, and made Broth for the weakeſt ſick Men of him; the Fleſh of it being ſoft Boiled they did Eat alſo.

Some White Partridges we kill'd; but not worth the mentioning towards any refreſhing.

We had three ſorts of ſick Men. Thoſe that could not move nor turn themſelves in their Beds, who muſt be tended like an Infant. Others that were as it were Cripled with Scurvy Aches. And others laſtly, that were ſomething better: Moſt of all had Sore Mouths. You may now ask me, How theſe infirm Men could work? I will tell you. Our Surgeon (who was diligent, and a ſweet-conditioned Man as ever I ſaw) would be up betimes in the Mornings; and whilſt he did pick their Teeth, and cut away the dead Fleſh from their Gums, they would Bathe their own Thighs, Knees, and Legs. The manner whereof was this: There was no Trees, Buds, nor Herb, but we made trial of it; And this being firſt boiled in a Kettle, and then put in a ſmall Tub, and Baſon, they put it under them, and covered themſelves with Cloathes upon it: This would ſo mollifie the grieved Parts, that although, when they did riſe out of their Beds, they would be ſo Crippled, that they could ſcarce ſtand; yet after this done half an hour, they would be able to go, (and muſt go) to Wood, thorow the Snow, to the Ship, and about their other Buſineſs. By Night, they would be as bad again; and then they muſt be Bathed, Anointed, and their Mouthes again dreſt, before they went to Bed. And with this Diet, and in this manner, did we go thorow our Miſeries.

I ever doubted, that we ſhould be weakeſt in the Spring; and therefore had I reſerved a Tun of Alegant Wine unto this time. Of this, by putting ſeven Parts of Water, to one of Wine, we made ſome weak Beverage; which (by reaſon that the Wine by being frozen, had loſt his Virtue) was little better than Water. The Sicker ſort had a Pint of Alegant a day, by it ſelf; and of ſuch poor *Aqua Vitæ* too, as we had, they had a little Dram allowed them next their Hearts every Morning; and

thus

thus we made the beſt uſe of what we had, according to the Seaſons.

May, 1632.

The 1ſt of this Month, we went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice.

The 2d, it did Snow and Blow, and was ſo Cold, that we were fain to keep Houſe all day. This unexpected Cold at this time of the year did ſo vex our ſick Men, that they grew worſe and worſe; we cannot now take them out of their Beds, but they would ſwound, and we had much ado to fetch life in them.

The 3d, thoſe that were able, went aboard betimes to heave out the Ice. The Snow was now melted in many Places upon the Land, and ſtood in Plaſhes; and now there came ſome Cranes and Geeſe to it.

The 4th, while the reſt wrought aboard, I and the Surgeon went with a couple of pieces, to ſee if we could kill any of theſe Fowl for our ſick Men, but never did I ſee ſuch wild-Fowl; they would not indure to ſee any thing move. Wherefore we returned within two hours, not being able to indure any longer ſtalking thorow the Snow, and the wet Plaſhes. I verily thought that my Feet and Legs would have fallen off, they did ſo torment me with Aching.

The 6th, *John Warden*, the Maſter of my Ship's chief Mate, died; whom we buried in the Evening (in the moſt Chriſtian-like manner we could) upon the top of a bare Hill of Sand, which we called *Brandon-Hill*.

The Weather continued very Cold; freezing ſo hard in a night that it would bear a Man.

By the 9th, we were come to, and got up our five Barrels of Beef and Pork, and had found four Buts of Beer, and one of Cydar, which God had preſerved for us: It had lain under Water all the Winter; yet we could not perceive that it was any thing the worſe. God make us ever thankful for the Comfort it gave us.

The 10th, it did Snow and Blow ſo Cold, that we could not ſtir out of the Houſe; yet nevertheleſs, by Day, the Snow vaniſheth away apace on the Land.

The 11th, we were aboard betimes, to heave out Ice.

The 12th at Night, we had cleared out all the Ice out of the Hold, and found likewiſe our Store-Shooes which had lain ſoakt in the Water all the Winter; but we dried them by the Fire, and fitted our ſelves with them. We ſtruck again our Cables into the Hold; there Stow'd we a Butt of Wine alſo, which had been all the Winter on the upper-Deck, and continued as yet, all firm frozen. We fitted the Ship alſo, making her ready to ſink her again, when the Ice brake up We could hitherto find no defect in her; and therefore well hoped that ſhe was ſtanch. The Carpenter, nevertheleſs, did earneſtly argue to the contrary; alledging, that now ſhe lay on the ground, in her Dock; and that the Ice had fill'd her Defects; and that the Ice was the thing that kept out the Water; but when ſhe ſhould come to labour in the Sea, then doubtleſs, ſhe would open. And indeed we could now ſee quite through her Seams, betwixt Wind and Water. But that which did trouble us as ill as all this, was the loſs of her Rudder; and that ſhe now lay in the very ſtrength of the Tide, which, whenever the Ice drove, might tear her to pieces. But we ſtill hoped the beſt.

The 13th, being the Sabbath-Day, we ſolemnized, giving God thanks for thoſe Hopes and Comforts we daily had; The Weather by day-time was pretty and warm, but it did freeze by Night; yet now we could ſee ſome bare Patches of Land.

The 14th, we began a new ſort of work. The Boatſwain and a convenient number fought aſhore the reſt of our Rigging, which was much ſpoiled by pecking of it out of the Ice, and this they now fell to fitting, and to ſerving of it. I ſet the Cooper to fit our Cask, although (poor Man) he was very infirm; my intent being to paſs ſome Cables under the Ship, and ſo to Buoy her up with theſe Cask, if otherwiſe we could not get her off. Some others, I ordered to go ſee, if they could kill ſome Wild-Fowl for our ſick Men, who grew worſe and worſe. And this is to be remembred, that we had no ſhot, but what we did make of the Aprons of our Guns, and ſome old Pewter that I had; for the Carpenter's Sheet-Lead we durſt not uſe.

The 15th, I Manured a little patch of Ground, that was bare of Snow, and Sowed it with Peaſon, hoping to have ſome of the Herbs of them ſhortly to Eat; for as yet we can find no green thing to Comfort us.

The 18th, our Carpenter, *William Cole* Died, a Man generally bemoaned of us all; as much for his innate Goodneſs, as for the preſent neceſſity we had of a Man of his Quality. He had endured a long Sickneſs, with much Patience, and made a godly end. In the Evening, we Buried him by Mr. *Warden*, accompanied with as many as could go; for three more of our principal Men, lay then expecting a good hour. And now were we in the moſt miſerable Eſtate that we were in all the Voyage. Before his extream weakneſs, he had brought the Pinnace to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be Boulted and Trennel'd; and to be joyn'd together to receive the Plank; ſo that we were not ſo diſcouraged by his Death, but that we did hope of our ſelves to finiſh her, if the Ship proved unſerviceable.

This our Pinnace was 27 Foot by the Keel, 10 Foot by the Beam, and five Foot in Hold; ſhe had 17 ground Timbers, 34 principal Staddles, and eight ſhort Staddles. He had contrived her with a round Stern, to ſave Labour; and indeed, ſhe was a well proportioned Veſſel. Her Burthen was 12 or 14 Tun.

In the Evening, the Maſter of our Ship, after Burial returning aboard Ship, and looking about her, diſcovered ſome part of our Gunner, under the Gun-Room Ports. This Man, we had committed to the Sea at a good diſtance from the Ship, and in deep Water, near ſix Months before.

The 19th in the Morning, I ſent Men to dig him out; he was faſt in the Ice, his Head downward, and his Heel upward, for he had but one Leg, and the Plaiſter was yet at his Wound: In the Afternoon, they had digg'd him clear out; after all which time, he was as free from noiſomeneſs as when we firſt committed him to the Sea. This alteration had the Ice and Water, and time only wrought on him, that his Fleſh would ſlip up and down upon his Bones, like a Glove on a Man's Hand. In the Evening we Buried him by the others. This day, one *George Ugganes* (who could handle a Tool beſt of us all) had indifferent well repaired our Boat, and ſo we ended this mournful Week. The Snow was by this time prettily well waſted in the Woods; and we having a high Tree, on the higheſt place of the Iſland, which we called our Watch-Tree; from the top of it we might ſee into the Sea, but found no appearance of breaking up yet.

The 20th, being *Whit-Sunday*, we ſadly ſolemnized, and had ſome taſte of the Wild-Fowl, but not worth the Writing.

The 21ſt, was the warmeſt Sun-ſhine day that came this year. I ſent two a Fowling; and my ſelf taking the Maſter, the Surgeon, and one more, with our Pieces and our Dogs, we went into the Woods to ſee what Comfort we could find. We wandred from the Houſe eight Miles, and ſearcht with all diligence; but returned Comfortleſs, not an Herb nor Leaf Eatable, that we could find. Our Fowlers had as bad Succeſs. In the Woods, we found the Snow partly waſted away, ſo that it was paſſable. The Ponds were almoſt Unthaw'd; but the Sea from any place we could ſee all firm frozen.

The Snow doth not melt away here with the Sun or Rain, and ſo make any Land-Floods, as in *England*; but it is Exhaled up by the Sun, and ſuckt full of holes, like Honey-Combs; ſo that the Sand whereon it lies, will not be at all wetted. The like Obſervation we alſo had; that let it Rain ever ſo much, you ſhall ſee no Land-Floods after it.

The 22th, we went aboard the Ship, and found that ſhe had made ſo much Water, that it was now riſen above the Ballaſt, which made us doubt again of her Soundneſs. We fell to Pumping, and pumpt her quite dry. And now by day ſometimes, we have ſuch hot Glooms, that we cannot endure in the Sun, and yet in the Night it would freeze very hard. This unnaturalneſs of the Seaſon, did torment our Men, that they now grew worſe and worſe daily.

The 23th, our Boatſwain (a painful Man) having been long Sick, which he had heartily reſiſted, was taken with ſuch a painful Ach in one of his Thighs, that we verily thought he would have preſently died. He kept his Bed all day in great extremity; and it was a Maxim amongſt us, that if any one kept his Bed two days, he could riſe no more. This made every Man to ſtrive to keep up for life.

The 24th was very warm Sun-ſhine; and the Ice did conſume by the Shore's ſide, and crackt all over the Bay, with a fearful noiſe. About three in the Afternoon, we could perceive the Ice with the Ebb to drive by the Ship: Whereupon I ſent two with all ſpeed unto the Maſter, to beat out the hole, and to ſink the Ship; as likewiſe to look for the Rudder

Rudder betwixt the Ice. This he preſently performed; and a happy Fellow, one *David Hammon*, pecking betwixt the Ice, ſtruck upon it, and it came up with his Lance; who crying that he had found it, the reſt came and got it up on the Ice, and ſo into the Ship. In the mean ſpace, with the little drift that the Ice had, it began to riſe and mount into high heaps againſt the ſhoald Shores, and Rocks; and likewiſe againſt the heap of Ice, which we had put for a Barricado to our Ship, but with little harm to us. Yet we were fain to cut away 20 Fathom of Cable which was frozen in the Ice. After an hour, the Ice ſettled again, as not having any vent outwards. Oh! This was a joyful day to us all; and we gave God thanks for the hopes we had of it.

The 25th was a fine warm day, and with the Ebb, the Ice did drive againſt the Ship, and ſhake her ſhrewdly.

The 26th, I took the Chirurgeon with me, and went again to wander the Woods; and went to that Bay, where laſt year we had loſt our Man *John Barton*. But we could find no ſign of him, nor of other Relief.

By the 28th it was pritty and clear betwixt the Ship and the Shore, and I hoped the Ice would no more dangerouſly oppreſs us; wherefore I cauſed the lower hole to be firmly ſtopt, the Water then remaining three foot above the Ballaſt.

The 29th, being Prince *Charles* his Birth-Day, we kept Holy-day, and diſplay'd his Majeſty's Colours, both a-land and aboard; and named our Habitation, *Charles Town*, by Contraction *Charlton*; and the Iſland, *Charlton Iſland.*

The 30th, we Launched our Boat, and had intercourſe ſometimes betwixt the Ship and the Shore by Boat, which was News to us.

The laſt of this Month, we found on the Beach ſome Vetches to appear out of the Ground, which I made the Men to pick up, and to Boil for our ſick Men.

This day, we made an end of fitting all our Rigging and Sails; and it being a very hot day, we did dry and new make our Fiſh in the Sun, and aired all our other Proviſions. There was not a Man of us at preſent, able to Eat of our Salt Proviſions, but my ſelf and the Maſter of my Ship. It may be here remembred, that all this Winter we had not beed troubled with any Rhumes, nor flegmatical Diſeaſes. All this month the Wind hath been variable, but for the moſt part Northerly.

June, 1632.

The four firſt days it did Snow, Hail, and blow very hard; and was ſo Cold, that the Ponds of Water did freeze over; and the Water in our Cans did freeze in the very Houſe; our Clothes alſo that had been waſhed and hung out to dry, did not thaw all day.

The 5th, it continued blowing very hard in the broad-ſide of the Ship, which did make her ſwag and wallow in her Dock for all ſhe was ſunken, which did much ſhake her. The Ice withall did drive againſt her, and gave her many fearful blows. I reſolved to endeavour to hang the Rudder; and when God ſent us Water, (notwithſtanding the abundance of Ice that was yet about us) to have her further off: In the Afternoon, we under-run our ſmall Cable to our Anchor, which lay a-Stern in deep Water, and ſo with ſome difficulty gate up our Anchor: This Cable had lain ſlack under-foot, and under the Ice, all the Winter, and we could never have a clear Slatch from Ice, to have it up before now; we found it not a jot the worſe. I put ſome to make Colrakes, that they might go into the Water, and rake a hole in the Sands to let down our Rudder.

The 6th, we went about to hang it. And our young luſtieſt Men took turns to go into the Water, and to rake away the Sand; but they were not able to indure the Cold of it half a quarter of an hour it was ſo mortifying; yea, uſe what Comforts we could, it would make them Swound and Die away. We brought it to the Stern-poſt, but were then fain to give it over, being able to work at it no longer. Then we Plugg'd up the upper holes, within board, and fell to Pumping the Water again out of her.

The 7th, we wrought ſomething about our Rudder, but were again forced to give over, and to put out our Cables over-board, with Meſſengers unto them; the Anchors lying to that paſs, that we might keep her right in her Dock, when we ſhould have brought her light.

By the 8th at Night, we had pumpt all the Water out of her; and ſhe at a high Water would fleet in her Dock, though

though ſhe were ſtill Dock'd in the Sands, almoſt four Foot. This made us to conſider what was to be done. I reſolved to heave out all the Ballaſt, for that the bottom of her being ſo ſoakt all the Winter, I hoped was ſo heavy, that it would bear her. If we could not get her off that way, I then thought to cut her down to the lower Deck, and take out her Maſts; and ſo with our Cask to Buoy her off.

The 9th, betimes in the Morning, we fell to work; we hoiſt out our Beer and Cydar, and made a Raft of it, faſtning it to our Shore-Anchor: The Beer and Cydar ſunk preſently to the Ground, which was nothing ſtrange to us; for that any Wood or Pipe-Staves that had lain under the Ice all the Winter, would alſo ſink down, ſo ſoon as ever it was heaved over-board: This day we heaved out ten Tun of Ballaſt. And here I am to remember God's goodneſs towards us, in ſending thoſe forementioned green Vetches. For now our feeble ſick Men, that could not for their lives ſtir theſe two or three Months, can indure the Air and Walk about the Houſe; our other ſick Men gather ſtrength alſo, and it is wonderful to ſee how ſoon they were recovered. We uſed them in this manner: Twice a day, we went to gather the Herb or Leaf of theſe Vetches, as they firſt appeared out of the Ground; then did we waſh and Boil them, and ſo with Oil and Vinegar that had been frozen, we did Eat them: It was an excellent Suſtenance and refreſhing; the moſt part of us Eat nothing elſe: We would likewiſe bruiſe them, and take the Juice of them, and mix that with our Drink: We would Eat them raw alſo with our Bread.

The 11th was very warm Weather, and we did hang our Rudder. The Tides did now very much deceive us; for a Northerly Wind would very little raiſe the Water. This made us doubt of getting off our Ship.

The 13th, I reſolved of the Latitude of this Place; ſo that having examined the Inſtruments, and practiſed about it this fortnight, I now found it to be in 52 Deg. and 3 Min.

The 14th, we had heaved out all the Ballaſt, and carried all our Yards, and every thing elſe of weight aſhore, ſo that we now had the Ship as light as poſſible it could be.

The 15th, we did little but exerciſe our ſelves; ſeeing that by this time, our Men that were moſt feeble, are now grown ſtrong, and can run about. The Fleſh of their Gums became ſettled again, and their Teeth faſtned; ſo that they can Eat Beef with their Vetches.

This day I went to our *Watch-Tree*; but the Sea (for any thing I could perceive to the contrary) was ſtill firm frozen; and the Bay we were in, all full of Ice, having no way to vent it.

The 16th, was wondrous hot, with ſome Thunder and Lightning, ſo that our Men did go into the Ponds aſhore, to Swim and Cool themſelves; yet was the Water very Cold ſtill. Here had lately appeared divers ſorts of Flies; as Butter-Flies, Butchers-Flies, Horſe-Flies; and ſuch an infinite abundance of bloud-thirſty Muskitoes, that we were more tormented with them then ever we were with the Cold Weather. Theſe (I think) lie dead in the old rotten Wood all the Winter, and in Summer they revive again. Here be likewiſe infinite company of Ants, and Frogs in the Ponds upon the Land; but we durſt not Eat of them, they lookt ſo ſpeckled like Toads. By this time were there neither Bears, Foxes, nor Fowl to be ſeen: They are all gone.

The 17th, the Wind came Northerly, and we expecting a high Tide, in the Morning betimes, put out our ſmall Cable a-ſtern out at the Gun-Room-Port; but the Morning Tide we had not Water by a Foot. In the Evening I had laid Marks, by Stones, *&c.* and me thoughts the Water did flow apace. Making Signs therefore for the Boat to come aſhore, I took all that were able to do any thing with me aboard; and at high Water, (although ſhe wanted ſomething to riſe clear out of her Dock) yet we heav'd with ſuch a good Will, that we heaved her thorow the Sand into a foot and a half deeper Water. Further then ſo, we durſt not yet bring her, for that the Ice was all thick about us. After we had Moor'd her, we went all to Prayers; and gave God thanks that had given us our Ship again.

The 18th, we were up betimes; the Cooper, and ſome with him, to fill freſh Water: my ſelf with ſome others, to gather Stones at low Water; which we pileing up in a heap, at high Wa-

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ter the Cock-ſwain and his Gang, fetcht them aboard; where the Maſter with the reſt ſtowed them. The Ship at low Water had a great Luſt to the Offing; by which means we could the better come and ſtop the two upper holes firmly; after which, we fitted other convenient Places, to make others to ſink her, if occaſion were.

The 19th, we were all up betimes to work, as afore ſpecified: Theſe two days, our Ship did not Fleet, and it was a happy Hour, when we got her off, for that we never had ſuch a high Tide all the time we were here. In the Evening, I went up to our *Watch-Tree*; and this was the firſt time I could ſee any open Water, any way, except that little by the Shore-ſide, where we were. This put us in ſome Comfort, that the Sea would ſhortly break up, which we knew muſt be to the Northward, ſeeing that way we were certain, there was above two hundred Leagues of Sea.

The 20th, we laboured as aforeſaid. The Wind at North North Weſt. The Tide roſe ſo high, that our Ship fleeted, and we drew her further off, into a foot and a half deep Water. Thus we did it by little and little; for that the Ice was ſtill wonderful thick about us.

The 22th, there drove much Ice about us, and within us, and brought home our Stern Anchor. At high Water (notwithſtanding all the Ice) we heav'd our Ship further off; that ſo ſhe might lie a-float at low Water.

The next low Water, we Sounded all about the Ship, and found it very foul ground; we diſcovered Stones three Foot high above the ground, and two of them within a Ships breadth of the Ship; whereby did more manifeſtly appear God's Mercies to us; for if when we forced her aſhore, ſhe had ſtrucken one blow againſt thoſe Stones, it had Bulged her. Many ſuch Dangers were there in this Bay, which we now firſt perceived, by the Ice's grounding and riſing againſt them. In the Evening, we Tow'd off the Ship, unto the place where ſhe rid the laſt year, and there Moor'd her, ſheering the Ship, Night and Day, Flood and Ebb, amongſt the diſperſt Ice that came athwart of us.

The 23th, we laboured in fetching our Proviſions aboard; which to do, we were fain to wade to carry it to the Boat a full flight ſhot; and all by reaſon the Wind was Southerly. This Morning, I took an Obſervation of the *Moon*'s coming to the South, by a Meridian-Line of one hundred and twenty yards long, which I had rectified many Weeks before-hand.

The 24th, I took another Obſervation of the *Moon*'s coming to the Meridian; for which I refer you to the Obſervations in the latter end of this Journal.

Whereas I had formerly cut down a very high Tree, and made a Croſs of it, to it I now faſtened (uppermoſt) the King's and Queen's Majeſties Pictures, drawn to the Life, and doubly wrapt in Lead, and ſo cloſe, that no Weather could hurt them. Betwixt both theſe I affixed his Majeſties Royal Titles; *viz.* Charles *the Firſt, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland; *As alſo of* New-found-land, *and of theſe Territories: And to the Weſtward, as far as* Nova Albion; *And to the Northward, to the Latitude of* 80 *Degrees*, &c.

On the out-ſide of the Lead, I faſtened a Shilling and a Six-Pence of his Majeſty's Coin; under that, we faſtened the King's Arms fairly cut in Lead; and under that, the Arms of the City of *Briſtol*. And this being *Midſummer-Day*, we raiſed it on the top of the bare Hill, where we had Buried our dead Fellows; formally by this Ceremony taking poſſeſſion of theſe Territories to his Majeſties Uſe.

The Wind continuing Southerly and blowing hard, put all the Ice upon us; ſo that the Ship now rid amongſt it, in ſuch apparent Danger, that I thought verily we ſhould have loſt her. We laboured, Flood and Ebb, both with Poles and Oars, to heave away and part the Ice from her. But it was God that did protect and preſerve us; for it was paſt any Man's Underſtanding, how the Ship could indure it, or we by our Labour ſave her. In the Night, the Wind ſhifted to the Weſtward, and blew the Ice from us, whereby we had ſome reſt.

The 25th in the Morning, the Boat-ſwain, with a convenient Crue with him, began to rig the Ship, the reſt fetching our Proviſions aboard. About 10 a Clock, when it was ſomething dark, I took a Launce in my hand, and one with me with a Muſket and ſome Fire, and went to our *Watch-Tree*, to

make a Fire on the eminenteſt Place of the Iſland, to ſee if it would be anſwered: Such Fires I had formerly made, to have knowledge if there were any Salvages on the Main or the Iſlands about us. Had there been any, my purpoſe was to have gone to them, to get ſome Intelligence of ſome *Chriſtians*, or ſome Ocean Sea thereabouts. When I was come to the Tree, I laid down my Lance, and ſo did my Conſort his Musket; and whilſt my ſelf climed up to the top of the Tree, I ordered him to put Fire unto ſome low Tree thereabouts. He (unadviſedly) put Fire to ſome Trees that were to Windward; ſo that they (and all the reſt too, by reaſon it had been very hot Weather) being ſeare and dry, took Fire like Flax or Hemp; and the Wind blowing the Fire towards me, I made haſte down the Tree. But before I was half way down, the Fire took in the bottom of it, and blazed ſo fiercely upwards, that I was fain to leap off the Tree, and down a ſteep Hill, and in brief, with much ado, eſcap'd Burning. The Moſs on the ground was as dry as Flax; and it would run moſt ſtrangely, and like a Train along the Earth. The Musket and the Lance were both burnt. My Conſort at laſt came to me, and was joyful to ſee me; for he thought verily I had been burned. And thus we went homeward together, leaving the Fire increaſing, and ſtill burning moſt furiouſly. We could ſee no anſwer of it. I ſlept but little all Night after: and at break of day, I made all our Powder and Beef to be carried aboard. This day, I went to the Hills, to look to the Fire; where I ſaw how it did ſtill burn moſt furiouſly, both to the Weſtward and Northward; leaving one upon the Hills to watch it, I came home immediately, and made them take down our new Suit of Sails, and carry them to the Sea-ſide, ready to be caſt in, if occaſion were, and to make haſte to take down our Houſes. About Noon, the Wind ſhifted Northerly; and our Centinel came running home, bringing us Word, that the Fire did follow him hard at his Heels, like a Train of Powder. It was no need to bid us take down and carry all away to the Sea-ſide. The Fire came towards us with a moſt terrible rattling noiſe; bearing a full Mile in breadth: And by that time we had uncovered our Houſes and laid hand on, to carry away our laſt things, the Fire was come to our Town and ſeized on it, and (in a trice) burn it down to the Ground. We loſt nothing of any value in it; for we had brought it all away into a Place of Security. Our Dogs, in this Combuſtion, would ſit down on their Tails, and howl, and then run into the Sea, on the Shoalds, and there ſtay. The Wind ſhifted Eaſterly; and the Fire ranged to the Weſtward, ſeeking what it might devour. This Night, we lay all together aboard the Ship, and gave God thanks, that he had Shipt us in her again.

The 27th, 28th, and 29th, we wrought hard in fetching our Things aboard, as likewiſe our Water, which we muſt Towe off with the Ebb, and bring it to the Ship with the Flood. Moreover, we muſt go about the Eaſter-Point for Drift-Wood; for our Tools were all ſo ſpent, that we could cut none: Wherefore, about ſome three days agone, I had cauſed our Pinnace to be Sawed to pieces, and with that we Stowed our Cask, intending to burn it at low Waters, and ſuch other times, as we could not work in carrying things aboard. I employed the Men in fetching Stones; and we did build three Tombs over our three Dead Fellows, filling them up with Sand in a decent and handſome faſhion. The leaſt Tomb had two Tuns of Stones about it.

The 30th, we moſt earneſtly continued our Labour, and brought our Sails to Yard; and by 11 a Clock at Night had made a priddy Ship; meaning to have finiſhed our Buſineſs with the Week and the Month, that ſo we might the better ſolemnize the Sabbath aſhore to morrow, and ſo take leave of our Wintering Iſland.

The Wind hath been variable a great while; and the Bays are now ſo clear of Ice, that we cannot ſee a piece of it, for it was all gone to the Northward. Hoping therefore that it give content to ſome Readers, I will relate the manner of the breaking of it up. It is firſt to be noted, that it doth not freeze (naturally) above ſix Foot, the reſt is by accident. Such is that Ice that you may ſee here, ſix Fathom thick. This we had manifeſt proof of, by our digging the Ice out of the Ship, and by digging to our Anchors before the Ice broke up.

In

In *May*, when the Heat increaſeth, it Thaws firſt on the Shoald by the Shore ſide; which when it hath done round about, then the Courſes of the Tides (as well by the Ebb and Flood, as by their riſing and falling) do ſo ſhake the Main Ice, that it cracks and breaks it. Thus, when it hath gotten room for motion; then runs one piece of it upon another; and ſo bruiſes and grinds it ſelf againſt the Shoalds and Rocks, that it becomes abbreviated, inſomuch that a Ship may have well paſſage thorow it. Beſides this; much of it is thruſt upon the Shoalds, where it is much conſumed by the heat of the Sun. The Seaſon here in this Climate, is moſt unnatural; for in the day time, it will be extream Hot, yea, not indurable in the Sun, which is, by reaſon that it is a ſandy Country. In the Night again, it will freeze an Inch thick in the Ponds, and in the Tub about and in our Houſe: And all this, towards the latter end of *June*.

The *Muskitoes*, upon our coming away, were moſt intolerable. We tore an old Auncient in pieces, and made us Bags of it to put our Heads in; but it was no Fortification againſt them. They would find ways and means to ſting us, that our Faces were ſwoln hard out in Pimples, which would ſo Itch and Smart, that we muſt needs rub and tear them. And theſe Flies, indeed, were more tormenting to us, than all the Cold we had heretofore indured.

July, 1632.

The firſt of this Month being *Sunday*, we were up betimes. And I cauſed our Ship to be adorned the beſt we could; our Auncient on the Poop, and the King's Colours in the Main-Top. I had provided a ſhort Brief of all the Paſſages of our Voyage to this day: I likewiſe wrote in what ſtate we were at preſent, and how I did intend to proſecute the Diſcovery, both to the Weſtward, and to the Southward, about this Iſland. This Brief Diſcourſe I had concluded, with a Requeſt to any noble Minded Traveller, that ſhould take it down, or come to the notice of it; that if we ſhould periſh in the Action, then to make our Endeavours known to our Sovereign Lord the King. And thus with our Arms, Drum and Colours, Cook and Kettle, we went aſhore, and firſt we marcht up to our eminent Croſs, adjoyning to which we had Buried our Dead Fellows. There we read Morning Prayer, and then walked up and down till Dinner time. After Dinner we walkt to the higheſt Hills, to ſee which way the Fire had waſted. We deſcried that it had conſumed to the Weſtward, ſixteen Miles at leaſt, and the whole breadth of the Iſland: Near about our Croſs and Dead, it could not come, by reaſon it was a bare ſandy Hill. After Evening Prayer, I happened to Walk alongſt the Beach-ſide; where I found an Herb reſembbling Scurvy-Graſs. I made ſome to be gathered, which we Boiled with our Meat to Supper: It was moſt excellent good, and far better than our Vetches. After Supper we went all to ſeek and gather more of it; which we did, to the quantity of two Buſhels, which did afterwards much refreſh us: And now the Sun was ſet, and the Boat come aſhore for us; whereupon we aſſembled our ſelves together, and went up to take the laſt view of our Dead, and to look unto their Tombs, and other Things. Here leaning upon mine Arm, on one of their Tombs, I uttered theſe Lines, which though perchance they may procure Laughter in the Wiſer ſort, (which I ſhall be glad of) they yet moved my young and tender-hearted Companions at that time with ſome Compaſſion. And theſe they were.

I Were unkind, unleſs that I did ſhed,
Before I part, ſome Tears upon our Dead:
And when my Eyes be dry, I will not ceaſe
In heart to pray, their Bones may reſt in peace:
Their better parts, (good Souls) I know were given,
With an intent they ſhould return to Heaven.
Their Lives they ſpent, to the laſt drop of Blood,
Seeking God's glory, and their Countries good;
And as a valiant Soldier, rather Dies,
Than yields his Courage to his Enemies:
And ſtops their way, with his hew'd Fleſh, when Death
Hath quite depriv'd him of his Strength and Breath:
So have they ſpent themſelves; and here they lie,
A famous Mark of our Diſcovery.
We that ſurvive, perchance may end our days
In ſome Employment meriting no praiſe:

And

And in a Dunghill Rot; when no Man Names
The Memory of us, but to our ſhames.
They have out-liv'd this fear, and their brave ends,
Will ever be an honour to their Friends.
Why drop you ſo, mine Eyes? Nay rather pour
My ſad departure in a ſolemn ſhower.
The Winters Cold, that lately froze our Blood,
Now were it ſo extream, might do this good,
As make theſe Tears, bright Pearls: which I would lay,
Tomb'd ſafely with you, till Doomes fatal day.
That in this Solitary place, where none
Will ever come to breathe a Sigh or Groan,
Some Remnant might be extant, of the true
And faithful Love, I ever tender'd you.
Oh, reſt in peace, dear Friends, and let it be
No Pride to ſay the ſometime part of me.
What Pain and Anguiſh doth afflict the Head,
The Heart and Stomach, when the Limbs are dead:
So griev'd, I kiſs your Graves: And Vow to Die,
A Foſter-father to your Memory.

FAREWELL.

So faſtning my Brief to the Croſs, which was ſecurely wrapt up in Lead, we preſently took Boat and departed, and never put foot more on that Iſland. This Iſland and all the reſt, (as likewiſe the Main) is a light white Sand, covered over with a white Moſs, and full of Shrubs and low Buſhes; excepting ſome bare Hills, and other Patches. In theſe bare Places, the Sand will drive with the Wind like Duſt. It is very full of Trees, as Spruſe and Juniper; but the biggeſt Tree I ſaw, was but a foot and a half over. At our firſt coming hither, we ſaw ſome Deer, and kill'd one; but never any ſince. Foxes, all the Winter we ſaw many, and kill'd ſome Dozen of them; but they went all away in *May*. Bears, we ſaw but few, but kill'd none; we ſaw ſome other little Beaſts. In *May*, there came ſome Fowl, as Ducks and Geeſe; of which we kill'd very few. White Partridges we ſaw; but in ſmall quantities; nor had we any Shot, to ſhoot at them. Fiſh we could never ſee any in the Sea; nor no Bones of Fiſh on the Shore-ſide, excepting a few Cockle-ſhels, and yet nothing in them neither. Other things remarkable I have before mentioned.

OUR

OUR DISCOVERY AND Coming Home.

July, 1632.

MOnday being the 2d of *July*, we were up betimes, about Stowing and Fitting our Ship, and Weighing of our Anchors, which when the laſt was a-Trip, we went to Prayer, beſeeching God to continue his Mercies to us, and rendring him Thanks for having thus reſtored us. Our Ship we found no Defect in; we had abundance of ſuch Proviſions as we brought out of *England*; and we were in indifferent Health, and did gather Strength daily. This being done, we Weighed, and came cheerfully to Sail. The Wind at North Weſt, bad to get away. Wherefore we ſtood over to *Danby* Iſland, to take in more Wood; and there to be ready to take the opportunity of a fair Wind. I went aſhore my ſelf with the Boat; for that ſome of the Company had told me, that they had ſeen Stakes the laſt year droven into the Ground. When we came aſhore, whilſt ſome gather'd Wood, I went to the Place; where I found two Stakes droven into the Ground about a foot and a half, and Firebrands, where a Fire had been made by them. I pull'd up the Stakes, which were about the bigneſs of my Arm; and they had been cut ſharp at the ends, with a Hatchet, or ſome other good Iron tool, and driven in as it were with the head of it. They were diſtant about a Stones throw from the Water-ſide. I could not conceive, to what purpoſe they ſhould be there ſet, unleſs it were for ſome Mark for Boats. This did augment my Deſire to ſpeak with the Salvages; for without doubt they could have given notice of ſome Chriſtians, with whom they had ſome Commerce. About four in the Evening, I returned aboard with a Boats lading of Wood; and the Wind ſomething favouring, we Weighed; with our Lead ſeeking out a Channel amongſt theſe perilous Shoalds. In the Evening, the Wind oppoſing it ſelf, we came to Anchor betwixt *Charleton* Iſland, and that Iſland we named the laſt year, (in Memory of that Honourable Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Carie*, one of the Bed-Chamber to the King) *Carie*'s Iſland; where we rid all Night.

The 3d, at break of day, we Weighed with a bare Wind, and Sounding up and down for a Channel, we were many times in five and four Fathom Water. The Wind largeing upon us, we ſtood away Weſt: By Noon, we ſaw all Ice to the Northward of us. Endeavouring therefore, to Compaſs about the Weſter-point of *Charleton* Iſland, and ſo to ſeek to the Southward, we found it all Shoalds, Rocks, and Breaches. By four in the Afternoon, we ſaw the Weſtern-land, but all full of Ice; whereupon, as the Wind favoured us, we ſtood alongſt it in ſight to the Northward.

The 4th was Calm, but ſo very thick Fog with all, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us. Wherefore we came to an Anchor, and there rid all this day and the next night.

The 5th, at three in the Morning, we Weigh'd; but Ice being all about us, we knew not which way to turn us: Now to avoid telling the ſame thing 20 times, we were continually, till the 22th, ſo peſtered and tormented with Ice, that it would ſeem incredible to relate it;

ſometimes we were ſo blinded with Fog, that we could not ſee about us; and being now become willful in our Endeavours, we ſhould ſo ſtrike againſt the Ice, that the fore-part of the Ship would crack again; and make our Cook and others to run up all amazed, and think the Ship had been beaten all to pieces. Indeed, we did hourly ſtrike ſuch unavoidable blows, that we did leave the Hatches open, and 20 times in a day, the Men would run down into the Hold, to ſee if ſhe were Bulged.

Sometimes, when we had made her faſt in the Night, to a great piece of Ice, we ſhould have ſuch violent Storms, that our faſtning would break; and then the Storm would beat us from piece to piece moſt fearfully; otherwhile, we ſhould be faſt incloſed among great Ice, as high as our Poop. This was made (as I have formerly ſaid) by one piece running upon another; which made it draw eight or ten fathom Water. Beſides which, the lowermoſt would riſe from underneath, and ſtrike us under the Bulge, with pieces of five, ſix, yea, of eight Tun, that many times we have pump'd clear Water for an hour together before we could make the Pump ſuck. Amongſt theſe ſeveral and hourly Dangers, I over-heard the Men murmur, and ſay, that they were happy that I had buried; and that if they had a thouſand Pounds, they would give it, ſo they lay fairly by them; for we (ſay they) are deſtined to Starve upon a piece of Ice. I was fain to indure all this with Patience; and to comfort them up again, when I had them in a better Humour.

The 22th, having been vext with a Storm all laſt Night, and this Morning with a thick Fog, we drove in 13 Fathom Water. About Noon, it clear'd, and we ſaw Land; and at the inſtant, had a good Obſervation, whereby we knew it to be Cape *Henrietta Maria*. I made the Maſter ſtand in with it; and in the mean time, we fitted a Croſs, and faſtened the King's Arms, and the Arms of the City of *Briſtol* to it; we came to an Anchor within a Mile of the Shore, in ſix Fathom Water: ſo we hoiſted out the Boat, and took our Arms and our Dogs, and went aſhore. Upon the moſt eminent place, we erected the Croſs; and then ſeeking about, we ſoon ſaw ſome Deer, and by and by more and more. We ſtole to them with the beſt skill we had, and then put our Dogs on them; but the Deer ran clear away from them at their pleaſure. We tired the Dogs, and wearied our ſelves, but to no purpoſe; neither could we come to ſhoote at them. I ſaw in all, about a dozen (old and young) very goodly Beaſts. We took half a dozen young Geeſe, on the Pools, by wading in to them; and ſo returned to our Boat vext, that now we had found a place where there was refreſhing, and we could get none of it. Whereas, therefore, we had kept our Dogs with a great deal of Inconvenience aboard the Ship all the Winter; and had pardoned them many Miſdemeanors, (for they would ſteal our Meat out of the ſteeping Tubs) in hope they might hereafter do us ſome Service; and ſeeing they now did not; and that there was no hope they could hereafter: I cauſed them to be left aſhore. They were a Dog and a Bitch: Buck Dogs, of a very good Race. The Dog had a Collar about his Neck, which it may be hereafter, may come to light. I did ſee no ſign at all, of any Salvages; nor could we find any Herbs, or other Refreſhing here.

In the Evening, (being returned aboard) and the Wind blowing fair at South; I cauſed the Maſter to Weigh, and come to Sail, and to loſe no time; for we did hope for an open Sea to the N. W. This Cape hath a very Shoald-point, that lies off it; which we endeavoured to compaſs about.

Sailing therefore amongſt ſhattered Ice, we came to very Shoald-Water, (four and five Fathom deep) and could not avoid it. At length, ſtanding N. the Water deepened; but we came amongſt great pieces of Ice; which by reaſon of ſome open Water, there went a pretty Sea. Theſe hard pieces of Ice made a moſt fearful noiſe. It proved a fair Moon-ſhine Night; otherwiſe it had gone ill with us. We turned amongſt this Ice, ſtaying the Ship ſometimes within her length, of great pieces, as bad as Rocks; but by reaſon we were often forced to bear up, we did ſag upon the Main-rand of Ice, and that we thought would be worſe for us; we let fall an Anchor, and ſtood all on the Decks to watch the Ice's ſheering of the Ship, (to and again) to avoid it. Thus having Poles and Oars to fend it, we could not keep our ſelves ſo clear, but many pieces came foul of us. We brake two of our great Poles with it; which were made to be handled by four Men, beſides ſome other Damages. At break of day, we Weighed; and ſought

ſought all ways to clear our ſelves of Ice, but it was impoſſible. I conceive it impertinent to relate every particular days paſſages, which was much alike to us. Our Endeavours were ſometimes with our Sails; giving and receiving 200 fearful Blows in a day. Sometimes, we would ſtop at an Anchor, when we could get a little open Water, and ſo ſuffer the Ice to drive to Leeward; other whiles, we ſhould be encloſed amongſt it; and then it would ſo break, and riſe, and leap up under us, that we expected to be beaten every hour to pieces.

Moreover, we ſhould have ſuch Storms in the dark Nights, that would break the Moorings we had made faſt to ſome piece of Ice for ſecurity in the Night Seaſon; and then we ſhould beat moſt dangerouſly from piece to piece till Day-light, that we could ſee to make her faſt again. I forbear to ſpeak of thick Fogs which we had daily, which did freeze our Rigging day and night: Beſides all which, we ſhould come into moſt uncertain depths; ſometimes 20 Fathom, next caſt 10, next 15, then 9, Rocky foul Ground. The great deep Ice withall, driving on theſe uncertain depths, did ſo diſtract the Tides, and deceive us ſo much in our Accounts, that by the 30th, we were driven back ſo far, to the Eaſtward, and to the Southward of the Cape, that at five a Clock in the Evening it bare N. W. of us ſome three Leagues off, contrary to our Expectations. With all theſe Miſchiefs, our Ship is now become very leaky, that we muſt Pump every half Watch. Here I called a Conſultation; and after conſideration of all our Experience, we were all of the ſame Opinion, that it was impoſſible to get to the Northward, or to the Eaſtward, by reaſon of the Ice. Wherefore I reſolved upon this Courſe: When the Wind blew South, it would blow the Ice off the South-ſhore, then we would ſeek to get to the Weſtward, betwixt it and the ſhore. I muſt confeſs, that this was a deſperate Reſolution; for all the Coaſt we knew to be ſhoald and foul Ground, all Rocks and Stones; ſo that if the Wind ſhould ſhift to the Northward, there would be (without God's mercies) little hope of us. But here we muſt not ſtay; the Nights grew long, the Cold ſo increaſed, that betwixt the pieces of Ice, the Sea would be frozen. I cauſed the Ship to be fitted, and Places convenient again prepared to ſink her the ſecond time, if ſo be we were put to Extremities. We preſently put our project in Execution (the Wind being at South) and got about the ſhoalds of the Cape, ſtanding then into the ſhoreward, to get betwixt it and the Ice; we came into four Fathom Water (very foul rocky ground) thinking to come to an Anchor all Night, and let the Ice drive to Leeward. But ſtill there was ſo much Ice betwixt us and the ſhore, that we were fain to bear up amongſt it into deeper Water, and to let the Ship drive amongſt it. The Wind increaſing, we endured a moſt dangerous dark Night of it. In the Morning, we fell to work, to get the Ship again out of the Ice into ſome clear Water, which we ſaw W. by S. of us. Some of our Company went out upon the Ice, to heave her with their Shoulders, whilſt others ſtood aboard with Poles. The reſt ſtood to ſpill and fill the Sail. By nine in the Morning, we had gotten into ſome clear Water, and ſtood Weſt and by South, and into four Fathom Water, foul Ground. But being not able to weather ſome rands of Ice which did drive, we were fain to ſtand off again, and (when the Evening grew dark) to come to an Anchor.

About Midnight, there came a great piece of Ice (which we could not avoid) athwart of our Cable, and made the Ship drive and drag her Anchor. This drove her into ſhoald Water, it being very rocky and foul Ground. We brought the Cable to Capſtang, and heav'd with ſuch a Courage, that we heav'd home our Anchor from under it. Thus we did endeavour (the beſt we could) to keep our ſelves in eight and ten Fathom Water. It then pleaſed God, that the Wind blew alongſt the ſhore, otherwiſe it had gone far worſe with us.

Auguſt, 1632.

The firſt of this month at break of day, when we could ſee a little about us, we fell to ſtruggle and ſtrive again with the Ice, and to get in nearer to the ſhore. There, by reaſon the Wind was oppoſite to come to an Anchor, we let the Ice drive to Leeward, hoping that there was a clear Sea to the Weſtward. The Ice drove very thick upon us, and one piece came foul of us, which did touch our Sprit-Sail Yard, and made the Ship drive; but we ſoon cleared our ſelves of it. Then we Weighed, and ſtood in nearer to the ſhore; but the Water ſhoalded, and there were ſo many great rands of Ice betwixt us and the ſhore, that

that there was no coming to an Anchor. So we turned betwixt the Ice; many pieces of it being a-ground in ſhoald Water; and few pieces diſtant one from the other a Cables length. This day we ſaw two Sea Morſes on the Ice.

The 2d in the Morning, we were glad of the break of day, having moſt dangerouſly turn'd amongſt the Ice all Night, and endured many a heavy blow. We ſtood in again to the ſhore-ward, to ſee if we could get ſome clear Water; for to the Northward it was all impaſſable Ice. We ſtood into five and four Fathom, but ſtill all incompaſt with Ice. So we ſtood off again into deeper Water, and in the Evening we were incloſed amongſt extraordinary great pieces: It was a very thick Fog withall; ſo that we made faſt the Ship to a great flat piece, and went to Sleep and refreſh our ſelves after our extream Pains-taking.

The 3d, 4th, and 5th, we were incloſed amongſt very great Ice; and it blew ſuch a Storm of Wind, that we ſometimes endeavouring to get forward to the Weſtward, did ſtrike ſuch heavy blows, that made all the forepart of the Ship crack again. Then we would give over working and let her alone amongſt it; but then the Ice would break and riſe under us, that would endanger us as bad as the former. Our Ship doth make above a Tun of Water every Watch, which we muſt Pump out, beſide our our other Labour. God think on us, and be merciful to us amongſt all theſe Dangers.

The 5th at Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 30. the Cape bearing off us S. E. by E. ſome 12 Leagues off; and this is all we have gotten, ſince the 22th of *July*. All Night it blew a violent gale of Wind, at W. N. W. and about Midnight, our Hawſer (which we had made faſt to a piece of Ice) broke, and we loſt 14 Fathom of it. We beat all Night moſt fearfully, being toſt from piece to piece, becauſe that in the dark we durſt not venture our Men to go forth on the Ice for fear of loſing them.

All the 6th, the Storm indured, and drove us again with the Ice, almoſt to the Cape.

The 7th, was the moſt comfortable day we had ſince we came out of our Wintering place; the Wind came up fair at Eaſt, and we got (although with our former Inconveniencies and Dangers) nearer to the ſhore, and into ſome open Water, making good way to the Weſtward. Moreover, our Leak now ſtopt of its own accord, ſo that now we Pumpt but little. We ſailed all Night, keeping good Watch on the Forecaſtle, bearing up for one, and looffing for another.

Thus did we the 8th alſo, but then the Wind ſhifting to the N. W. it drove the Ice on the ſhore, and we came to an Anchor in eight Fathom Water. The Main-Ice, we had ſome two Mile to Windward of us, but the ſet of the Tide kept it off from us. At Noon, we were in Latitude 55. 34. In the Evening, a rang of Ice drove upon us, which made us Weigh, and ſtand in nearer the ſhore, into ſix Fathom, and there to come to an Anchor. The Wind increaſing about Midnight, the Ship did drive, and was quickly in five Fathom Water; wherefore we let fall our Shoot-Anchor, and both held her. But that that troubled us, was, that we expected every Minute, when the Main-Ice would come upon us, and then there would be no hope but to be put aſhore.

The 9th, in the Morning, we Weighed our ſecond Anchor, the Ice being within leſs than a Mile of us. About eight in the Morning, a Point of it came foul of us, which we prevented, by Weighing, and came to an Anchor in three Fathom and a half Water. The Wind continued N. N. W. which was in on the ſhore. This Morning, I cauſed all our empty Cask to be fill'd with Water, and the Ship to be left unpumpt; and the Places lookt to, that we had prepared to ſink her: for we were at preſent in as apparent danger, as any time this Voyage; and (to our great griefs) it was all foul rocky ground. The Danger of this was, if we made faſt to a piece of Ice that drew deep Water, then; as ſoon as it came to ground on theſe Rocks, it would break all to pieces, and betray us to our Deſtruction. About Noon, there came foul of us, the point of a range of Ice, which we reſolved to endure the extremity of, with an Anchor, thinking to ride and break through it, we now perceiving ſome open Water beyond it; thruſting therefore, and fending with our Poles, at laſt a great piece came thwart our Hawſer, and there went a pretty Sea amongſt it. The Ship did now fall upon it ſo violently, that I expected every blow, ſhe would beat out her Bows. At length, ſhe did drive with it, ſo that I thought the Cable had been broken. We brought it to Capſtang to heave it in; but found that our Shoote-Anchor was broken in the middle of

of the ſhank. We preſently ſet our Sails thereupon, endeavouring that way to edge in amongſt the Ice off of this perilous ſhore. It pleaſed God to favour our Labour ſo, that by eight in the Evening we got off into ſeven Fathom; and a dark Night coming on, we made faſt to the biggeſt piece we could find. It blew fairly all Night; but about Midnight, the Wind came up at North, which was more on the Shore than before.

By break of day, on the 10th, we were driven into four Fathom, very foul ground; ſo that the Lead did fall off the Rocks three or four Foot, we ſet our Sails, and uſed our uttermoſt Endeavours to edge off. Some of us went upon the Ice to hale her; others ſtood with Poles to thruſt, by Night. At Night we had gotten off, into eight Fathom; and made faſt to the biggeſt piece we could find. If any Man ſhould ask, Why we now kept ſo near to the ſhore, in this continual danger? I anſwer, Becauſe that in the Offing, the Ice was ſo extraordinary thick, that we could make no way, any way through it. Moreover, when we were in that great thick Ice, and that the Wind came up fair at S. or S. E. or E. we could not get out of it. Wherefore we choſe to run this adventure, and ſo prevent and overcome all Dangers with God's Aſſiſtance and our extream Labour.

The 11th in the Morning was a thick Fog, yet there ſprung up a gale of Wind at Eaſt, and we made in for the ſhore.

From the 11th till the 14th, the Wind continued fair; and we made all the Sail we could (night and day) as the Ice would ſuffer us. We had the ſhore in ſight by day, on one ſide, and the Ice within two Miles, on the other; and we ſail'd amongſt diſperſt pieces, luffing for one, and bearing up for another.

The 14th at Noon, we were in Latitude 57. 55. In the Evening we were imbayed in Ice, and ſtood S. W. to clear our ſelves of it, but could not. But ſeeing from Top-maſt Head, clear Water over it, we put into it; but there roſe a very thick Fog, and Night came on withall, that we were fain to faſten to a piece of Ice, expecting Day and better Weather.

The 15th in the Morning, (although the Fog was very thick) we endeavoured to get out of the Ice, and ſtood away Weſt; but within two hours, the Water ſhoalded from 40 Fathom to 25, whereby we knew that we had the ſhoalding of the Weſtern-ſhore. Then we ſhapt our Courſe to the Northward, the Fog continuing ſo thick, that we could not ſee a Piſtol-ſhot about us. We had not ſtood this way two hours, but we heard the rut of the Ice a-head of us, which made the moſt hideous noiſe of any we had heard this Voyage. We hal'd our Tacks aboard, and ſtood to the Weſtward in this day darkneſs, hearing of it ſometimes, and ſometimes ſeeing of it, which was very large, deep, and high Ice, above the Water. We weathered it all, except ſome few pieces, and got into open Water. About Sunſet, there came a ſudden guſt at N. N. W. and before we could handle our Sails, it was with us, and put us to ſome trouble. It dallied with us by Guſts till nine a Clock, and then it fell into a moſt violent Storm. We conſidered where we might have the cleareſt drift; and ſo took in all, and let her drive, her Head to the ſhoreward. Before Midnight, the Water ſhoalded on us to 15 Fathom. Then we turned her Head to the Eaſtward, and ſet our Main-Courſe low ſet, but as much as ſhe could indure. The Water deepned but little, and we knew that we were on thoſe rocky Shoalds which we ſtruck on the laſt year. God be merciful to us. Here was the firſt great breaking Sea that we had this year.

The 16th in the Morning, we were driven to a great rand of Ice; to avoid which, we ſet our Fore-Courſe too, and ſtood to the ſhoreward in 13 Fathom Water, and then about again: We ſtood in, a Mile into the Ice; but there went ſuch a great ſwelling Sea in it, that it was indurable, ſo we ſtood out again. About three a Clock in the Afternoon, the Storm broke up, and blew fair at N. W. which proved good for us, for we had not drift for four hours: beſides, it was but two Leagues betwixt the Shoalds and the Ice. We ſet all our Sails, and endeavoured to weather the Ice; but in the Evening we were ſtill peſter'd with it. By Midnight, we knew not which way to turn, nor what to do; ſo we took in all our Sails, and let her drive amongſt it. The Ice beat us on every ſide, for there went amongſt it a very great full Sea.

The 17th in the Morning, when we could ſee about us, we were in the midſt of the Ice; but with the laſt Storm it was all broken into mammocks, as big as a Boat of three, or four Tuns, which did give us many a heavy blow in the dark night. If this Storm had taken us

amongſt it, it had beaten us all to pieces, without Gods miraculous Preſervation. We made Sail, and endeavoured to clear our ſelves of it to the Northward, which by 8 in the Morning we had done.

We then went to Prayer, and gave God thanks that had delivered us out of it. For we were hourly, for the ſpace of ſix Weeks, as it were in the Jaws of Death; yea, never any (that I have heard of) have been ſo long, in ſuch long Nights, upon a foul ſhoald ſhore, tormented with Ice, as we have now been. At Noon we were in Latit. 58. 20.

Now as touching the Diſſolution or Ruining of the Ice, we found that this Storm had torn and ſhattered this rand of Ice, which was on the outſide; although it muſt have a long time to work into the main body of it. I have in *July*, and in the beginning of *Auguſt*, taken ſome of the Ice into the Ship, and cut it ſquare two foot, and put it into the Boat, where the Sun did ſhine on it with a very ſtrong reflex about it. And notwithſtanding the warmth of the Ship, (for we kept a good fire) and all our Breathings and Motions, it would not melt in 8 or 10 days.

It was our Practice, when we ſhould be two days together faſt to a piece of Ice, to ſet Marks on it, to ſee how it did conſume; but it yielded us ſmall hope of diſſolving. We could not in that time perceive any Diminution by the ſinking of it or otherwiſe. Nevertheleſs, I think that it is ruined with Storms, or conſumed with Heat ſome years; or elſe the Bay would be fill'd choke-full: but I confeſs, that theſe Secrets of Nature are paſt my Apprehenſion.

Being out of it, (but no otherways than that we yet ſaw it from off the Decks, all to the Eaſtward) I ordered the Maſter to ſteer away North and by Eaſt, keeping the ſhoalding of the Weſternſhore.

The 18th at Noon, we were in Latitude 59. 30.

The 19th, we continued our Courſe betwixt the N. N. E. and the N. by E. and at Noon were in Latitude 61. 7. ſome 12 Leagues off the ſhore. I ordered the Maſter to ſhape his Courſe North East, to look to that p ce betwixt *Carie's Swan's Neſt*, and N *tra.*

The 20th, we w in Latitude 61. 45. This day we ſaw ſo few Seals about the Ship.

The 21th, the W ater ſhoalded, ſo that we made accou we did approach the Land; but about Noon, the Wind came up at N. E. our direct oppoſite. We Looſt as near it as we could, and as it Larg'd, we came to ſtand E. and E. and by N.

The 22th, we fell with the Land to the Weſtward of *Carie's Swan's Neſt*: where we had 40 Fathom, three Leagues off. We ſtood in, within a League of the ſhore, into 13 Fathom; and ſeeing the Land to the Southward of us, we compaſt about it, it being *Carie's Swan's Neſt*, which is in Latitude 52. 00.

All the 23th, we ſailed N. E. and for the moſt part in ſight of Land.

The 24th at Noon, (by Judgment) we were in Latitude 63.30. having ſailed a N. E. Courſe. All this day was a very thick Fog, which about one a Clock clear'd a little, ſo that I expected to ſee the Land. Some of our Men being better ſighted, ſpied it out about ſome two Leagues off from us. I knew it could be no other then *Nottingham* Iſland; though it were ſomething contrary to the expectation of our beſt Mariners. We ſtood into it to make it. It was the North end of it; and it bare off us Due-Eaſt; I was ſoon aſſured of it; and I ordered the Maſter to ſhape his Courſe North Weſt and by North. Both he and others were unwilling; but without much ado, ſubmitted themſelves, (how loth ſoever) for that it was ſo very foul thick weather. The Reaſons of my reſolution were theſe: The time of the year was far ſpent, and the Diſcommodities of Winter came upon us; and therefore would I make the ſhorteſt way, betwixt the Lands already diſcovered. If I found an open Sea, I had my deſire, and did then intend to proceed to the uttermoſt of our power; if we met with the Land, I ſhould then finiſh the Diſcovery, it being not paſſing 15 Leagues from Land to Land, and not paſſing 10 Leagues from *Nottingham* Iſland to the Main of the North-ſhore. We made what Sail we could, it blowing a very ſtiff gale of Wind until eight in the Evening; then it began to blow fiercely, and we took in our Top-ſails, and ſtood under our two Courſes and Bonnets. At nine, it blew a violent Storm at S. S. E. ſo that we took in our Foreſail, and let her drive N. W. All the Night it continued an extraordinary Storm; ſo that we heaved the Lead every half watch; But the Ship did drive ſo faſt, that ſhe would be paſt the Lead before there was 20 Fathom of Line out, all the Night being exceeding Cold withall.

The

The 25th, the Storm continued in his uttermost Malice, and did so perplex us, that there were but few that did Sleep or Eat a bit these 24 hours. About six a Clock in the Afternoon, the Storm began to slacken, yet blew there a fierce gale of Wind betwixt the S. and S. W. We stood W. N. W. and made a N. W. way, when suddenly the Sea became very smooth. We reasoned thereupon amongst our selves, what might be the Cause of it. We all thought it to be the Leeward Tide; nothing doubting what afterwards we encountered. The Ship had very quick way in this smooth Water.

The 26th, by two a Clock in the Morning, we were suddenly come in amongst the Ice; and it pleased God, that the Moon at the instant gave us so much light, that we could see a little about us. We would have staid the Ship, but it was so thick to Windward, and so near us, that we durst not. We then bore up in this unexpected accident; and (I verily believe) did not scape striking, the length of a foot, against the Ice as hard as Rocks, two or three times; the Ship now having way, after 12 Leagues a watch. Then we stood close by a Wind to the Eastward, expecting day, that we might see about us. We could from Top-mast Head see the Ice to the N. N. W. the N. W. and so round about by the S. to the E. and some there was to Leeward of us. It was all flat sound Ice, in Main rands; and the Sea as smooth as a Well amongst it. This struck us all into a dump; whereupon, I called a Consultation of my Associates; namely, *Arthur Price* Master, *William Clemens* Lieutenant, *John Whittered* Master's Mate, *Nathaniel Bilson* Chirurgeon, and *John Palmer* Boatswain; requiring them to Advise and Counsel me, how to prosecute our Business to effect. These all went together, and reasoned amongst themselves; and then brought me their Opinions in Writing under their Hands; *viz.* Our Advice is, That you repair homeward, from this present 26th, and that for these Reasons:

First, For that the Nights are long, and so extream Cold withall, that we can hardly handle our Sails and Riggings. Secondly, The times are now subject to stormy and gusty weather; as witnesseth the present Season; it having continued a Storm ever since the 24th, and doth yet continue no Weather to discover in. Thirdly, We doubt whether *Hudson's Straights* be so clear of Ice, that it may be passable in convenient time, (Winter coming now on apace) before we be frozen up, seeing the Ice lies here all over the Sea in rands and ranges. Fourthly, We must have a set of fair weather, to pass the Straight, which we may stay a long time for, if we neglect the first opportunity. Fifthly, For that our Ship is very Leaky, so that in foul Weather we are fain to Pump every Glass, which is great Labour. Moreover, we know her to be so sorely bruised with Rocks, and Blows of the Ice, that she is no more to be adventur'd amongst it, but in saving of our Lives homewards. Besides all this, our Men grow very weak and sickly, with extream Labour. Sixthly, The Season of the year is so far spent, tha we can expect no other Weather than we have had, both lately and at present; that is to say, Snow and Fog, freezing our Rigging, and making every thing so slippery, that a Man can scarce stand; and all this, with the Wind Southerly; which if it should come to the Northward, then we are to expect far worse. Seventhly and Lastly, That the Ice lies all in thick rands and ranges, in the very way we should go, as you and all Men here may see. And therefore we conclude, as aforesaid, That there is no possibility of proceeding further: Wherefore we here Counsel you to return homeward, hoping that God will give us a favourable Passage, and return us home safe into our Native Countries, if we take time, and not tempt him too far by our willfulness.

Indeed most of these Reasons were in view, and I could not tell what to say to oppose them; nor any reason could I give, how we might proceed further; wherefore (with a sorrowful heart, God knows) I consented, that the Helm should be born up, and a Course shapt for *England*; well hoping, that his Majesty would graciously Censure of my Endeavours, and Pardon my return. And although we have not discovered populous Kingdoms, and taken special notice of their Magnificence, Power, and Policies, brought Samples home of their Riches and Commodities; pried into the Mysteries of their Trades and Traffick; nor made any great fight against the Enemies of God and our Nation; yet I wish our willingness in these Desart Parts may be acceptable to our Readers. When we bore up Helm, we were in Latitude 65. 30. at least, N. W. and by N. from *Nottingham* Island. Some were of an Opinion, that we were further to the Northward;

Northward; but by reaſon it was by Judgment, I choſe to ſet down the leſſer diſtance.

The 27th, the Wind came up at N. W. with which Wind we could not have gone on our Deſign: That Wind made no great ſwelling Sea. By Noon, we were athwart of Cape *Charles*; ſo that we went in betwixt that Cape, and *Mill* Iſlands. The laſt Night it did Snow very much, and was very Cold; ſo that all our Rigging and Sails were frozen, and all the Land covered over withSnow. And here, (ſithence I have formerly ſpoken that it Snows very much) it will not be amiſs to conſider of the Reaſons of it. When I was upon *Charleton* Iſland, (our Wintering place) and in *June*, when the Snow was clearlieſt gone off the Ground, I have in the Nights, (and ſome of them following the hotteſt days) obſerved, whether there fell any Dew or no; but I could never perceive any, and (under Correction of the Learned) from Moſs and Sand, little (me thoughts) was to be expected. Now, of what was Exhal'd from the Snowy Ice, and Cold Sea; could there probably be returned but the like again. Generally, we continued on our Courſe, blinded with Foggy and dirty Weather; and that, intermixt with Snow and Froſt, amongſt diſperſt pieces of Ice, many of them higher than our Top-maſt head.

With great variety of Winds, we were alſo driven within three Leagues of both Shores; ſo that the laſt of this month, we were in the narrow of the Straight; which is about 15 Leagues over; the South ſhore was much peſtred with Ice.

September, 1632.

The 1ſt, and 2d, we continued our Endeavour to get on our way.

The 3d in the Evening, as the Weather cleared up, we did ſee the South-end of the *Iſland of Reſolution*.

Theſe three Days and Nights had been extream Cold, with Fog and Froſt; inſomuch, that our Men in the Evening could hardly take in our Top-Sails and Spreet-Sail. We have ſailed thorow much Mountainous Ice, far higher than our Top-maſt head. But this day we ſailed by the higheſt that I ever yet ſaw, which was incredible indeed to be related. Now as the Wind comes Eaſterly, we feel another Sea, out of the Ocean, and the Ship labours with another Motion, than ſhe hath done with any that ever we obſerved to come out of the Weſtward.

From the 3d to the 8th, we had variety of Winds, and were gotten clear out of the Straights; but were now come into ſuch a tumbling Sea, (the Weather durty and guſty, and by *interims* Calm again) that the Ship did ſo Labour and Rowl, that we thought verily ſhe would have rowled her Maſts by the board. This made her ſo Leaky, that we were fain to Pump every Glaſs; yea, her Seams did ſo open aloft, that we lay all wet in her.

This was the laſt day that we ſaw any Ice. The Wind now favouring us, we made all the haſte we could homeward. By the way, (having endeavoured, obſerved, and experimented ſome things in my unfortunate Voyage) I perfected up my ſaid Obſervations; which being after commanded to publiſh, I here moſt ſubmiſſively offer unto the judicious Readers; and raine our private Opinion withall, concerning the feiſeableneſs of the Action intended, which was to find a *Paſſage into the South Sea*.

What hath been long ago Fabled by ſome *Portugueſes*, that ſhould have come this way out of the *South Sea*, the meer ſhadows of whoſe miſtaken Relations have come to us, I leave to be confuted by their own Vanity. Theſe hopes have ſtirred up from time to time, the more active Spirits of this our Kingdom, to reſearch that meerly imaginary Paſſage. For mine own part, I give no Credit to them at all; and as little to the vicious, and abuſive Wits of later *Portugueſes* and *Spaniards*, who never ſpeak of any difficulties; as ſhoald Water, Ice, nor ſight of Land; but as if they had been brought home in a Dream or Engine. And indeed, their Diſcourſes are found abſurd; and the *Plots*, (by which ſome of them have practiſed to deceive the World) meer Falſities; making Sea where there is known to be Main-Land; and Land, where is nothing but Sea.

Moſt certain it is, That by the only induſtry of our own Nation, thoſe Northern Parts of *America* have been diſcovered, to the Latitude of 80 Degrees and upwards. And it hath been ſo curiouſly done, (the Labours of ſeveral Men being joyned together) that the Main-Land hath been both ſeen and ſearcht; and they have brought this ſuppoſed Paſſage to this paſs, that it muſt be to the North of 66 Degrees of Latitude. A Cold Clime, peſtered with Ice, and other Diſcommodities, and where the

the *Spaniards* Diſpoſitions, and their weak Speeke-Ships, can hardly long endure it. And withall, it is thus known, that the entrance of *Hudſon's Streights* is but 15 Leagues broad, in the middle not ſo much; and betwixt *Salisbury* Iſland, and the Main, that it is but eight Leagues. Then proceeding to the Northwards, towards the forementioned Latitude, it is but 15 Leagues from Main to Main. This in length, is but about 140 Leagues, as may more plainly appear by the Map. Moſt infinitely peſtered withall it is with the Ice, until *Auguſt*, and ſome years not paſſable then; yea, I believe, the Straight is never clear of Ice thorowly.

Now moſt probable it is, that there is no Paſſage, and that for theſe Reaſons following.

Firſt, That there is a conſtant Tide Flood and Ebb, ſetting into *Hudſon's Streights*, the Flood ſtill coming from the Eaſtward; which, as it proceeds, (correſpondent to the diſtance) it alters his time of full Sea. This alſo entering into Bays, and broken Ground, it becomes diſtracted, and Reverſes with half Tides.

Secondly, Here is no ſmall Fiſh, as Cod, *&c.* and very few great ones, which are rarely to be ſeen: Nor are there any Bones of Whales, Sea-Horſes, or other great Fiſh, to be found on the Shore; nor any Drift-Wood.

Thirdly, That we found the Ice in the Latitude of 65. 30. to be lying all over the Sea in rands; and I am moſt certain, that the Shoalds and Shoald-Bays are the Mother of it. Had there now been any Ocean beyond it, it would have been broke all to pieces; for ſo we found it coming thorow the Straight into the Sea to the Eaſtward.

Fourthly, The Ice ſeeks his way to the Eaſtward, and ſo drives out at *Hudſon's Streight*, which I have often obſerved being a-Land, upon the Iſland of *Reſolution*, and driving amongſt the Ice in the *Streight*.

Now admit there were a Paſſage, yet is it known, that it is partly narrow, for 140 Leagues, and to be infinitely peſtered with Ice withall, as every one have found, who have gone that way. Comparing therefore ſome Obſervations taken at *Bantam*, *Gulolo*, and at *Firando* in *Japan*, and the Diſtance betwixt *Japan* and the Weſtern-part of *Califurnia*; with the Obſervations taken at *Charleton* Iſland, (referring all to the Meridian of *London*) and then the Diſtance betwixt the Meridians of Cape *Charles*, and the Weſtern-part of *Califurnia*, will be found to be about 500 Leagues, in the Lat. of 66. 00. where yet the Meridians incline very much together.

To this may be added, That near about Cape *Charles*, the Variation is 29 Degrees to the Weſt; which is a probable Argument, that there is much Land to the Weſtward; and that this Straight muſt be very long, and that you have no time to paſs it but in *Auguſt* and *Septemb.* when the Nights are ſo long, and the Weather ſo cold, that it will not be indurable.

Add to this, That neither can any great Ships, which are fit for carrying of Merchandize, indure the Ice, and other Diſcommodities, without extraordinary danger.

Moreover, a thouſand Leagues is ſooner ſailed to the Southward, and about the Cape *de Bona Speranza*, (where the Winds are conſtant) and that with ſafety, than a hundred in theſe Seas, where you muſt daily run the hazard of loſing Ship and Lives. Put hereunto, that Comfort for the Sick, or refreſhing for your Men, here is none to be had in theſe Quarters.

Towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, and in *September*, the Weather grows Tempeſtuous, and the Winds incline to be Weſterly, that there will be but ſmall hope of performing your Voyage this way.

But let us (by way of Imagination only) inlarge this Streight, in this Latitude, and free it of Ice; yet, what Advantage, in ſpeedy performance, will be gotten by this Paſſage, if the Winds be withall conſidered? To *Japan*, *China*, and the Northern Parts of *Aſia*, it may be the nearer cut; but in Navigation, the fartheſt way about, is well known, in fewer days to be performed, yea with leſſer pains, and more ſafety of Ship and Goods.

Again: To the *Eaſt-Indies*, and other Parts, where we have the greateſt Commerce and Employment of Shipping, the other way is as near. What benefit of Trade might have been obtained in thoſe Northern Parts of *Aſia*, I will not preſume to ſpeak of; holding that there is a great difference betwixt thoſe Parts and the Northern Parts of *America*; whereas I am ſure that there is none

in any place where I have been all this Voyage.

The 22th of *October*, we arrived in the Road of *Briſtol*, having been hindered and croſt with much contrary tempeſtuous Winds and Weather. The Ship being brought into Harbour, and hal'd dry a-ground to look to her, it was there found, that all her Cut-water and Stern were torn and beaten away, together with 14 Foot of her Keel; much of her Sheathing cut away, her Bows broken and bruiſed, and many Timbers crackt within board; and under the Star-board Bulge, a ſharp Rock had cut thorow the Sheathing, the Plank, and an Inch and a half into a Timber that it met withall. Many other Defects there were beſides, ſo that it was miraculous how this Veſſel could bring us home again. Being all here arrived, we went all to Church, and gave God thanks for his Preſervation of us amidſt ſo many Dangers. I very well know that what I have here haſtily written, will never diſcourage any noble Spirit, that is minded to bring this ſo long tried Action to abſolute effect: And it is likely withall, that there be ſome, who have a better Underſtanding, and a ſurer way of proſecuting of it, than my ſelf have. To whoſe Deſigns I wiſh a happy Succeſs. And if they do but make a review of what hath been done, and give more certain *Celeſtial Obſervations*, *Hydrographical Deſcriptions*, or Exacter Practice in *Navigation*, it will be a moſt commendable Labour. For although I have ſpent ſome years of my ripeſt Age, in procuring vain Intelligence from Foreign Nations, and have travelled unto divers Honourable and Learned Perſonages of this Kingdom, for their Inſtructions; have Bought up whatever I could in Print, or Manuſcript, and what Plot or Paper ſoever conducing to this Buſineſs, that poſſibly I could procure; and have ſerved voluntarily beſides, and ſpent ſome time in rendring a relation, (ſince my coming home) and Expended withall of my own Monies, in my aforeſaid Endeavours, and in furniſhing of extraordinary Neceſſaries, above 200 *l.* in ready Money; yet I repent not my ſelf, but take a great deal of Comfort and Joy, in that I am able to give an account (in ſome reaſonable way) of thoſe Parts of the World, which heretofore I was not ſo well ſatisfied in.

THE

THE
COPY of the *LETTER*
Which I left at
CHARLETON,
Faſtened to the Croſs, *July* 1. 1632.

BE it known to any that ſhall haply arrive here, on this Iſland of *Charleton*, that whereas our Soveraign Lord, *Charles* I. King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, *Defender of the Faith*, &c. having a Deſire to be Certified, whether there were any Paſſage, or not, by the North-Weſt or Northweſtward, thorow theſe Territories, into the *South Sea:* Some of the better-minded Merchants, of the worſhipful Company of Merchant-Adventurers of the City of *Briſtol*, to Satisfie His Majeſty therein, did voluntarily offer to ſet forth a convenient Ship for that purpoſe, well Mann'd, Victualled, and furniſhed with all other Neceſſaries. This free Offer of theirs was not only commended, but graciouſly accepted of by His Majeſty. Whereupon, they fitted and furniſhed forth a Ship, called the *Henrietta Maria*, of the Burthen of 70 Tuns, Victualled for 18 Months. A number thought convenient to manage ſuch a Buſineſs, was 22 Men, whereof 19 were choice able Men, two Younkers, and my unworthy ſelf their Commander. All which, the *Briſtol* Merchants did moſt judiciouſly and bountifully accommodate, and had in a readineſs, the firſt of *May*, 1631.

The 3d of *May*, we began our Voyage out of the Road of *Briſtol*, commonly called *King's Road*, paſſing about the Cape *Cleere* of *Ireland*, upon many Courſes, but reduced to a Weſt North-Weſt, we ſailed along; and upon the 4th of *June*, we made the Land of *Greenland* to the Northward of Cape *Farewell*, where for the ſpace of two days, we were dangerouſly ingaged amongſt the Ice. Being clear of it, we doubled Cape *Farewell* to the Southward, and ſo continued our Courſe to the Weſtward, continually Sailing and thruſting the Ship thorow much Ice.

The 19th of *June* we made the Iſland of *Reſolution*, and endeavouring to compaſs about it to the Southward, we were taken with a ſtrong Weſterly Wind, which drove the Ice, and it us, upon the Shore. In that Diſtreſs, (ſeeing it was broken Grounds and Main-Inlets into it) I ſent the Shallop to Seek and Sound a Place, for our Refuge; but when ſhe was departed, ſhe was in as great Danger as we, and could not return to us by reaſon of the Ice. We being now driven very near the Rocks, were fain to ſet our Sails, and force the Ship into an opening, adventuring her amongſt unknown Dangers to avoid apparent, before we could Moor her in a place (as we thought) ſafe from Danger.

The 22th of *June*, (this Inlet being full of Ice) that Ice upon the Ebb, ſo Jamb'd one piece into another, that it altered the ordinary Courſe of it, and it came upon the Ship, and put her againſt the Rocks, notwithſtanding our utmoſt reſiſtance. As the Water Ebb'd away, the Ship hung by the Keel upon a Rock, and heel'd to the Offing. As ſoon as we perceived this, we made faſt ſome Hawſers to her Maſts, and to the Rocks, to hold her upright; but all in vain; ſhe ſunk ſtill, as the Water Ebb'd away; ſo that ſhe was ſo turned over, that we could not ſtand in her. Hereupon, we got all upon a piece of Ice, looking upon her, and praying God to be merciful to us. The Rock that ſhe hung upon, was a little abaft the Main-Maſt, which made her hang after the head, and ſhe ſunk over ſo much, that the Portlaſs of the Forecaſtle was in the Water. At length, it pleaſed God

God, the Flood came, before it had Ebb'd ſo low as the Tide before and after, by a Foot; and the Ship roſe, and was Safe and Sound: And thus were we miraculouſly delivered. With the firſt Wind, we proceeded to the Weſtward; continually being peſtred with ſo much Ice, that it was about the middle of *July* before we could attain to Sir *Dudley Digg*'s Iſland. And here I was put to my Conſideration; for whereas by my Directions, I was to ſearch eſpecially two places; one from *Digg*'s Iſland to the Northward, and failing there, to go to the *Checks* and *Hubbart*'s Hope, and ſo to ſearch it to the Southward; I now finding the Sea much peſtered with Ice in the Latitude of 64 00 and as far as we could ſee to the Northward; and that the time was ſo far ſpent, as that before I could do any thing that way, it would be *Auguſt*, and then as much trouble to return again to *Digg*'s Iſland; and that by that time, the year would be ſo far ſpent, the Nights ſo long and cold, that I fear'd I ſhould be forced with ſhame to return into *England* again that year. Wherefore I took my way to the Weſtward, by *Mansfield*'s Iſland; on which I landed twice, ſtill hindr'd and incumbr'd with Ice. Thence I proceeded Weſtward, hoping for an open Sea in the Bay. We were there more troubled with Ice, than in any place before; ſo that it was the 11th of *Auguſt*, before we had ſight of the Weſtern-land, which we made in Latitude 59. 30. ſomething to the Southward of the *Checks*. We were not able to attain thither, by reaſon of the contrary Winds and Ice; but were Obſervant of the Currant of the Tides; which after, by experience, we found to come from the Northward. We Coaſted alongſt the Shore, in ſight of Land, and in 10 Fathom Water to the Southward; and entred that Inlet, which heretofore was called *Hubbart*'s Hope; which was the very place, where the Paſſage ſhould be, as it was thought by the Underſtandingeſt and Learnedeſt Intelligencer of this Buſineſs in *England*. We ſailed to the very bottom of it, into three Fathom Water; and found it to be a Bay of ſome 18 or 19 Leagues deep. From thence we proceeded to the Southward, in ſight of Land for the moſt part; and although I was as careful to keep the Lead always going (it blowing a freſh gale of Wind and a pretty big Sea) our depth, eight, nine, and ten Fathom; yet before the Lead was up, the Ship ſtruck upon a flat Rock; (ſhe then being under Foreſail, Foretopſail, Maintopſail, and Spritſail) and gave three ſore Knocks, and got over it. Being paſt this Danger, we proceeded, and paſs'd by *Port Nelſon*. Finding the Land trend to the Eaſtward, we began our Diſcovery of it more carefully; becauſe that no Man (that ever I could hear or read of) did ever ſee this Land before. We ſtood into ſix and five Fathom; for it is very low Land, and trends for the moſt part E. S. E. and E. by S.

The 27th of *Auguſt*, I entred upon it, and in the Name of the Merchants-Adventurers of *Briſtol*, took Poſſeſſion of it to His Majeſties Uſe, naming it, *The New South-Weſt Principality of Wales*. I brought from the Land, ſome ſmall Trees and Herbs, and killed divers ſorts of Fowl, in ſign of Seiſure, which I brought aboard. Not long after, (being put back to the Weſtward with contrary Winds) we ſpake with Captain *Fox*, in a Ship of his Majeſties, ſet forth for the ſame purpoſe that we were: I invited him aboard, and entertained him with ſuch fare as we had taken in this new Diſcovered Land; and made him a relation of all our Endeavours: The like did he to us, and withall told us, That he had been in *Port Nelſon*; where he had put up a Shallop, and found there many things which Sir *Thomas Button* had left there. The next day, he departed from us, and ſtood to the Weſtward, and we never ſaw him ſince. His Ship, he, and all his Company, were very well. We continued our Diſcovery to the Eaſtward, and came to the Eaſtern-Point, which is in Latitude 55. 06. which we named Cape *Henrietta Maria*. There the Land trends to the Southward, and we followed it in ſight, but were put off with foul Weather; which being over-blown, we ſtood in again for the Weſtern-ſhore, (that we might leave no part unſeen) and followed it again to Latitude 54. 40. The ſecond time we alſo put off, with like foul Weather, which made us ſtand to the Eaſtward. In this way we paſt by ſome Iſlands, and happened amongſt broken Grounds and Rocks, in Latitude 53. 30. where we came to an Anchor, and ſheltred our ſelves ſome few days, ſhifting Roads. Now the Winter began to come on, and the Nights to be long and cold; that amongſt theſe dangerous Places, we were fain to ſpend the day to look for ſecurity for the Night. Here, by Misfortune, our Ship came a-ground; and that amongſt great Stones, as big as a Man's Head; where ſhe did beat for the

the ſpace of five hours moſt fearfully. In this time, we lightned her, and carried ſome of our things aſhore; ſo that by the great favour of God, we got her off again; whereupon we named this Iſland, *The Iſland of God's Favour.* After that again, amongſt thoſe Rocks, we were put to many Extremities. At length, (having a gentle Southerly Wind) we ſtood alongſt the Eaſtern-ſhore to the Northward, now looking for a convenient Place to Winter in. And here again, were we aſſaulted with a violent Storm, in which we loſt our Shallop, and were driven amongſt divers Dangers; and ſeeing an opening betwixt two Iſlands, we ventured to go in, in very foul Weather. We found it to be a very good Sound, and there we came to an Anchor. We landed on one of them, which we named, *The Lord Weſton's Iſland*; and Man'd out our old Ship-Boat upon it. The other Iſland, we named my *Lord of Briſtol's Iſland.* Parting from hence, we ſtood to the Southward, to look for a Wintering Place, becauſe the time of Diſcovery was paſt for this year. Many were our Troubles amongſt theſe Iſlands, Shoalds, and broken Grounds; which made us ſtrain our Ground Tackle for life many a time.

The 6th of *October*, we arrived in this Bay, it ſeeming a very likely place to find a Harbour in; but ſearching the likelieſt places, we found it all ſo ſhoald Flats and Rocks, and Stony by the ſhoreſide; that we could by no means bring our Ship near the ſhore, but were forced to ride a League off, in three Fathom and a half Water.

The Winter came on apace, the Weather proved Tempeſtuous; and the Cold ſo multiplied, that our Sails froze in lumps to the Yards, unmanuable. Neither could our only Boat go from the Ship, by reaſon of the Weather. About the middle of *October*, I cauſed a Houſe to be made aſhore where our ſick Men might the better recover; but always with an intent to take it down, if we found other-where, a place for our Ship. I ſent likewiſe Men a-foot, (ſeeing the Boat could not go) to diſcover the Iſland, and to ſee if they could find ſome Creek or Cove; but all in vain; we ſpent the time with hope of fairer Weather, till now the Cables began to freeze in the Houſe, and the Ship to be frozen over with the Sprew of the Sea; ſo that we were fain to ſhovel the Snow off our Decks. Moreover, the Water began ſo to Congeal by the ſhore ſide, that the Boat could hardly get aſhore. Yet for all that, if the Wind blew N. W. there went a very great Surf on the Shore, and ſuch a great Sea in the Bay, that there was no bringing of our Ship aground. Beſides this, ſhe would have then lain open to the E. and S. E. and S. and indeed the neareſt Land, all about that way, was two Leagues off. Hereupon, we continued out the extremity, at an Anchor.

The 29th of *November*; the Ice came about us on all ſides, and put us from our ground Tackle, and would have driven us out of the Bay upon Rocks and Shoalds, (where undoubtedly we had periſhed) but that by God's great Goodneſs, it proved ſo warm a day, (the Wind at S.) that ſuddenly we brought up ſome Sail, and hoiſt it up with Ropes, and ſo forced her aſhore; where ſhe beat all that Night very ſorely. The Ship being now grounded and quiet, we conſidered what was beſt to do with her, and reſolved to ſink her; but the next Tide, before we had any of our Proviſions aſhore, the Wind came N. W. ſo that the Ship beat moſt fearfully. We got all our dry Proviſions up to the upper Deck, and made a hole to ſink her; but before ſhe was ſunk, ſhe beat ſo extraordinarily, that we all thought ſhe had been foundered. Being ſunk down ſo low, that the Water came on the upper Deck, we took our Boat and went all aſhore, in ſuch pitiful cold Weather, that we were all ſo white frozen, that ſome ſick Men that were aſhore before, did not know us one from another.

The next day we fell to land our Proviſions: Firſt our Bread, Fiſh, and dry Things, the Men driven to Wade in the Water up to the middles, moſt lamentable to behold. Within two days, what with great flat pieces that ſtuck about us, and that which froze, it was become firm Ice, betwixt the Ship and the ſhore; ſo that then we were fain to carry all things on our Backs a Mile from the Ship to the Houſe. Within few days, the Hold became ſo frozen, that we could not get all our things out of it, but were fain there to leave it frozen, till the next year. Then we made us two other Houſes: Our firſt Houſe was our Manſion-Houſe, wherein we did all lie together; our other was to dreſs our Victuals; and the third, for a Store-Houſe; which we built a pretty diſtance off, for fear of Fire. And now we conſidered of the Eſtate we were in, we all doubted

that the Ship was foundered; eſpecially our Carpenter. But ſuppoſe ſhe were Sound; yet was it a queſtion, whether we could get her off in the Summer, when the Tides are low. Moreover, ſhe might be ſpoiled, lying in the Tides way, when the Ice brake up; and then we ſhould be deſtitute of any Veſſel to bring us home. The Carpenter undertook to build a Pinnace, of the Burthen of 12 or 14 Tun, that ſhould be ready by the Spring; that if we found the Ship unſerviceable, we might tear her up, and Plank her with the Ship's Plank. Upon this we reſolved, and by *May* brought it to that paſs, that ſhe was ready to be joyned together to receive the Plank. But God mercifully provided otherwiſe for us: We indured a bitter Cold Winter, in which it pleaſed God to viſit us with Sickneſs; ſo that in the beginning of *May* 1632. there was but my ſelf, and the Maſter, and Surgeon perfectly ſound, and he began to find ſome defect alſo. About the beginning of *April*, we began to dig the Ice out of our Ship, which by the middle of *May* we had effected.

The 24th of *May*, the Ice began to break up betwixt the Ship and the Shore; and about the middle of *June*, we had off our Ship, and found her to be Stanch and Sound, contrary to all our Expectations. Before this time, about the middle of *May*, our Carpenter died; and with him, the Hope of our Pinnace: Maſter *Wardon* died the 6th of *May*; our Gunner, *Richard Edwards*, had his Leg broken (which was cut off) at the Capſtang in *Auguſt* 1631. and languiſhed till the 22th of *November*, on which day he Died. Theſe three Men lie buried here under theſe Tombs of Stones. We loſt another Man; one *John Barton* our Quarter-Maſter, who miſcarried in the little Bay that is Due Weſt from this Croſs three Mile; the Ice breaking under him, ſo that he ſunk down, and we never ſaw him more. The two Pictures which are wrapt in Lead, and faſtened uppermoſt on this Croſs, are the lively Pictures of our Soveraign Lord and Lady, *Charles* I. and Queen *Mary* his Wife, King and Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. The next under that, is, His Majeſty's Royal Arms; the lowermoſt is the Arms of the City of *Briſtol*.

And now we are in a readineſs to depart this day, and I intend to proſecute our Diſcovery to the Weſtward, in this Latitude of 52. 03. and to the Southward alſo, although with little hope. Failing there, I mean to haſte to *Digg*'s Iſland, and endeavour to diſcover to the Northward. Thus having had ſome Experience of the Dangers of the Ice, Shoalds, and Rocks of unknown Places: I thought it neceſſary to leave this teſtimony of us and our Endeavours, if God ſhould take us into his heavenly Kingdom, and fruſtrate our return into our Native Country. Wherefore I deſire any noble-minded Traveller, that ſhall take this down, or come to the Knowledge of it, that he will make relation of it to our Soveraign Lord the King's Majeſty, and to certifie his Grace, that we cannot as yet find any hope of a Paſſage this way; and that I do faithfully perſevere in my Service; accounting it but my Duty to ſpend my life to give his Majeſty Contentme ; whom I beſeech God to Bleſs with all Happineſs. And that they would likewiſe Advertiſe our worſhipful Adventurers of all our Fortunes; and that if as aforeſaid, we periſh, it was not by any want or defect in Ship or Victual, or other Neceſſaries; all which we have in abundance for four Months and above; which if occaſion be, we can prolong to Six Months. Thus being at preſent unable to expreſs a grateful Mind otherwiſe but in my Prayers to God, I heartily beſeech him to pour out his bountiful Bleſſing upon all their honeſt Endeavours, and to continue their noble Diſpoſitions in Actions of this kind. And I faithfully promiſe, that if I ſhall come where the like Letters and Tokens ſhall be left, to make a true relation of it, as it ſhall be deſired. So deſiring the happineſs of all Mankind, in our general Saviour *Chriſt Jeſus*, I end,

Charleton,
July 2.
1632.

Thomas James.

The

The NAMES *of the ſeveral* INSTRUMENTS, *I Provided and Bought for this Voyage.*

A *Quadrant* of old ſeaſoned Pear-Tree Wood, artificially made, and with all care poſſible divided with *Diagonals*, even to Minutes. It was of four Foot (at leaſt) *Semidiameter*.

An *Equilateral Triangle* of like Wood; whoſe *Radius* was five Foot at leaſt; and divided out of *Petiſcus*'s Table of *Tangents*.

A *Quadrant* of two Foot *Semidiameter* of like Wood; and with like care projected.

The *Sights*, *Centers*, and every other part of them look'd to, and tried with convenient *Compaſſes*; to ſee if they had been wrong'd or alter'd. And this continually, before they were made uſe of.

Staves *for taking* Altitudes *and* Diſtances *in the Heavens.*

A *Staff* of ſeven Foot long; whoſe *Tranſome* was four Foot, divided into equal Parts by way of *Diagonals*, that all the *Figures* in a *Radius* of Ten Thouſand, might be taken out, actually.

Another of ſix Foot, near as convenient, and in that manner to be uſed.

Mr. *Gunter*'s *Croſs-Staff*.

Three *Jacob*'s *Staves*, *projected* after a new manner, and truly divided out of the Table of *Tangents*.

Two of Mr. *Davis*'s *Back-Staves*, with like care made and divided.

Of Horizontal Inſtruments.

Two *Semicircles*, two Foot *Semidiameter*, of ſeaſoned Pear-Tree Wood, and divided with *Diagonals*, to all poſſible Exactneſs.

Six *Meridian Compaſſes*, ingeniouſly made; beſides ſome Dozens of others, more common.

Four *Needles* in ſquare Boxes, of ſix Inches *Diameter*, and other ſix of three Inches *Diameter*.

Moreover, four ſpecial *Needles*, (which my good Friends Mr. *Allen* and Mr. *Marre* gave me) of ſix Inches *Diameter*; and toucht curiouſly, with the beſt *Load-Stone* in *England*.

A *Load-Stone* to refreſh any of theſe, if occaſion were; whoſe *Poles* were marked for fear of miſtaking.

A *Watch-Clock* of ſix Inches *Diameter*, and another leſſer *Watch*.

A *Table* every day *Calculated*, correſpondent to the *Latitude*, according to Mr. *Gunter*'s Directions in his Book, the better to keep our *Time* and our *Compaſs*, to judge of our *Courſe*.

A *Cheſt* full of the beſt and choiceſt *Mathematical Books*, that could be got for Money in *England*; as likewiſe Mr. *Hackluite*, and Mr. *Purchas*; and other Books of *Journals* and *Hiſtories*.

Study Inſtruments, of all ſorts.

I cauſed many ſmall *Gliſſes* to be made, whoſe part of time, I knew to a moſt inſenſible thing, and ſo divided and appropriated the *Log-Line* to them; making uſe of *Wilbordus*, *Snellius* his numbers of Feet anſwering to a *Degree*, and approved of by Mr. *Gunter*.

I made a *Meridian-Line* of 120 yards long, with ſix *Plumb-Lines* hanging in it; ſome of them being above 30 Foot high, and the Weights hung in a hole in the Ground, to avoid Wind. And this to take the *Sun*'s or *Moon*'s coming to the *Meridian*. This Line we verified, by ſetting it by the *Pole* it ſelf, and by many other ways.

Two pair of curious *Globes*, made purpoſely; the Workman being earneſtly affected to this Voyage.

This

This was the manner that we took the Variation of the Compaſs, *and that as often as conveniently we could, but divers of the Tables, by Negligence of my Boy are loſt; but theſe (I hope) may ſuffice to give Satisfaction of our Care in Navigation.*

July 13. 1631.

THeſe 13 *Azimuths*, with the *Altitu. Dec.* were taken upon a great piece of Ice, with 3 *Needles* together; then the *Declination* was not Equated, the laſt 3 ſet forth by themſelves, proves the reſt; *viz.* The *Azimuth* of W. with his *Variation*, the *Azimuth* at Due W. and the *Variation* by the *Altitude* and *Azimuth* at Due W.

Theſe were taken 20 Leagues to the Eaſtward of *Salisbury* Iſland; and two *Quad.* one of four, another of two Foot, *Semid. Semicircle* of two Foot *Semid.*

Latitud.	*Declin.*	*Al. Sun.*	*AZM.*	F.	*T. AZ.*	F.	*Variat.*
63 01	20 14	39 42	77 50	S.	50 11	S	27 39
63 01	20 14	35 33	90 00		62 12	S	27 48
63 01	20 14	34 24	76 30	N	65 07	S	27 23
63 01	20 14	31 24	80 18	N	72 12	S	27 30
63 01	20 14	30 57	78 53	N	73 21	S	27 46
63 01	20 14	29 00	74 50	N	77 28	S	27 42
63 01	20 14	27 10	71 00	N	98 42	N	27 42
63 01	20 14	25 52	68 28	N	96 02	N	27 34
63 01	20 14	25 00	66 40	N	94 16	N	27 36
63 01	20 14	24 00	64 50	N	92 16	N	27 26
63 01	20 14	23 30	64 00	N	91 18	N	27 44
63 01	20 14	22 50	27 35	N	89 58	N	27 33
63 01	20 14	22 30	61 24	N	89 18	N	27 44

The Mean Variation is 27 36 00

The Variation of the Altitude and Azimuth of Weſt. 27 33 00
The Variation of the Azimuth of Weſt. —— 27 48 00
The Variation by Azimuth at Due Weſt. —— 27 35 00

The Mean of theſe Three, is, -- 27 38 00

July 22. 1631. Theſe 3 *Azimuths* and *Altitudes* were taken upon a piece of Ice, the *Magnetical Azimuths* by the Sun's ſhade in the Water, the Air thick of Fog, that the Sun gave no perfect Shade otherways, 10 Leagues Weſt from *Mansfield's Iſland.*

Latitu.	*Declin.*	*Alt. Sun*	*AZM.*	F.	*T. AZ.*	F.	*Variat.*
60 33	18 25	34 06	90 00	S	64 34	S	25 26
60 33	18 25	31 34	84 48	N	70 08	S	25 04
60 33	18 25	18 25	71 35	N	82 54	N	25 21

The Mean is 25 17 00

July 24. 1631. Theſe 11 *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice about the middle of the great Bay; ſome of them by the Shade, and ſome by the ſight of the Sun in the Water, the Weather being thick of Fog.

Latitu.	*Declin.*	*Alt. Sun*	*AZM.*	F.	*T. AZ.*	F.	*Variat.*
59 20	17 40	36 44	82 50	S	59 04	S	22 46
59 20	17 40	35 44	83 40	S	61 18	S	22 22
59 20	17 40	33 02	90 00		67 14	S	22 46
59 20	17 40	29 49	84 25	N	73 40	S	21 55
59 20	17 40	27 25	79 50	N	75 10	S	22 00
59 20	17 40	26 27	78 10	N	87 14	S	22 14
59 20	17 40	23 48	72 35	N	84 38	S	22 47
59 20	17 40	21 16	68 47	N	88 38	S	22 35
59 20	17 40	20 40	67 30	N	90 00		22 30
59 20	17 40	20 10	67 00	N	89 00	N	22 12
59 20	17 40	19 34	66 00	N	88 10	N	22 10

The Mean is 22 23 21

July 31.

July 31. 1631. Theſe ſeveral *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice, 50 Leagues off the Weſtern-ſhore.

Alt.	*Sun.*	*AZ.*	*M.*	*F.*	*T.*	*AZ.*	*F.*	*Variatio.*	
24	00	76	26	N	99	20	N	22 54	
23	35	76	00	N	98	38	N	22 38	Latitude
22	50	75	00	N	97	18	N	22 18	58 43 43
22	05	73	40	N	96	04	N	22 24	
20	32	71	20	N	93	32	N	22 12	Declinat.
18	40	67	55	N	90	24	N	22 29	15 43 43
18	30	67	30	N	90	02	N	22 32	

The Mean is 22 29 34

Auguſt 1. 1631. Theſe ſeveral *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice about 40 Leagues off the Weſtern-ſhore.

Alt.	*Sun.*	*AZ.*	*M.*	*F.*	*T.*	*AZ.*	*F.*	*Variatio.*	
26	36	83	05	N	104	36	N	21 31	
25	24	81	25	N	103	06	N	21 41	Latitude
24	26	78	38	N	100	42	N	22 04	58 45 00
22	30	75	16	N	97	22	N	22 06	
21	31	73	50	N	95	42	N	21 52	Declinat.
20	10	71	27	N	93	24	N	21 57	15 25 00
18	42	68	40	N	90	58	N	22 18	
18	07	67	25	N	89	56	N	22 31	

The Mean is 22 00 00

Auguſt 5. 1631. Theſe *Azimuths* were taken upon a piece of Ice, and calculated by all the Figures of the Canon, about 40 Leagues off the Weſtern-ſhore.

Alt.	*Sun.*	*AZ.*	*M.*	*F.*	*T.*	*AZ.*	*F.*	*Variatio.*	
23	14	79	12	N	101	02	N	21 50	
22	11	76	40	N	99	12	N	22 32	Latitude
21	11	75	11	N	97	28	N	22 17	58 37 00
20	00	73	02	N	95	48	N	22 46	
18	59	71	24	N	93	47	N	22 23	Declinat.
17	15	68	35	N	90	53	N	22 18	14 12 00
16	42	67	28	N	90	00		22 32	
15	39	65	32	N	88	18	N	22 46	

The Mean is 22 25 30

Theſe Obſervations were taken the 10th of *November*, 1631. the Lat. 52. 03. the difference may be conceived, to grow by reaſon of the Sun's low Altitude and Refraction. The others about the Summer Solſtice, where difference of Meridians is avoided, and are more exact.

Alt. Sun.		*AZ.*	*M.*	*T.*	*AZ.*	*Var. Weſt.*	
G.	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*	*G.*	*M.*
14	25	42	25	26	11	16	14
14	00	45	25	27	30	17	55
13	15	47	25	29	54	17	31
12	18	48	10	32	33	15	37
12	03	49	20	33	16	16	04
11	41	51	07	34	15	16	52
10	57	53	25	36	04	17	21
9	42	55	25	38	58	16	27
9	15	57	45	40	00	17	14
8	50	58	37	40	52	17	45

The Mean is 16 57 00 Weſt.

An *Appendix* touching Longitude.

LAtitude and Longitude are two primary Affections of the Earth, by the help of theſe two, doth the Geographer ſtrive to repreſent the Parts of the Earth that they may keep Symmetry and Harmony with the whole. Latitude then is an Arch of the Meridian, comprehended between the Æquator and a Parallel; but Longitude is an Arch of the Æquator, intercepted by the Prime Meridian and the Meridian of a Place, the Difference of Longitudes being the Difference of two Meridians. The Meaſure of the former is the Meridian, the Æquator of this latter. For the exact ſettling of Latitudes we have many and abſolute help, ſo that the Error, if any happen, ought to be imputed to the imperfect handling of the Artiſt. But the Longitude of a Meridian is that which hath, and ſtill wearieth, the greateſt Maſters of Geography. Nevertheleſs hath not the Wiſe Creator left Man unfurniſhed of many excellent helps to attain his Deſire: For beſides Eclipſes, eſpecially of the Moon, (whoſe leaſure we muſt often wait, and perhaps go without, if the Heavens be not propitious to us) we have the concourſe of quick pac'd inferiour Planets, with ſuperiour ſlow ones, or their Appulſes with ſome fixed Star of known place, or elſe ſome other Artifice derived from their Motions and Poſitions. As for the Magnetical Needle to argue a Longitude from its Variation, is altogether without ground. And though well-furniſht Seamen are able by their Dead Reckonings (as they term them) to determine the Difference of Meridians ſomewhat near, yet by reaſon of the unknown quantity of a Degree in a given Meaſure, (which is the rule of the Ship's way) Varieties of adverſe Winds, Different Sets of Tides, and other involved Incumbrances, they come often wide of the Mark they aim at. The beſt way yet known to the World, is that which is deduced from the Cœleſtial Apparences, which being performed by Judicious Artiſts, may in ſhort time rectifie our Geographical and Hydrographical Charts hitherto in moſt Places foully diſtorted. It is my intent here, to give an inſtance from two ſeveral Obſervations drawn from the Cœleſtial Bodies, by the Author of this Diſcourſe, in his Diſcovery for the N. W. at the bottom of the Bay, being his Wintering Place, and called by the Name of *Charleton*, which for Judgment, Circumſpection, and Exactneſs, may compare with moſt: The firſt, from the Eclipſe of the Moon; The ſecond, from the Moon's Mediation of Heaven, or her coming to the Plan of his Meridian of *Charleton*.

The Captain then mindful of the Lunar Eclipſe, which was to happen, *Octob.* 29. *Anno* 1631. was waiting on the Moon with his Inſtruments, but by reaſon of the Interpoſition of the Clouds, could make no Obſervation on the beginning of her Obſcuration, but at her Emerſion or Total Recovery of Light, the Heavens being more Serene, he took the Altitude of the Superior Limb of the Moon 29 d. 11 m. the Latitude of *Charleton* being 52 d. 3 m.

At that very time, my ſelf, with ſome Friends, found the exact time of the Moon's Emerſion at *London* in *Greſham* College, (by a Quadrant of ſix Foot Radius, actually cut to each Minute of the Quadrant) to be *Octob.* 29. 13 h. 7 m. 28 ſec. or *Oct.* 30. day, at 1 of the clock, 7 min. and about a half in the morning.

Now becauſe the Tables of the Celeſtial Motions, lately publiſhed by the moſt Learned and Induſtrious *Lansberg*, do much amuſe the World, with that lofty title of Perpetuity, it ſhall not be amiſs to enquire after the time of the Captain's Obſervation from them, that ſo by comparing the one with the other, we may obtain the Difference of Meridians, which is the matter now ſought after.

The middle Motions of the Luminaries anſwerable to the equal time of the Emerſion of the Moon, are theſe which follow.

		Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The middle motion of the Sun		3	47	39	26
The middle motion of the	Center of the Sun	3	15	49	58
	Apogæum of the Sun	1	35	45	44
The middle motion of the	Longitude of the Moon	2	59	29	1
	Anomaly of the Moon	0	5	11	30
	Latitude of the Moon	4	32	8	15
The Proſthaphæreſis of the Æquinox		0	0	12	30

Being

Being thus furniſhed with theſe middle Motions, we are next to enquire for the true Places of the Luminaries and their Concomitants, as their Right Aſcentions, the Declination, Latitude, Semidiameter, Parallax, and Refraction of the Moon, that ſo the true Altitude of the Moon's Center, and conſequently the time of the Emerſion may be had at *Charleton*.

	Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
For the Sun's true Place.				
The middle Motion of the Sun's Center	3	15	49	58
The Proſthaphæreſis of the Center add	0	1	37	0
The Proportional Scruples 1.				
The middle Motion of the Sun's Apogæum	1	35	45	44
The true Motion of the Apogæum ſubtr.	1	37	22	24
The middle Motion of the Sun is	3	47	39	26
The Anomaly of the Sun's Orb	2	10	16	42
The Proſthaphæreſis of the Sun's Orb	0	1	32	43
The Exceſs to be added	0	0	0	20
The Abſolute Proſthaphæreſis of the Sun's Orb ſubtr.	0	1	33	3
The middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinoctial	3	47	51	56
The true Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinoctial	3	46	18	53
Therefore the Sun's true place was in *Virgo*	0	16	18	53
And his Right Aſcenſion		223	49	53
For the Moon's true Place.				
The Anomaly of the Moon's Center	5	59	18	2
The Proſthaphæreſis of the Moon's Center	0	0	5	36
The Proportional Scruples 0.				
The Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	11	30
The Æquated Anomaly of the Moon's Orb	0	5	5	54
The Proſthaphæreſis of the Moon's Orb ſubtr.	0	0	24	4
The middle Motion of the Moon's Longitude from the Sun	2	59	39	1
The true Motion of the Moon's Longitude from the Sun	2	59	14	57
The middle Motion of the Sun from the true Æquinoctial	3	47	51	56
The true Motion of the Moon from the true Æquinoctial	0	47	6	53
Therefore the Moon's true Place was in *Taurus*	0	17	6	53
For the Moon's Latitude.				
The middle Motion of the Moon's Latitude	4	32	8	15
The Moon's abſolute Proſthaphæreſis of her Orb ſubtr.	0	0	24	4
The Moon's true Motion of Latitude	4	31	44	11
The Moon's Northern Latitude was	0	0	9	5
And her Reductive Scruples ſubtr.	0	0	0	26
But the Moon's true Motion in her proper Orb was	0	17	6	53
Therefore the Moon's true Place reduced to the Eclipt *Taurus*	0	17	6	27
And becauſe the North Latitude of the Moon was	0	0	9	5
Therefore will her Right Aſcenſion be	0	44	35	10
And her Declination	0	17	7	49
And becauſe we have the Diſtance of the Moon, from the Earth in Semidiameters of the Earth	0	64	15	0
Therefore ſhall the Moon's apparent Semidiam. be	0	0	15	0
And her Parallax of Altitude	0	0	47	0
Now becauſe the Altitude of the Limb of the Moon was found by Obſervation to be	0	29	11	0
If we ſhall ſubſtract her Semidiameter	0	0	15	0
And the Refraction	0	0	2	0
We have the apparent Altitude of the Moon's Center	0	28	54	0
To this if we add the Parallax of Altitude	0	0	47	0
We ſhall have the true Altitude of the Moon's Center	0	29	41	0
Having thus the Latitude of the Place, the Moon's true Altitude with her Declination, by the Reſolution of a Sphærical Triangle according to the 11 *Prob. Lib.* 2. *Part.* 2. of our *Britiſh* Trigonometry, we have the diſt. of the Moon from the Merid.	0	63	26	0

And by comparing this Arch with the Difference of the Aſcenſions of the Luminaries, the Time of the Moon's total Recovery of her light at *Charleton*, will be 7 h. 49 m. 28 ſec. which Subtr. from the time of the Emerſion at *London*, 13. h. 7 m. 28 ſ.

The

The Difference of Meridians, in reſpect of time, will be 5 h. 18 m. ſo that *Charleton* is removed from *London* Weſtwards, 79 deg. 30 m.

This may likewiſe be confirmed by a ſecond different Obſervation made at the inſtant of the Moon's Culmination or Mediation of Heaven, at which time the Altitude of the brighteſt Star in the Aſteriſm of the Northern Crown, (being of the ſecond Magnitude) was found to be 33 deg. 27 m. Eaſterly, *Anno* 1632. *June* 23.

It may be Problematically delivered after this manner.

Having the Latitude of a Place, with the Altitude of a known fixed Star at the moment of the Moon's Culmination, to find the Longitude.

This fixed Star is of known Longitude and Latitude, therefore was his Declination 27. 59. and Right Aſcenſion 229. 46. Now by the Reſolution of a Sphærical Triangle of three known ſides we have the Diſtance of this Star from the Meridian, and by conſequence the Right Aſcenſion of the Moon, whence we conclude her Culmination to be with the 28 d. 10 m. of *Aquarius*; but the Moon's true Place was much leſs. Here Note, That the Scrupuloſity of Time is unknown, and therefore we cannot argue the Moon's true Place from thence, (though I grant it might be evinced) for that were to beg the Queſtion, and to know that firſt, which we look after.

In the next Place we are to enquire with what point of the Ecliptick the Moon did Culminate with us here at *London*, that ſo from the difference of her Places, or the like Affection, we may deduce the Difference of Meridians.

Obſervation on the Moon's Culmination here at *London* we made none, therefore muſt we have recourſe to the aforeſaid Tables of *Lansberg*, and from thence Calculate the ſame. Now becauſe the Moon was not far removed from the Sun's oppoſite Point, it will not be amiſs to enquire firſt the Moon's Place at Midnight.

	Sex.	Deg.	M.	Sec.
The Sun's oppoſite Place at Midnight in *Aquarius*	○	11	18	15
The Moon's true Place at midn. reduced to the Eclip. was in *Aquarius*	○	23	33	18
The South Latitude of the Moon was	○	4	56	38
Therefore the Difference of Aſcenſions will be	○	14	6	0
The Diurnal Motion of the Moon	○	14	24	0
Therefore the Moon's proper Motion anſwerable to the Difference of Aſcenſions is	○	0	33	50
Which added to the Moon's true Place at Midnight	○	23	33	18
Gives us the Moon's true Place reduced to				
The Ecliptick at her Culmination at *London*	○	24	7	8

Now becauſe the Moon's Southern Latitude was 4 deg. 56 min. 38 ſec. the Arch therefore of the Ecliptick comprehended between the Moon's true Place and the Culminating Point of the Ecliptick, will Trigonometrically be found to be 54 m. 38 ſec. which added to the Moon's true Place before found, gives us the Culminating Point of the Ecliptick, 25 d. 1 m. 46 ſec. which is leſs than that found at *Charleton*, the Difference being 3 d. 8 m. 24 ſec. therefore is the Place of Obſervation Weſterly of *London*. Having therefore the Moon's Diurnal Motion, and the Difference of the Culminating Points, we conclude the Meridian of *Charleton* to be diſtant from this of *London* 5 h. 14 m. of Time, of 78 d. 30 min. of the Equator.

The Difference between that of the Eclipſe, and this latter Obſervation, is only 4 Min. of Time, or one Deg. a difference eaſily pardoned, eſpecially if we ſhall compare the ſame with ſome other Places, yea even ſuch as Border nearly on each other. To give an inſtance on two eminent Places which lie in the Heart of *Europe*, *Rome* and *Norenberg*: Their Difference of Longitude, *Regiomontanus* makes 36, *Werner* 32, *Appian* 34, *Maſtlin* and *Origan* 33, *Stofler* 18, *Maginus* 26, *Schoner* 12, *Mercator* and *Hondius* as much, *Stadius* 13, *Janſonius* 10, *Longomontanus* 16, *Lansberg* 10, *Kepler* by two Obſervations on two Lunar Eclipſes, but 4 Min. of Time.

This variety among theſe great Artiſts, will I hope, pardon us this Difference of 4 Min. and be a means to incourage our *Engliſh* Seamen, and others, to make ſuch or the like Obſervations in Foreign Parts as the Heavens ſhall be offered unto them.

H. Gellibrand.

TO THE

Venerable Artiſts, *and Younger Students in* Divinity, *in the Famous Univerſity of* CAMBRIDGE.

YOU nobly-witted, and ingenuouſly-ſtudied *Academians*; whoſe Excellency in all Kinds of Learning, all Foreign *Univerſities* do admire, and none attain unto; I here preſent you a *Voyage* to *Cholcos*, though not the *Golden-Fleece* with it; the *Search*, I mean, but not the *Finding*, of that ſo much Talkt of, ſo often Sought for, *North-Weſt Paſſage*, and nearer way into the *South Sea*. That, wherein ſo much *Time* and *Treaſure* have been Expended, ſo many brave Spirits Employed, and yet none Diſcovered. Perchance, there is no ſuch *Paſſage* to be found; and that the *Spaniards*, by the Gullery of their falſe *Sea-Charts*, and the Fable of an old *Greek* Pilot, have but diverted our *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Seamen, from their golden *Indies*. This Plot of theirs hath taken, for theſe many years; and it appears to be but a Plot, for that themſelves never make uſe of this *Paſſage*. For mine own part, I ſuppoſe that the *Philoſopher's Stone* is in the *North-Weſt Paſſage*. My Argument for it, is, For that there's ſo much *Philoſophy* in the way to it.

So much, and ſuch variety; ſuch variety, and that ſo various, (I think) from what is received in the Schools; that it were well worth the Diſquiſition of an *Univerſity*, (and I wiſh you the firſt honour of it) either to find out, how theſe *Obſervations* may be reduced to *Ariſtotle's Philoſophy*; or whether they need any other Enquiry, and ought to be Examined by ſome other *Rules*, than *Ariſtotle* hath yet light upon. This is my purpoſe of inſcribing it unto you. Of this one thing am I confident: that you are all ſo *Rational*, and *Ingenious*, as to prefer *Truth*, before *Authority*: *Amicus Plato, amicus Ariſtoteles, but magis amica veritas.* Your *Sciences*, then, being *Liberal*; your *Studies*, I know, have ſo far paſſed into your *Manners*, that your Minds are ſo too, and that ſuch as have already profited beyond the Credulity required in a young Learner, and are themſelves promoted to be *Maſters* of the *Arts*; though they ſtill reverence their *old Greek Tutor*, yet they will not ſuffer that of *Pythagoras's School*, ſo to domineer in *Ariſtotle's*, as to let an *Ipſe dixit*, go away with it: much leſs allow it the Authority of a *Mayor's Hammer*, with one *Knock* to ſilence all Arguments.

Upon this Confidence, I with all due Reſpects, here prefer two *Propoſitions* unto your Diſcuſſing.

The Firſt this, *Whether thoſe Rules of Ariſtotle's Philoſophy be to be allowed ſo Univerſal, that they hold all the World over.*

The Second this, *Whether they ought to be ſo Magiſterial, as to preſcribe againſt all other Examinations.*

The Firſt of theſe, I ſhall but *Problematically* propound unto you: but in the Second, I hope a Man of my Cloathing, may be allowed the freedom of being ſomething more earneſt.

But that I may not come with prejudice to the making of theſe Motions, or be thought, upon ſome *Ignorance* or *Ambition*, to ſpeak againſt the *incomparable Ariſtotle*; I ſhall deſire all my *fellow Academians* to allow me ſo much diſcretion, as to know, That he that ſhall in your Hearings, oppoſe your *Ariſtotle*, does like the Ship here ſpoken of, run againſt a Rock, endanger his own Bulge, and the Staving of his Veſſel. No, I ſo far Honour the old *Ariſtotle*, that I well allow him to be *Maſter* and *Moderator of the Schools*: and that there is the ſame reſpect due to him in the *Schools*, which, by *Reaſon* and *long Cuſtom*, is due to one of the *King's Ships* in the *Narrow Seas*; *That in acknowledgement of a Soveraignty, every other Name ought to ſtrike ſail to him.* *Ariſtotle* (it muſt be confeſs'd) hath made all Learning beholding to him: no Man hath learned to Confute him, but by him; and unleſs he hath Plowed with his Heifer. He had the moſt incomparable Wit, and was the moſt Logical and demouſtrative Deliverer of himſelf, of all

the Sons of Nature: One, who beſt of all deſerved to be called, *Her Principal Secretary*; one, who not only *adorns* a *Library*, but *makes* it: *Qui habet Ariſtotelem, habet Bibliothecam*, is truer of him, than of the *Great Comparer*. This is my Opinion of him; and I wiſh him more ſtudied.

'Tis not, therefore, the Name, or the Authority of the great *Ariſtotle*, that my Propoſitions meddle withal: but whether his Obſervations gathered out of this part of the World alone, could, like a *Royal Paſs* or *Commiſſion*, carry a Man all the World over?

It muſt be confeſt, That in reſpect of the *Equinoctial*, and the *Latitude* that *Ariſtotle* lived in, he was but a *Northern-Man*: and 'twas his own Rule, that *Nihil agit extra Sphæram activitatis ſuæ*. So then, it would be put to Voices to conſider, Whether he that knew but theſe Northern Parts, and the *Mediterranean* Sea, could poſſibly make ſuch Collections, by what was here to be Learned, as ſhould be unfailable in the *Southern Hemiſphere* and the two *Indies*? Plainly, thoſe that are converſant in the *Navigations* and *Books of Voyages* into thoſe Parts; have found ſo many Contrarieties to obſerve, That it were rather *tedious*, than difficult, to fill up a *Note-Book* with them.

The Ancients, we know (as if they had meaſured the World by the Yeard-Wand) reſtrained the *limits* of *Temperature*, and *Habitation*, by the five *Zones*: without Conſideration of any Interlopeing or concurring Cauſes, which Experience hath now found out, to have quite altered their Obſervation. I add, that a good Leiſure and Diligence might obſerve, how in the contrary part of the World, there be found clean contrary *Cauſes* and *Effects*, unto thoſe in this part of the World. The *South* Wind there, brings *Cold* and *Winter*: and the *North*, is the Rainy Wind. How will the *Thunder* and the *Wind*, be made agree with *Ariſtotle*'s Definition of a *Meteor*? In ſome Places of the Mountains *Andes* by *Peru*, it Thunders ever. The *Eaſt-Indies* have their *Monſons*, and their ſteady Winds, conſtant for ſix Months together: And who ſhall aſſign their Cauſes? Then the *Doctrine* of the *Tides*, nothing ſo uncertain; which *Ebb* and *Flow* in ſome Places, *different*; and in others *contrary*, to the *Moon* and her *Motions*. This (as I remember) is *Ariſtotle*'s Definition of a *Meteor*, that it is, *An imperfect mixt body, generated out of an infirm and inconſtant Concretion of the Elements; which therefore cannot be durable.* Now the *Monſon*, is both conſtant in his continuance this year, and in his return next year; moſt conſtantly keeping his Seaſons half year one way, and half year another way, for all Ages: nothing more conſtantly or durably; and therefore nothing like *Ariſtotle*'s *Meteor*. And ſo for the *Thunder* upon the *Andes*: It is Firſt, Perpetual; Secondly, Not cauſed by a *dry Exhalation*, (as *Ariſtotle* wills) but hanging over ſuch Hills as are covered with Snow, and a perpetual Winter. Witneſs the *Thunder* on the *Alps* alſo; yea, and that in the middle of the Sea, 500 Leagues from the Shore, or any thing that is dry. Yea, it frequently both *Snows* and *Thunders* upon the *Andes*, at one inſtant; and in *dry* Places that are hard by, ſcarce ever *Thundering*.

Ariſtoteles, 1. Meteor 1.

But not to paſs the *Line* for it; You ſee in this little Book, how *Charleton* Iſland, which is no more Northerly than your *Cambridge*, is yet ſo unſufferably Cold, that it is not Habitable: and that there encounter ſo many different (at leaſt ſo ſeeming) Occurrences of Nature, as were well worth the Diſquiſition of a *Philoſopher*. I could (in my ſmall Reading) inſtance in many other Particulars, which I had rather ſhould be found out by ſome induſtrious Searchers after *Nature*, in the *Modern Relations* of our *Diſcoverers*, than in this my ſhort *Propoſition*. 'Tis not to be doubted, but that the careful Reading of our *Books of Voyages*, would more Elucidate the *Hiſtory of Nature*, and more conduce to the Improvement of *Philoſophy*, than any thing that hath been lately thought upon. Theſe *Navigations* have in part fulfilled that of the Prophet, *Many ſhall paſs to and fro, and knowledge ſhall be encreaſed.* This, I ſuppoſe, might be obſerved from this Study, That the great and infinite *Creator* hath ſo diſpoſed and varied every thing, that it is impoſſible for Man's Reaſon and Obſervation to conclude him: and therefore, though vulgar and received *Philoſophy*, may give a Man a *general* hint, all the World over; yet no *Univerſal* and unfailing certainty.

Dan. 12. 4

This brings me to my *Second Propoſition*, That ſeeing God will not have his Works, (no more than his Kingdom) to come by Obſervation: *Whether, then, ought any humane Dictates to be ſo Magiſterial, as to preſcribe againſt all other Examination?*

Luk. 17. 20.

No

No humane Study more conduces to the setting forth of God's Glory, than the Contemplation of his great Works, in *Philosophy*: For though a smattering knowledge in *Second Causes*, warps the Mind towards *Atheism*; yet a higher Speculation of them, brings it about again to Religion. No Man, I believe, will think it fit for us to have a *Pope in Philosophy*; one, that no body shall presume to censure of: but all be bound to advance his *Decretals*, above the *Holy Scriptures*. This is the Scandal that my self, and divers good Men take, at the undue Authority in some Heats pinn'd upon the *Stagerite*.

I am sorry that the *Israelites* Dotage upon *Solomon*'s *Philosophy*, should have caused the zealous *Hezekiah* to call in and to suppress those unvaluable *Physicks*: for fear, I suppose, lest their Credit should have as much derogated from the Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*; as the *Brazen Serpent* (which he destroyed about the same time) had done from *Religion*. None will believe, that *Solomon*'s *Philosophy* was contrary to the *Scriptures*; seeing the *Scripture* commends *Solomon* for them. 'Twas not *Hezekiah*'s fear, therefore, (or not only) lest there might have been a Competition between them, but a neglect of one of them: he was jealous lest the *Scripture* might have any Writing set up *by* it, though not against it.

Can *Divines*, then, be blamed for Speaking, when they hear *Aristotle*'s *Philosophy* to be solely magnified, and the Study of the *Scripture Philosophy*, disrespected? Or that when 'tis confess'd, That such a thing is true in *Divinity*, and yet the *Moderating* of the Point, *determine* for *Philosophy*? Nay, to hear it call'd *absurd* and *ridiculous*, to have Scripture urg'd at all, in point of *Philosophy*? No doubt there is, *But whatsoever is false in Divinity, is also false in Nature*, how much show of Truth soever it passes with in *Philosophy*. *Philosophy* hath taken its turn in the *Schools*: and the *Holy Texts* by the *Schoolmen*, have even been submitted unto *Aristotle*'s: yea, to the great Corruption of *Theology*, as the Complaint is, hath this Man been so far advanced, That *Contra est Philosophus, & Contra est Apostolus*, have familiarly passed up and down for equal *Oppositions*: so that it hath been a *measuring Cast* oftentimes, betwixt the *Prophet* and the *Peripatetick*: and by foul play hath the Measure been made to stand the harder at the *Peripatetick*, for that the *Prophet* hath been enforced to comply with him by a *wrested Interpretation*. Thus had St. *Paul* need give his Caveat unto *Theology*, as well as unto *Theologues*, *Beware lest any Man spoil you through Philosophy*.

All this were to no purpose, unless the *Text of God* were excellent in this kind; and embellished, here and there, with most admirable *Philosophy*. What incomparably rare foot-steps of it, have we in the Books of *Genesis*, *Job*, and the *Psalms*? How noble a Study then were it, and how worthy the leisure of some excellently learned, to bestow some time upon it? *Valesius* the *Physician*, hath in his *Sacra Philosophia* done something in this kind: who yet might have done better, here and there, for the honour of the Scriptures. I am not so sottish to believe, That every particular is to be drawn out of *Scripture*: 'tis none of my dotage, that. Or, That *God* in *Scripture* did intend, every where, the accurateness of *Philosophy*; or stand to be so curious in *Definitions* and *Decisions*. Nor so foolish would I be thought, as to have all *Philosophy* taken in pieces, and new moulded by the *Scriptures*. Nor, that nothing should be determined on, till a *Text* confirmed it. But this, perchance, might profitably be thought upon: That where the *Scriptures* have any thing in this kind, it should more reverently be esteemed; Collections out of scattered Places (as is done out of *Aristotle*) made: these compared, and their *Resultances* observed. This, surely, would amount to more, than is yet thought of: and, a-*God*'s name, let Scholars be so bold with *Aristotle*, as to examine him upon good Assurance, by what is *Truth*'s *Touch-stone*: Received *Philosophy* is a most necessary Hand-maid to the *Scriptures*; but let her not be set above her Lady, nor no Competion be maintained betwixt them.

Something else remains to be thought of: That seeing the same *God*, who gave *Aristotle* these good Parts; hath, in like manner, raised up many excellent Spirits moe: whether it were not injurious unto what is done, and a discouragement to what might be none; to have the Inventions or Observations of those excellent Wits and great Industries, so abasht with *Aristotle*'s Authority; that they can have no Credit in the World, for that his *Dictates* have pre-occupated all good Opinion? Let it not then be thought unequal, to examine the *first Cogitations* of the *old Philosophy*, by the *Second Thoughts* of our more Modern *Artists*:

For

For that the ſame Improvement may by this means accrue unto our *Phyſicks*, that hath advanced our *Geography*, our *Mathematicks*, and our *Mechanicks*. And let it not be thought ſo inſolent, to refuſe *Ariſtotle*'s Authority ſingly, where his reaſon is not ſo concluding; ſeeing other Men have taken the Boldneſs to do that before us, in ſeveral Kinds. Some have perfected, and others control'd his *Ethicks*, by the *Scriptures*: as *Scultetus*, *Wallæus*, and ſome others. *Juſtin Martyr*, ſirnamed, the *Philoſopher*, hath purpoſely written *Contra dogmata Ariſtotelis*: *Baſſon* and *Gaſſendus*, (two brave Men) have newly written point-blank againſt him: nor have they taken away all liberty from thoſe that are to follow them.

And thus, with renewing my former Proteſtation for mine own reſpects to *Ariſtotle*, I conclude my two *Propoſitions*: which I deſire may receive a favourable Conſtruction from all ingenuous, incapricious *Scholars*. I meant them, out of good-Will to promote Learning; to encourage and countenance future Undertakings: and in ſuch a caſe, a little too much ſaying, may be thought not to have exceeded an *honeſt Rhetorician*; for I would not be thought too earneſt in it: The Hint for all this, I took from this Book; which in mine own and ſome better Judgments; is (to ſay no more) as well done, and enriched with as ſure and uſeful Obſervations, as any in this kind. I was deſired by the able Author, and ſome other Friends, to over-look the written Copy of it, and to amend the *Engliſh* here and there; in which I did not deſpair of doing ſomething: for that, in my younger time, I had a little acquainted my ſelf with the *Language of the Sea*. That which put me in the head to inſcribe it unto your Names, (moſt excellently learned *Academians*) was, for that the Place of this *Wintering*, was within a *Minute* or two, of the *height* of our *Cambridge*. Which my Prayer to *God* is, that your Studies may make famous.

Yours, X. Z.

F I N I S.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF TWO

VOYAGES:

The FIRST of

Feodor *ISKOWITZ BACKHOFF*,

The Muſcovite Envoy,

INTO

CHINA:

The SECOND of

Mr. *ZACHARY WAGENER*,

A Native of DRESDEN in MISNIA,

Thro' a great part of the World,

As alſo into CHINA.

Tranſlated from the High-Dutch *Original Printed at* Berlin.

Advertiſement

TO THE

READER.

AMONG *thoſe many Voyages, which lately have been uſhered into the World, the following* Muſcovite *Embaſſie may juſtly challenge a Place; eſpecially for its uſefulneſs in Geography, which I here preſent to the Reader, without the leaſt Alteration according to the Copy thereof, ſent to me by* Johannes Scultetus *Councellor of State, of his Electoral Highneſs of* Brandenburgh: *And as the Voyages of Mr.* Zacharias Wagener, *are very famous in* Holland, *and the following Abſtract thereof being Communicated to me by his Brother-in-Law Mr.* Chriſtian Bothe, *a conſiderable Merchant in* Dreſden, *I thought it not unſeaſonable to ſubjoin the ſame, for the Benefit of the Courteous Reader.*

THE

THE TRAVELS OF Feodor *ISKOWITZ BACKHOFF* FROM MUSCOW INTO CHINA.

(1.) *The Road from* Muſcow *to* Siberia.

Backhoff.

MOST generally they take their way over *Uſtingha*, ſeated upon the River *Dwina*, from whence we continued our Journey to *Tobolsko*, the Capital City of *Siberia*, being 3000 *Verſts*, or 600 *German* Leagues from the City of *Muſcow*. Before you have Travell'd the third part of your way, you come to a great Ridge of Mountains, call'd *Camiani Rejat*, i. e. *the Stone Girdle* by the *Muſcovites*; it being their opinion, that they extend round the Terreſtrial Globe; I ſuppoſe them to be the ſame the Ancients call'd *Montes Siberei*. This Mountain being 50 Leagues over, and interwoven with deep Valleys, which are generally, but eſpecially in *Autumn*, overflown with Water, is impaſſible in the Summer, but theſe being well frozen in the Winter, afford a ſwift and convenient Paſſage for ſleds, ſo that in 24 hours you may Travel 18 or 20 Leagues, and conſequently perform the whole Journey from *Muſcow* to *Tobolsko* in 6 or 7 Weeks. The firſt City you come to in *Siberia*, is call'd *Worchaturia* from the River *Tura*, upon which it lies.

(2.) *Of the Cities, Rivers and Fertility of* Siberia.

Siberia has 23 Cities, The Capital of which is *Tobolsko*, ſituate upon a Hill near the River ſide, is a Place of no great Traffick; the Inhabitants being for the moſt part *Boucher* and *Calmuck Tartars*, who are very Poor; the chiefeſt Place of Trading being *Jeneſſay*, lying a great way beyond *Tobolsko*, which conſiſts in Sables, Martins and ſuch like Furrs. *Dauri* is the utmoſt frontier Place of *Siberia*, on the *Calmuck* ſide. *Siberia* is Watered by many Rivers, among which, the River *Oby* is the chiefeſt; it contains many Iſlands well ſtor'd with Trees: This River is in ſome Places, a *German* League, in other Places about half a League broad, and falls into the *Tartarian Sea*. It produces abundance of Fiſh, and among the reſt *Beluja's* or *White Fiſh*: The

Backhoff.

The Cities of *Siberia* are, *Worchaturia*, *Japonſoi*, *Tumen*, *Tobolsko*, *Damianſky*, *Samara*, *Sergouz*, *Berofoff*, *Navin*, *Tomoko*, *Kuſnetz*, *Kraſnozar*, *Ket*, *Jeneſſay*, *Nallen*, *Dauri*, *Takow*, *Magaſcy*; theſe as well as all the other Cities of *Siberia*, are not very Populous. There are very good Corn fields here, the Soil whereof is ſo good, that it bears very well without Dung. It has no Sea-ports, the *Tartarian Sea* being covered with Ice Summer and Winter; however Fiſher boats venture as far as the Iſle of *Malgamſay*, over againſt the Mouth of the River *Oby*.

(3.) *Of the Inhabitants of* Siberia.

THE Ancient Inhabitants were *Tartars*, Govern'd by their own Princes or Kings; one of the Family of their laſt Prince living not long ago with the *Czar's* permiſſion in *Siberia*, till his Houſe was Plunder'd and he forced to fly the Country, by the *Ruſſians* that Trade that way in Salt, with the *Calmuck Tartars*, which they bring thence in great Barges. This Prince having afterwards Married among the *Calmuck Tartars*, makes ſometimes an Inroad into *Siberia*, and takes a ſevere revenge of the *Muſcovites* there. The Natives being not very forward to oppoſe him, as living ſtill in hopes, that one time or other he may be inſtrumental in delivering them from the *Muſcovite* Yoak. The *Calmuck* and *Mogul Tartars*, border upon *Siberia*, (beſides divers other *Tartarian* Nations) their Country extending from thence to the frontiers of *China*. There are alſo divers other Hords, living on the frontiers of *Siberia*, as the *Tingoskoy*, the *Watzkoy*, *Tyrgyskoy* and *Barrabanskoy*, which have each their particular Captains or Leaders: The Natives of *Siberia* are much addicted to Sorcery: There are not many *Ruſſians* living among them, by reaſon of the great diſtance of this Country from *Muſcow*.

(4.) *How* Siberia *was brought under the Obedience of the* Muſcovites.

ABove 100 Years ago under the Reign of the *Czar Joan Baſilowitz*, a certain *Coſaen* named *Jormac Timoſeef*, Leader of a certain gang of Robbers, having taken ſome Veſſels loaden with Ammunition belonging to the *Czar*; he iſſued his ſtrict Orders to ſeize the ſaid *Jormac*, coſt it what it wou'd; ſo that *Jormac* dreading the *Czar's* Revenge, got with his Gang into the River *Cama*, and ſo to *Czoiswa*, an Iſle about 500 or 600 *Verſts* above *Caſan*, which at that time belong'd to a vaſt rich *Ruſſian* Merchant named *Daniel Stroginot*, living in a City built by him, and call'd *Stroginot* after his name. Having repreſented to this Merchant the eaſie Conqueſt of *Siberia*, he obtain'd ſome Arms, and Ammunition of him to accompliſh his deſign; accordingly he went up the River *Tagil*, till he came to the River *Towra*, where is a conſiderable Iſland, Inhabited by *Tartars*; theſe he ſoon chaſed thence, and continuing his March to the City of *Tumen*, he ſoon made himſelf Maſter of it, the ſame he did afterwards with *Tobolsko* the Reſidence of their King: However he March'd forward 50 Leagues to the River *Irtiſk*, in purſuit of the Enemy, who retreated before him. Having refreſhed his People hereabouts for ſix Weeks, he ſent 300 of them to purſue the flying *Tartars*, which they did with ſo much eagerneſs, that being ſurrounded by the Enemy, they were almoſt all kill'd, few eſcaping their hands. *Jormac* having no more than 200 Men left, Intrench'd himſelf in an Iſle, but being Attack'd in the Night time by the *Tartars*, he was kill'd with all his followers, except 40 who made a ſhift to get into *Muſcovy*; and having repreſented unto the *Czar* all the Circumſtances of the Matter, he ſent 600 choſen Men under the Command of one of theſe *Coſacks* (who had been *Jormac's* Lieutenant) who retook the City of *Tobolsko*; where having Fortify'd himſelf, and being recruited with freſh Troops, he made ſuch frequent excurſions into the Neighbouring *Tartarian* Countries; that they at laſt grew weary of the War, and ſubmitted to the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*. The ſame Fortune attended the *Czar* in his Conqueſt of the Kingdom and City of *Aſtrachan*, which he made himſelf Maſter of in one Campaign, but he paid pretty dear for *Caſan*, having been forced to raiſe the Siege of that City, the firſt time, but took it in the ſecond Siege.

(5.) *The Revenues of the Kingdom of* Siberia.

THE *Czar's* Revenues in this Kingdom, ariſe from the Tribute of the Sables, Martins, red and white Foxes skins, and other Furrs, out of which he has the fifth for his ſhare; certain Officers being appointed by the *Czar*, for that purpoſe;

Mr

Backhoff. Mr. *Fletcher* who was *Engliſh* Envoy in *Muſcovy* in 1588, affirms, that in one Year there were brought into the *Czar*'s Treaſury out of *Siberia*, no leſs than 466 *Zimmer* of Sables (40 Sables to each *Zimmer*) and 180 *Siberian* Fox skins. The ordinary Revenue of *Siberia*, amounts now to 200000 *Roubles*. They have different ways of catching the Sables; either by Wooden Traps, not unlike our Mice-Traps, or by Snares, which being laid under the Trees where they feed, the Trees are cut down, and they entangled in the Snares. They alſo go a Sable hunting in Sleds drawn by Dogs, and kill them with their Bows and Arrows.

The Journals of Feodor Iskowitz Backhoff *from* Tobolsko, *the Capital City of* Siberia, *into* China, *call'd* Kattay *by the* Ruſſians.

Vaſſiwitz from the beginning of the World to the Ruſſian conqueſt, viz. in the year of our Lord 1581.

IN the Year 7162 *, in the Month of *May*, I left *Tobolsko*, purſuant to his *Czariſh* Majeſty's Orders, and Travell'd to the City *Tax* upon the River *Irtiſh*, where I arrived the 27th of *July*, having ſpent a Month and three days in this Journey. From *Tax* I went up the River, the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, and for want of Horſes, ſpent four Weeks of my Journey to the *White Lake*, where being furniſhed with 40 Camels and 50 Horſes from *Snablai Triſcha*, or Prince of the *Bouchar Tartars*, we left the ſaid Lake the 16th of *October*, and continued our *Journey* in three Weeks time to *Kabalgakuna*, Inhabited by the *Calmuck Tartars*, who live in Brick Houſes, built after the *Ruſſian* manner. From *Kabalgakuna* to the *ſeven Elms* is two days Travelling; and from thence to the Rivulet of *Felkuſa*, which ariſes from among the Mountains, and falls into the *Irtiſh*, another days journey. From the River of *Felkuſa* along the right ſide of the *Irtiſh*, to the Reſidence of that *Calmuck Prince* (who is a Prieſt) Reſiding on the left ſide of the ſaid River, is three days Journey: Their Fields which produce Wheat, Barley, and Peaſe, are Plowed by ſome of the *Bouchar Tartars*. From hence, all along the Right ſide of the River *Irtiſh* to *Ablawich* (near the *Bouchar* Corn-fields) is 14 days Journey, thro' high Mountains, full of Birch-trees.

We Arrived at *Ablawich* the 22d of *November*, where they live in Plaiſtered Houſes; their Fruits are Wheat, Barly and Peaſe; and they abound in Fiſh. Their Prince named *Ablai Tonſcha* did invite me to his Houſe, where after he had demanded the *Czars* Preſents, (which I gave him) he entertain'd me very handſomly. The 30th of *November* I continued my Journey, thro' the *Bouchar Tartars*, who are for the moſt part Husbandmen, among whom I tarried four Months and 10 Days.

The 3d of *April* 7163, I went from thence to the Brook of *Botka*, 12 days Journey from the *Bouchar* Corn-fields; near this Brook the beforementioned Prince *Ablai Tonſcha*, was Building for himſelf two Houſes of Stone, by *Chineſe* Workmen. Here I ſtayed five Weeks and five days.

The 30th of *June* 7163, having received my Paſſport from *Ablai Touſcha*, I continued my Journey from the Brook *Botka* to *Conjaja Toucha*, or *Koltaſchings Children* in 14 days, and in 5 days more to a ſmall City of *Rontaſhina*, Inhabited by *Calmuck* Prieſts. From this Place to the Lake, thro' which paſſes the River *Irtiſh*, is 14 days Journey.

From hence to *Miſganika Toſcha* is two days Journey, and from thence thro' the Mountains ſeven days more. Hereabouts live the Princes of the *Mogul Tartars*, who ſpeak both the *Mogul* and *Calmuck* Languages; there is three days Journey from hence to the Reſidence of the Prince named *Dobruna*, whoſe Territories extend 15 days Journey to the Frontiers of *China*. However many Petty Princes have their Territories interſperſed here, who are alſo of the Race of the *Moguls*.

From the uttermoſt frontiers of *China* to *Cokatana*, their firſt City, is a Journey of three Months: the Mountains along the River *Irtiſh* and the *White Lake* to the Frontiers of *China*, are Inhabited by the *Moguls* and *Calmuck Tartars*; the firſt live very poorly, and I was often obliged to ſtay among them to furniſh my ſelf with Water and Proviſions. After I had ſtayed nine days at *Cokatana* in expectation of two Guides, we continued our Journey thence the 12th day of *January* 7164 to *Koski*, a Journey of 12 days: hereabouts alſo live divers Petty Princes of *Mogul Tartars*, who call themſelves *Tiobetzanſky*, but are under the *Chineſe* Juriſdiction. *Kanki* is ſituate among the Rocks; here I ſaw the famous *Chineſe* Wall, being three Fathoms high, and one and a half thick, fill'd up in the inſide with ſmall ſtones; the Stone Towers ſtand not in the ſame line cloſe to the Wall, but at 10 Fathoms diſtance, and are 100 Fathoms diſtance from one another, reaching as long as the Wall to the Sea ſide. The 20th of *February*, having received Orders from the King of *China* for the continuation of my Journey, we ſet out the 21ſt from

Capki, 7 days Journey from *Cambalu* (or *Pekin*) having 28 Cities lying between them; furrounded with Stone Walls, upon which we faw ſome Cannon, but of a ſmall ſize. The Soldiers that keep the Guard at the Gates, were Arm'd with a kind of Carabines, not above half a Yard long, with threefold Muzzels, but without Firelocks: They have generally Stone-bridges built over their Canals or Rivulets, but have not many Rivers of Note; the Governours of the Places are generally carried in *Palanka's* or Litters, upon Mens ſhoulders, attended by a Guard on both ſides.

We came to *Cambalu* the 3d of *March* 1664, about an *Engliſh* Mile out of Town, we were met by two Deputies, one whereof was the Chancellor of the *Prican*, or Secretary's Office of the Foreign Affairs, the other of that of the *Chineſe* Affairs. They received us in a Spacious Structure of Stone, Inhabited by ſome Prieſts, and built as we were told, for the Reception of the *Dalae Lama*, or the *Tartarian* High-Prieſt, who is Reverenced among them like a God. At the Entrance of this Houſe they deſired me to alight from my Horſe, and to pay my Reſpects to their King upon my Knees; Unto which I reply'd, that it was not our Cuſtom to Salute even our *Czar* upon our Knees, but only with a very low bow and bare-headed; unto which they gave no other Anſwer, but that the *Dutch* never refuſed it, and therefore I ought not. They then preſented me with ſome *Thee* made with Cows Milk and Butter, in the King's name, it being *Lent* I refuſed to drink it; they told me that I being ſent from one great *Czar* to another mighty Prince, I ought at leaſt to accept it, which I did, and ſo returned back. As we were making our Entry, I ſaw in the Gate ſtanding three Braſs Cannon, and ſo we March'd forward for 3 *Verſts*, thro' moſt Markets, before we came to the Court prepared for our Reception, which had two Houſes of Stone, hung with Tapeſtry. Our daily allowance of Proviſions was one Sheep and a ſmall Cask of *Spaniſh* Brandy, two Fiſhes, a middle ſized *Jaſy*, a certain quantity of Wheaten-flour, *Sichay* and Rice; and two Cups of Brandy. The 4 of *March*, certain Perſons ſent by the *Chineſe* King, came to my Lodgings to demand the Preſents I had brought along with me from the *Czar*; I told them that it was not Cuſtomary at our *Czar*'s Court to deliver the Preſents, till we had been admitted to the Audience of the King, and delivered our Credentials; unto which they relpy'd, *One King ought not to preſcribe Laws to another, our Cuſtoms are different from yours; our Bogday* (King) *has ſent us to demand the Preſents, but if you come to ſell them, let us know your Price*: I reply'd, That I was not ſent by the *Czar* to Merchandiſe, but to Eſtabliſh a Friendly Concurrence betwixt the two Kings, and to offer him ſome Preſents: they then told me, That ſince I own'd I was ſent with Preſents to their King, they would take by force what our *Czar* had ſent; and as for my Credentials care ſhould be taken of them hereafter; and thus actually took the Preſents by force.

The 6th of *March*, word was ſent me to bring my Credentials to the Secretary's Office, which I refuſed to comply with, telling the Meſſenger that I was ſent with theſe Credentials to the King and not to his Miniſters. *Aug.* 21. They ſent again upon the ſame Errand, but I refuſing the ſame, they told me, That ſince I had diſobey'd their King's Command, they had Orders to Puniſh me; I gave them no other Anſwer, but, If they cut me Limb by Limb, I would not part with them till I had been admitted to the King's Preſence. The 31ſt of *Auguſt* all the Preſents were brought back by certain Officers, who told me that it was done by ſpecial Command from their King, becauſe I had refuſed to deliver my Credentials into the *Pricas* or Secretaries Office; and one among them told me, *No Foreign Miniſter*, tell him, *come from what Country he will, is admitted into the Preſence of our King, but only of his Great Miniſters, call'd* Inoanol Boyarde. I can give you no true Account of the bigneſs of the City of *Cambalu*, becauſe we had no liberty to take a view of it, but if we may Credit the *Moguls* and *Chineſes*, they told us it was 60 *Verſts* (12 *German* Leagues) in Compaſs. Vaſt quantities of Silk Stuffs, are made and ſold here, but their Pearls and Precious Stones they have from *Karatſcho*, two Months Journey with Camels from *Cambalu*, and then in the Poſſeſſion of a Son of the late King. The Kings Palace fronts a Spacious Market Place, whither all ſorts of People come to Salute the King, at leaſt three times a Month. Every New Moon they put out Flags as a ſignal to the People to come to make their Submiſſion; and the ſame is done every 22d and 29th day of the Month, when they appear in rich Brocado'd Cloths, upon their bended Knees, and among the reſt 26 Elephants train'd up for that purpoſe. The *Bogday* then Regent, was a *Mogul Tartar*; but the late *Chineſe* Emperour, after theſe *Tartars* had made themſelves Maſters of the *Chineſe* Empire (about 30 Years before) kill'd himſelf, ſecuring only a Young Son named *Young Sie*, behind a of the *Chineſe* Lords carried to *Karatſcho* in *Old China*. The *Chineſes* are much ſtronger in the City of *Cambalu* than the *Moguls*.

In

Beckhoff. In the Year 7164, the 7th of *July*, 25 *Hollanders* (*a*) the remainders of the 3 Ships, (who had each of them 100 Men aboard, two whereof were loſt) Arrived at *Cambalu*, but for want of an Interpreter could not converſe with them; they gave me two Letters for *Muſcow*. Having obtained my Paſſport in 7164 in *September*, I left *Cambalu*, and returned thro' the ſame way I came to *Muſcow*, having had but ill Succeſs in my Negotiation, becauſe I would not Reverence their Idols (*b*).

And here is to be obſerved that *Cambalu* is the Capital City of *China*, otherwiſe it is call'd *Peking*, the firſt being the name given them by the *Tartars*, whence ſome Geographers have been miſlead, who have placed *Cambalu* in their Maps, in the great *Tartary*. *Tamerlain* a *Tartar*, by birth having conquered *China*, is the Reaſon that frequent mention has been made of *Cambalu* in his Hiſtory, which has introduced this Error of placing *Cambalu* in *Tartary*; add to this, That our Ancient Hiſtorians of *China* have call'd it *Kattay*, the ſame name that is given to it by the *Ruſſians* to this day; *Kattay* being a *Tartarian* Word, ſignifying as much as an Incloſed or Wall'd Place, (ſuch as *China* is) given by them to *China*, whilſt they were in Poſſeſſion of it. And becauſe *China* was known or firſt deſcribed by the Ancient Hiſtorians at the ſame time, the *Tartars* were Maſters of it, they were eaſily led into that Miſtake, by taking the *Grand Tartary* for *China*, and ſo put it down accordingly in their Maps, placing *Cambalu* in *Tartary*, whereas it is the ſame with *Peking* the Capital City of the *Chineſe* Empire. For the ſame reaſon it is, that they have deſcribed *Tartary* as a rich Plentiful Country, whereas it is very mean, and above one half of it not fit for Tillage. *Kattay* is indeed a *Tartarian* word, but not a name of their own Country, but given by them to *China*.

(*a*) *Nieuhoff* p. 181. We underſtand by the ſaid Father *Adam*, that there was there a *Muſcovite Embaſſy*, with an Attendance of 100 Perſons (among whom were ſome *Moors*) to treat about certain Points relating to Traffick; but were not as yet admitted to Audience, becauſe the Emperor Reſided at that time ſometimes in the City, ſome times at ſome diſtance thence.

(*b*) *Introcetta* p. 213. Speaking of this Embaſſy: *In quos* (ſc. ritus) *quoniam Muſcoviæ ante biennium legatione ſimili conſentire nollent, cum dedecore muneribus, quæ attulerunt reddiris rejecti ſunt.* And *Nieuhoff*, p. 187, the 14th of *Septem.* our Envoys underſtood that the *Muſcovite* Ambaſſadour was upon his Departure, without being admitted to Audience, becauſe he refuſed to bend his Knees before the Imperial Seat, as looking upon it as a degrading to his Maſter's Honour. About Noon, juſt as our Envoys were at Dinner, one of the ſaid Ambaſſador's Domeſticks came to take leave of us, deſiring in behalf of all the reſt, that we would be pleaſed to give them a Certificate to teſtify that they had met with us here, which was readily granted. Afterwards we heard, that the ſaid Ambaſſador was ſtoped in the Country, becauſe he was not provided with a ſufficient Paſſport.

A SHORT

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGES OF Mr. *ZACHARY WAGENER*,

Perform'd in 35 Years,

THROUGH

Europe, *Aſia*, *Africa* and *America*,

Taken out of his own JOURNAL.

Wagener.

ANNO 1633, the 3d of *June*, I left *Dreſden* (my Native City) with conſent of Parents, and Embarked in a ſmall Veſſel upon the River *Elbe* in Company of Mr. *Frederick Lebzelter*, one of the Grooms of the Chamber to his Electoral Highneſs of *Saxony*, for *Hamburgh*, where we Arrived ſafely ſome time after; but not meeting with any opportunity of Preferment there, I Embark'd for *Amſterdam*, where I was entertain'd for a whole Year by Mr. *William Johnſon Blawe*, one of the moſt Noted Bookſellers of that City; and after that, being reſolv'd upon Travelling further, engaged my ſelf in the Service of the *Weſt India* Company, in the Quality of a Private Sentinel, and in 1634, the 18th of *July*, Embark'd aboard a ſtout two Deck'd Ship bound for *Braſil*, where we Arrived after a moſt troubleſome Voyage of 16 Weeks, and came to an Anchor before the *Receif*. Not long after our Arrival, I was advanced to a Muſter Maſter's Place in Major *Bajart*'s Company, then in Garriſon in the Fort *Erneſtus*, and ſometime after was made Clerk of the Kitchin of his Excellency Count *John Maurice* of *Muſcow*, General of *Braſil*.

Anno 1638, the 20th of *April*, the beforemention'd Earl Embark'd with 8000 *European* Soldiers, and 3000 *Braſilians* aboard 47 Ships, ſteering their Courſe from the *Receif*, to the *Bay of all Saints*, in Order to Beſiege the City of St. *Salvator*; I went along with his Excellency in that Expedition, which proved unſucceſsful, for the City being impoſſible to be begirt on all ſides, we return'd after two Months to the *Receif*. *Anno* 1639, I went along with the ſaid Earl to *Anthony Vaez*, by the way of the Cape of St. *Auſtin* and *Sexinhain*, and ſo further by Land to *Porto Calvo*: In our Return, we paſs'd thro' the middle of the *Dutch Braſil*, by the way of *Boſiovegid*, to the City of *Paraiba*, and as we paſſed along, took a view of all the Gariſons and Fortreſſes, ſo that this Progreſs took up above 3 Months. After I had ſpent this ſeven Years in *Braſil*, *viz.* three Years in the Service, and four in his Excellency's Family, I deſired leave to return home, which being granted, and a Paſſport given me, I Embark'd in 1641, in *April*, aboard a Veſſel call'd the *Tyger*, bound with two other Veſſels, Freighted with Sugar, Tobacco, and

Braſ.

Brasil Wood, Mr. *William Henzen* Commodore for *Holland*. We arrived the 17th of *January* in the *Texel*, when a Man of War being then just ready to sail for *Enkhuisen*, I went aboard her, and lodged that Night in the said City. The 18th, early in the Morning, I went by Land over *Horn* to *Burmerent*, and from thence thro' the *Beemsters* by Water to *Amsteldam*. The 20th, early in the Morning, I went in the *Trackschuit* over *Harlem* to *Leyden*, and from thence to the *Hague* and *Delft*, where I delivered the Letters and Presents wherewith I was Intrusted by his Excellency the Earl of *Nassaw*.

Wagener.

But having a longing desire to see my Native Country, I set out from *Amsteldam*, *Anno* 1641, the 14th day of *August*, and taking my way over *Harlem*, thro' *Friseland*, arrived safely at *Hamburgh* the 23d. but the Roads being then much infested by straggling Parties I went up the River *Elbe* as far as *Magdeburg*, where taking Coach for *Leipzick*, I continued my Journey afterwards from thence to *Dresden*, the Place of my Nativity, where I arrived the 12th of *October*, and to our mutual Joy, found my Parents in good Health. I stayed with them about 14 Months, but not being able to comply with their manner of living, so different from what I had been used to of late Years; I took a resolution (with their consent) to return into *Holland*, and to take a Voyage thence into the *East Indies*.

Accordingly in 1642, the 10th of *February*, I took Shipping upon the River *Elbe* in company of the Young Mr. *Dillichius*, and the Son of the Count Marshal, Mr. *Henry van Teuben*, and sailing down the River *Elbe*, where my fellow Travellers left me, intending to continue their Journey thro' *Holland* for *France*; and the River beginning to be full of Ice by this time, our Vessel could not get further than *Tangermunden*, where we were forced to stay till the 2d of *March* and then went forward, (tho not without great danger of the Ice) for *Hamburgh*, where I arrived the 6th, and soon after agreed with a *Dutch* Master of a Vessel to carry me to *Amsteldam*. The 11th we set sail, and passing by *Gluckstadt*, came to an Anchor near *Zell*, where going ashoar, I diverted my self for a short time with one of my Relations, and so went aboard again, and continued our Voyage towards the *Dutch* Coast. Our Master it seems was born in a certain Village on the *Friseland* Coast, call'd *Maccon*, and being seiz'd with a curiosity to see his Birth-place, took this opportunity to come to an Anchor near it, which proved so unprosperous, that in a few days after, being surpriled by a Storm, with a violent Frost, I was obliged to spend 13 days at the House of a rugged *Friseland* Country Fellow, whose Language I did not understand. All the Comfort I had was to take this opportunity to go to *Franeker*, an University in those Parts: and after my return, the Tempest being laid, we set sail again the 26th, and arrived the 28th at *Enkhuisen*, where changing my Vessel for another, I came the 29th early in the Morning to *Amsteldam*; here I received the unwelcome News that the Ships wherewith I intended to have sailed to the *East Indies*, were already gone some days before, and that the next were not to sail till *August*; being afraid that my Money would scarce hold out till that time, I was forced to take a Journey into *North-holland*, to expect the coming of their *East India* Ships, wherewith I returned afterwards. *Anno* 1642, the 10th of *May*, we came to an Anchor with 9 Ships before the *Texel*, where in 2 Months after, we saw 10 Ships richly freighted, Mr. *Francis Caron* Commodore, and came along with them in *August* into *Holland*.

Having in vain endeavoured, by the Interest of Mr. *Beirmebellern* to get an Assistants Place in the Chamber of *Amsteldam*, I was forced to take up with a *Cadee's* Place, at the rate of 10 *Guilders per* Month; and being furnished with recommendatory Letters to the Regency of *Batavia*, I sail'd out of the *Texel* the 29th of *September*, in a new Vessel call'd the *Swan*, in Company of two others; and having refreshed our selves at the Isle of *Wight*, (belonging to *England*) and in the Isle of St. *Vincent*, we came in 1643, the 17th of *April*, safely to an Anchor in the Road of *Batavia*, having outstrip'd the two others, that were no such Sailers as ours. After I had stayed here for some time, the then Governour General *Anthony van Diemen* removed me from the Military Service to an Assistant's Place worth 20 *Guilders per* Month. *Anno* 1647, the 20th of *May*, Mr. *Cornelius vander Lyn*, his Successor, bestow'd upon me one of the Head Clerk's Places worth 28 *Guilders per* Month, besides six *Reals* board Wages: *Anno* 1648, I being then in the 35th year of my Age, Married at *Batavia* a certain Widow, born in the City of *Wesel*, named *Mary*, the relict of Mr. *Aux B*[illegible] who then lived with the Head Factor, Mr. *James Schwern*. *Anno* 1649, the 29th of *September*, the said Governour General Mr. *van Lyn*, was pleased to bestow upon me the Employment of a Factor (besides my Clerk's Place) for 5 Years, with a Monthly Sallary of 56 *Guilders per* Month, and 13 *Reals* board Wages.

In what quality I first went to the East Indies.

Anno 1650, I was sent in an open Chaloop from *Batavia* to the Streights of *Sunda*, *Thys Crab* Commander, to fetch certain Instructions, which Mr. *Maximilian le Maire* (who was lately arrived there with the Ship the *Walfisch* from *Holland*) had brought along

Wagener. with him, but before we reach'd the ſaid Veſſel, we met the Ship the *Naſſaw*, coming from the Weſtern Coaſt of *Sumatra*, loaden with Pepper, and being willing to ſpeak with them, by the careleſſneſs of our Maſter the Chaloop run ſo violently againſt the Poop of the Ship, that it was ready to ſink; I did endeavour to lay hold of the Lyon's head of the great Ship, but miſſing my aim, fell into the Water, where I narrowly eſcap'd being drowning; for the Ship being under ſail, I got under her, and with much ado got upon the other ſide (yet not without being ſorely cut by the Muſſel ſhells that ſtuck to the bottom) from whence, with much ado, they dragged me up with a Rope, into the Ship. Afterwards it being reſolved to ſend me along with Mr. *William Veſſegen*, Extraordinary Councellor of the *Indies*, and Commiſſary of the Northern Quarter, from *Tonquin* to *Taiwan*, my Sallary was raiſed to 66 *Guilders per* Month.

Anno 1651, the 20th of *April*, we Embark'd aboard the *Delft haven* Yacht at *Batavia*, in order to proſecute this intended Voyage, which having been accompliſh'd with good Succeſs, we ſtop'd in our Return near the Kingdom of *Quinam*, and after having ſettled a firm Peace with that King, and obtained the Releaſement of our Priſoners, we came to an Anchor again in the Road of *Batavia*, the laſt day of *December*, where in a few days after my Arrival, I was conſtituted a Member of the Council of Juſtice by Mr. *Reimerſon*, then Governour General in the abſence of Mr. *Lyn*.

Anno 1653, the 14th of *July*, The time of my former Contract being expired, I engaged my ſelf again in the Companies Service for three Years longer, at the Rate of 85 *Guilders per* Month; I was ſoon after as Commiſſary or Envoy of the Company ſent with two Yachts the *Shel-fiſh* and the *Brown-fiſh* to *Kanton* in *China* (*a*) to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of free a Commerce for our Company there, with the *Tartarian Viceroy*; but the *Tartarian* Commanders aiming at nothing but our Money, and little to be relied upon, I left theſe Covetous Wretches, and made the beſt of my way with my two Yachts towards *Tunquin*, where, having left the *Brown-fiſh* to refit, I returned, notwithſtanding I was very da
rouſly Ill, with the *Shel-fiſh* alone, the
of *December*, to *Batavia*. Having immed
ately after my recovery, given an Account of my Negotiation, I had ſoon after a Place aſſign'd me in the Council of Juſtice.

Anno 1656, the 12th of *July*, I was ſent in the Quality of Director in the Ship call'd the *Calf* to *Japan*, (*b*) to relieve according to Cuſtom, Mr. *John Brichlinus*, his Year being expired; where I arrived the 18th of *Auguſt*, and immediately delivered the Preſents ſent by the Company to the Emperor; but had ſcarce been here three days when on the North ſide of the Capital City of *Jedo*, a ſudden fire broke out, which being increaſed by a violent Wind, laid not only the whole City, (which might for its bigneſs, be compared to a whole Province) in Aſhes in 48 Hours, but alſo conſu
the Royal Palace, and near 160000
however we had the fortune to eſca
fury of the flames thro' God's Mercy, tho' not without a great deal of danger.

Anno 1657, the 27th of *October*, I return'd out of *Japan* (*c*) in the Ship the *Flower Valley*, in Company of the head Factor, Mr. *John Bergens*, who had received

(*a*) Of this Voyage, *Nieuhoff*, *p.* 29. Hereupon it was reſolved to ſend as Commiſſioners Mr. *Schedel* and Mr. *Wagener*, the firſt in the *Brown-fiſh*, the other in a Veſſel call'd the *Shel-fiſh*. They ſet ſail together from *Batavia*, and after a Voyage of four Weeks, came to the Weſtern Point of *Haitamon*. From whence they went up the River *Kanton*, as far as *Wangſoe*, three Leagues diſtant from *Kanton*, where having ſtaid for ſome time, but in vain, in expectation of the *Mandarins* to Conduct them to *Kanton*, Mr. *Schedel* without leave from the Regency of *Kanton* and againſt the Advice of the Interpreters went to ſee his old Friend *Haitau*, in whom he much confided; being directed by him to go to ſee *Tautans*, he did accordingly, but finding neither him nor his Secretary at Home, was forced to come aboard again immediately, as not knowing where to lodge all that Night.

The ſame *Nieuhoff*, *p.* 32. Mr. *Wagener* finding all his Courtſhips to the *Mandarins* of no effect, he returned with both the Yachts to *Batavia*, he having not with all his Cunning, been able to ſettle a Commerce there for his Country men: What vexed him moſt, was, that theſe avaricious wretches had the impudence to demand ſo vaſt a Summ of Money, only to procure the Reception of his Letters, by the *Vice Roy*, without the leaſt Promiſe of entring afterwards into a Conference upon the propoſed Commerce.

(*b*) Concerning this Commiſſion, *Arnold Montan* ſays, *p.* 356. Next to this the Embaſſy performed by Mr. *Zachary* of *Miſnia*, is no leſs remarkable; and *p.* 369. Speaking of this Conflagration: Mr. *Wagener* returning early in the Morning into the City, found the whole Southern part of it in a flame: About Noon the fire got into the Imperial Palace, with ſuch violence, that in an inſtant the ſtrong Towers and Stone-Watch-houſes were ſeen tumbling into the Ditch, where the fire ſtop'd on that ſide; but continuing on the other hand, the Emperour's Lodgings were conſumed before Night, he having ſcarce time given him to retire with his chief Councellors to their Summer-Houſes, built on the North ſide at ſome diſtance from the Palace: in ſhort, in two day: time above 100000 houſes were laid in Aſhes inhabited before the fire by 1000000 of Souls, together with a vaſt number of moſt Stately Palaces, and Pagodes or Pagan Temples.

(*c*) The ſame *Montan*, *p.* 377. In the mean while Mr. *Wagener*, taking a ſhort Voyage to *Batavia*, ſoon returned to prepare for his ſecond intended Embaſſy to *Japan*. *Anno* 1659 he had made all the neceſſary preparations for it.

Order-

Orders to go and Reſide at *Tajoan* in the Quality of Deputy Governour to Mr. *Coyers*; we were put to no ſmall trouble to get into the Road of that Place, where having ſtay'd ſix days, I ſet ſail again thence, in Company of the *Hercules* and the *Watchman*, and came ſafely before *Batavia* the 18th of *December*, where we found ſeveral *Dutch* Ships (which on the 31ſt returned for *Holland*, under the Command of Mr. *John Cancun*) Riding at Anchor. *Wagener.*

Anno 1658, being ready to go a ſecond time as Director to *Japan*, to take care of the Companies Intereſt there, Mr. *John Maetzuycker*, who ſucceeded Mr. *Reymers* as Governour General, was pleaſed to appoint me 100 *Guilders per* Month, without any limited time; I Embark'd immediately after, aboard the Ship call'd the *Venenburgh* at *Batavia*, and ſet forward with a Proſperous Gale till *Auguſt*, when being among the *Maccauſche* Iſlands, upon the *Chineſe* Coaſt, we were overtaken by ſo violent a Tempeſt, that we expected every Moment to be daſhed againſt the Rocks; but thro' God's Mercy this Storm laſted not above 12 hours; after which, the Wind proving pretty favourable, we continued our Voyage, and the 17th of *September* arrived ſafely in the Bay of *Nangaſacki*. Our Commerce in *Japan* being eſtabliſh'd upon a good foot, and all other matters ſettled to our ſatisfaction, I began to prepare for my return to *Batavia*, and in 1659, ſet ſail in the Ship call'd the *Haverſen*, from the Bay of *Nangaſacki*; but the Maſter of our Veſſel being not well acquainted in thoſe Seas, we got one Night among the Rocks *de Paracelles* (a branch of the Sea, formerly part of the Continent, but ſwallow'd up by the Waves) I was no ſooner awake the next Morning, but ſeeing our ſelves among theſe Rocks, and that we had miſſed the Entrance of the Streight of *Banca*, I gave my ſelf over for loſt, and certainly had been ſo, if by the indefatigable Labour of the Seamen, and a favourable Gale, we had not made ſhift to get the 20 of *December*, into the Harbour call'd *Paulſingen*, where we were forced to ſtay four days before we could get out to make the ſaid Streight, from whence we ſailed without any ſiniſter accident, to *Batavia*.

Anno 1660, the 22d of *Auguſt*, Mr. *Jacob Carack*, and I were ſent as Commiſſioners to *Macaſſar* in the *Peſtillion Yacht*, to treat with the King concerning a Peace, Purſuant to the Inſtructions given us for that purpoſe.

The 12th of *November* I returned alone in the ſame Veſſel, in order to give an Account of my Negotiation there, Mr. *Carack* being obliged to ſtay behind about ſome buſineſs of Moment in our Fortreſs of *Pannekolla*.

In the beginning of the Year 1661, being without Employment, I thought fit to accept of the Surveyorſhip over the Buildings, vacant by the Death of Mr. *John Liſſingen*, whereby I a third time obtained a Place in the Council of Juſtice; but finding this Office too burthenſome for my Gouty Carcaſs, which was not able to endure ſuch continual going from Place to Place, I quitted that Employment, and in lieu thereof was order'd to relieve the Commander in Chief on the *Cape of good Hope*, Mr. *John van Riebeck*, who was to have been ſucceeded by Mr. *Gent van Hoorn*, but he dying in his Voyage thither, I was pitch'd upon to ſupply his Place. Accordingly I left *Batavia Anno* 1662, the 30th of *January*, with all my Family, and with 2 Ships in 16 days time, with a Proſperous Gale, came in ſight of the Cape, or utmoſt Point of *Africa*: As I was entring the Bay, we heard the unwelcome News, that of the ſeven Ships we ſaw at Anchor before *Batavia*, and parted thence about a Month before us, four were loſt in a Storm near the Iſland of St. *Maurice*.

Anno 1663, in *February* I received Letters out of *Holland* from the Governours of the Company, wherein they not only confirm'd me in my Governours Place here, but alſo appointed me the ſame Allowance my Predeceſſor had enjoy'd.

Anno 1664, being Advertiſed by ſeveral Letters ſent to me over Land from the Bay of St. *Helens*, by Captain *Henry van Wallen*, intimating that a Conſpiracy had been diſcovered in the Ship call'd the *Arms of Horn*, and that he had been obliged to take into Cuſtody the Maſter of the Ship and another Officer; I Embark'd the next day, with three Horſes aboard, the Ship call'd the *Watercock*, but not being able to go beyond the *Cape of Satanbia*, I landed there, and with two Servants on Horſe back, continued my Journey thither by Land; but were no ſooner arrived there, when being inform'd by the *Hottentots* (Inhabitants of the Cape) that the ſaid Ship was ſailed thence the day before, towards the Cape; we were forced to make the beſt of our way back to the Bay of *Satanbia*, where we arrived the 3d day, but to our great regret, found that the Captain had again quitted his firſt Station there, and was gone up two Leagues farther into the Bay; ſo that we ſaw our ſelves under an abſolute neceſſity to take up our reſting Place all that Night upon the Ground near the Sea ſhoar but were not a little ſurpriſed, when the next Morning we diſcovered in the Land the foot-ſteps of a great Lyon that had paſſed but a few Paces from us, without doing us any harm.

After my return to the Cape, *viz. Anno* 1666, my Wife, after a Months ſickneſs, departed this Life, after I had lived with her

Wagener. her in Marriage 18 Years and 4 Months, but had no Children by her; I ordered a ſmall Chappel to be built on the Cape, wherein ſhe was interred. Not many Months after, *viz.* the 26th of *September*, Mr. *Cornelius van Qualbergen*, who was ſent in the Ship the *Dordrecht* to ſucceed me in my Command, arrived at laſt on the Cape, after a moſt tedious and troubleſome Voyage of 8 Months, in which they had loſt 190 Men by the Scurvy and other Diſtempers. Having purſuant to the Orders ſent me by the Council of 17. given the ſaid Mr. *Qualbergen*, all the neceſſary Inſtructions, and ſurrendered the Government into his hands, I Embark'd with all my Moveables the 1ſt of *October*, in the beforementioned Ship the *Dordrecht*, together with my Daughter-in-Law, whoſe name was *Mary Bucquoi*, the relict of *Cornelius Vorburgh*, one of the head Factors of the Company, and with a very moderate and proſperous Wind, arrived ſafely at *Batavia*, where being lodged at Mr. *John Bolan*'s Houſe, ſhe and I ſhared the Inheritance of her Mother, according to the Determination of two Arbitrators choſen for that purpoſe.

Anno 1667, the 1ſt of *September*, I Embark'd at *Batavia* in the Ship call'd the *Eraſmus*, being ſent as an Envoy of the Companys to the Emperour of great *Java*, or of *Materan*, with two very fine *Perſian* horſes, beſides other Preſents to renew the Ancient Friendſhip, and good Neighbourly Correſpondency betwixt them; we came to an Anchor near the River *Samaran*, where leaving our Ship, we Travell'd in 6 or 7 days to the Capital City *Materan*, where having diſcharged my Commiſion, I return'd from thence by Land, with a numerous Attendance to *Samaran*, and from thence ſet ſail towards *Japan*, where having ſtayed a few days to diſpatch ſome Buſineſs of Moment, we Embark'd, and arrived the laſt day of *November*, with the ſame Yacht, we came in from *Batavia*, in that Road, where I gave an ample Account of my Tranſactions, to the *Great Council of the Indies*.

Having by this time ſpent 25 Years in the *Eaſt India* Companies Service, I took a full reſolution to return to my Native Country, for which reaſon having deſired my diſcharge from the juſt now mentioned *Council*, the Governour General, Mr. *Maetzucker*, would fain have prevail'd upon me to continue there for ſome time longer, offering me his Garden Houſe without the Gate of *Batavia* for my Habitation.

But being reſolved to return to my Native Country, I was forced to refuſe his kind offer, and having obtain'd my Paſſport, I left *Batavia* in 1667, the 8th of *December*, with a Squadron of 6 Ships, whereof *John vander Lahn* was Admiral, and my ſelf carrying the Vice-Admiral's Flag, aboard the Ship call'd the *Arms*, bound for *Middleburgh* on Account of the Chamber of *Zealand*. Having happily paſs'd the Streights of *Sunda*, we arriv'd *Anno* 1668, the 22d of *February*, with fair Wind and Weather, in the *Table Bay* of the *Cape of Good Hope*, where, to our great ſatisfaction, we received the News of the late concluded Peace betwixt his *Britannick* Majeſty, and the States General at *Breda*.

Whilſt we lay at Anchor here, 4 more Ships that were left behind at *Batavia* to take in their Cargo, arrived likewiſe in the ſaid Bay the 10th of *March*; as alſo not long after, the Ship call'd *Thuys de Telſon*, being ſent from the Chamber of *Amſteldam*, having aboard 14 Conſpirators, (for the moſt part Northern Country Men) who had laid a Plot to kill the Captain and the other Officers of their Ship whilſt they were at Dinner, and afterwards to ſeize the Veſſel; five of the Ringleaders of them were Sentenced to be hanged on a Gibbit near the Fort; ſeven others to be whip'd, and burn'd with a Red-hot Iron, and the reſt to be kept in Irons for their life time, and to work in ſuch Places as ſhould be appointed by the Company, which was put in Execution accordingly. *Anno* 1668, the 26th of *March*, we ſet ſail from *Table Bay* with the whole Fleet, conſiſting of 10 Ships richly laden, *viz.* the *Holland Hayn*, the *Arms of Middleburgh*, the *Dordrecht*, *Liberty*, *Amerongen*, *Cattenburgh*, the *Spreeuw*, *Outſhorn*, the *Tiger*, and the *Young Prince*, and taking our Courſe betwixt the Continent and the *Red Iſland*, paſſed the *Green Sea*, and ſo with a Proſperous Gale, continued our Voyage till the Month of *July*, when we arrived happily in *Holland*.

N. B. *Mr.* Zachary Wagener, *being in the Month of* July, *arrived with* 10 *Ships as Vice-Admiral in* Zealand; *found himſelf ſo much indiſpoſed, that after ſome ſtay at* Middleburgh, *he thought fit to go to* Amſteldam *to take the Advice of the Phyſicians of that City; and having accordingly take up his Quarters at the Sign of the City of* Prague, *in the* Warmerſtreet, *nothing was left unattempted to remove the indiſpoſition of his Body; which notwithſtanding, all the endeavours of the beſt Phyſicians not availing, he died, the 1ſt of* October 1668, *and was inter'd the 6th following, in the* Old Church of Amſteldam. *He was then* 54 *Years old and* 4 *Months, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent in Travelling, by Sea and Land, having ſpent* 7 *Years in* Braſil, *and ſerved the* Dutch East India Company *no leſs than* 25 *Years.*

F I N I S.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Life and Actions

OF

Adm. *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,*

AND OF HIS

DISCOVERY

OF THE

WEST-INDIES,

CALL'D

The NEW WORLD,

Now in Poſſeſſion of his *Catholick Majeſty.*

Written by his own Son D. Ferdinand Columbus.

THE

Author's Preface.

I Being the Son of the Admiral Chriſtopher Columbus, a Perſon worthy of Eternal Memory, who diſcovered the Weſt-Indies; and having my ſelf ſail'd with him ſome time, it ſeem'd to me but reaſonable, that among other things I have writ, one and the chiefeſt ſhould be his Life, and wonderful Diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, or New-World; becauſe his great and continual Sufferings, and the Diſtempers he laboured under, did not allow him time to form his Notes and Obſervations into a Method fit for Hiſtory; yet knowing there were many others who had attempted this Work, I forbore, till reading their Books I found in them, that which is uſual among Hiſtorians, viz. That they magnify ſome things, leſſen others, and ſometimes paſs that over in ſilence, which they ought to give a very particular Account of. For this reaſon I reſolved to undergo the labour of this Task, thinking it be[illegible] ſhould lie under the cenſure my Skill and Preſumption ſhall be ſubject to, than to ſuffer [illegible] Truth of what relates to ſo Noble a Perſon to lie buried in oblivion. For it is my Comfort, that if any faults be found in this my undertaking, it will not be that, which moſt Hiſtorians are liable to, viz. That they know not the truth of what they write; for I propmiſe to Compoſe the Hiſtory of his Life, of ſuch matter only as I find in his own Papers and Letters, and of thoſe Paſſages of which I my ſelf was an Eye witneſs. And whoſoever ſhall imagine, that I add any thing of my own, may be aſſur'd, I am ſatisfied, I can reap no benefit thereby in the life to come; and that the Reader alone will have the benefit of it, if it be capable of yielding any.

The Author having given this Account of himſelf, I have not much to add, but to inform the Reader before he enters upon the Work, that in it he will find all the Reaſons which induced the Admiral to ſuch an undertaking; he will ſee how far he proceeded in Perſon upon the Diſcovery in four ſeveral Voyages he made; how Great and Honourable the Articles were, upon which he entred upon the Diſcovery, and which were afterwards confirm'd to him by thoſe two famous Princes, King Ferdinand and Queen Iſabel or Elizabeth; how baſely they were all violated; and he, after ſuch unparallel'd Services, moſt unhumanly treated; how far he ſettled the Affairs of the Iſland Hiſpaniola, the firſt place the Spaniards Planted in; what care he took that the Indians ſhould not be oppreſs'd, but rather by good Uſage and Example, prevail'd upon to embrace the Catholick Faith; alſo the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Indians; their Opinions and Practice as to Religious Worſhip; and in a Word, all that can be expected in a Work of this nature, the Foundation whereof was laid by ſo great a Man as was the Admiral, and finiſhed by his own Son, who had all the Education that could contribute to make him capable of writing ſo notable a Life.

THE

THE DISCOVERY OF THE WEST-INDIES, BY *CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS*, Together with his LIFE and ACTIONS, *&c.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Country, Original, and Name of Admiral Chriſtopher Columbus.

Columbus. *Columbus's Original.*

IT being a very material Point in the Hiſtory of any Man of Note, to make known his Country and Original, becauſe they are beſt look'd upon, who are born in Noble Cities and of Illuſtrious Parents, therefore ſome would have had me ſpent my time in ſhewing that the Admiral was Honourably deſcended, tho' his Parents, thro' the perviſhneſs of Fortune, were fal'n into great Poverty and Want; and that I ſhould have proved they were the Offspring of that *Junius Colon*, of whom *Tacitus* in his 12th Book ſays, That he brought King *Mithridates* Priſoner to *Rome*; for which Service the People aſſign'd him the Conſular Dignity, the Eagle, or Standard and Conſular Court. And they would have me give a large Account of thoſe two Illuſtrious *Coloni*, his Predeceſſors, who, *Sabellius* tells us, gain'd a Mighty Victory over the *Venetians*, as ſhall be mentioned in the 5th Chapter: But I refuſed to undertake that Task, believing he was particularly choſen by Almighty God for ſo great an Affair as that was he perform'd; and becauſe he was to be ſo truly his Apoſtle, as in effect he proved, it was his Will he ſhould in this part be like the others, who were call'd to make known his Name from the Sea and Rivers, and not from Courts and Palaces, and to imitate himſelf, whoſe Progenitors being of the Blood Royal of *Jeruſalem*; yet it pleas'd him that his Parents ſhould not be much known. Therefore, as God gave him all the Perſonal Qualities for ſuch an undertaking; ſo he would have his Country and Original more hid and obſcure. So it is that ſome, who would caſt a Cloud upon his Fame, ſay he was of *Nervi*, others of *Cugureo*, and others of *Bugieſco*, all ſmall Towns near the City of *Genoa*, and upon its Coaſt. Others, who were for exalting of him, ſay, he was a Native of *Savona*, others of *Genoa*, others, more vain, make him of *Piacenza*; in which City there are ſome Honourable Perſons of his Family, and Tombs with the Arms and Inſcriptions of the Family of *Columbus*; this being then the uſual Surname of his Predeceſſors, tho'

His Name.

Columbus. tho' he, complying with the Country whither he went to live, and begin a new State of life, modell'd the World that it might be like the Ancient, and distinguish'd the Direct from the Collateral Line, calling himself *Colon*. This made me apt to believe, that as most of his Affairs were guarded by some special Providence, so this very particular, concerning his Name and Sirname, was not without some Mystery. We may instance many Names which were given by secret Impulse, to denote the effects those Persons were to produce, as in his foretold and expressed the Wonder he performed. For if we look upon the common Sirname of his Ancestors, we may say he was true *Columbus* or *Columba*, for as much as he convey'd the Grace of the Holy Ghost into that New World which he discover'd; shewing those People who knew him not, which was God's beloved Son, as the Holy Ghost did in the figure of a Dove at St. *John*'s Baptism; and because he also carried the Olive branch and Oyl of Baptism over the Waters of the Ocean, like *Noah*'s Dove, to denote the Peace and Union of those People with the Church, after they had been shut up in the Ark of Darkness and Confusion. And the Sirname of *Colon* which he reviv'd, was proper to him, which in *Greek* signifies a Member, that his proper Name being *Christopher*, it might be known he was a Member of Christ; by whom Salvation was to be convey'd to those People. Moreover, if we would bring his Name to the *Latin* pronunciation, that is *Christopherus Colonus*; we may say, That as St. *Christopher* is reported to have bore that Name, because he carried Christ over the deep Waters, with great danger to himself; whence came the denomination of *Christopher*, and as he convey'd over the People whom no other could have been able to carry; so the Admiral, *Christopherus Colonus*, imploring the assistance of Christ in that dangerous Passage, went over safe himself and his Company, that those *Indian* Nations might become Citizens and Inhabitants of the Church Triumphant in Heaven; for it is to be believ'd, that many Souls, which the Devil expected to make a Prey of, had they not pass'd thro' the Water of Baptism, were by him made Inhabitants and Dwellers in the Eternal Glory of Heaven.

CHAP. II.

Of the Admiral's Father and Mother, and their Quality, and of the false Account one Justiniani *gives of his Employ before he had the Title of Admiral.*

No certainty of Columbus's Parentage.

NOT to go upon the Etymology, Derivation and Meaning of the word Admiral; but to return to the Quality and Persons of his Progenitors; I say, That how considerable soever they were, being reduc'd to Poverty and Want by the Wars and Factions in *Lombardy*; I do not find after what manner they lived, tho' the Admiral himself in a Letter, says, That his Ancestors and he always Traded by Sea. For my further information in this particular, as I pass'd thro' *Cugureo*, I endeavoured to receive some information from two Brothers of the *Colombi*, who were the Richest in those Parts, and reported to be somewhat a Kin to him; but the Youngest of them being above 100 Years old, they could give me no Account of this Affair. Nor do I think that this is any Dishonour to us who descend from him, because I think it better that all the Honour be deriv'd to us from his Person, than to go about to enquire whether his Father was a Merchant or a Man of Quality that kept his Hawks and Hounds, whereas it is certain there have been a Thousand such in all Parts, whose Memory was utterly lost in a very short time among their Neighbours and Kindred; so as it is not known whether ever there were any such Men. But I am of Opinion that their Nobility can add less Lustre to me, than the Honour I receive from such a Father. And since his own Honourable Exploits made him not stand in need of the Wealth of his Predecessors, (who notwithstanding their Poverty, were not destitute of Virtue, but only of Fortune) he ought at least by his Name and Worth, to have been raised by Authors above the rank of Mechanicks and Handicrafts. Which yet if any will affirm, grounding his Assertion on what one *Augustin Justiniani* writes in his Chronicle; I say, That I will not set my self to deny it begging time, or means to prove the contrary by Testimonials; for as much as *Justinian*'s writing it does not make that to be look'd upon as an Article of Faith, which is no longer in the Memory of Man; so neither will it be thought undeniable, should I say I received the contrary from a Thousand Persons. Nor will I shew his falsehood by the Histories others have

Falsehood of Justiniani's History.

have writ of *Chriſtopher Columbus*, but by this ſame Author's Teſtimony, and Writing, in whom is verified the Proverb, *That Lyars ought to have good Memories*, becauſe otherwiſe they contradict themſelves, as *Juſtiniani* did in this Caſe; ſaying in his Compariſon of the four Languages, upon that Expreſſion of the Pſalm, *In omnem terram exivit ſonus eorum*, theſe very words, This *Chriſtopher Columbus* having in his tender Years, attain'd ſome Elements of Learning; when he came to Manly Years, applied himſelf to the Art of Navigation, and went to *Liſbon* in *Portugal*, where he learn'd Coſmography, taught him by a Brother of his who there made Sea Charts; with which Improvement, and Diſcourſing with thoſe that ſail'd to *S. George de la Mina* in *Africk*, and his own reading in Coſmography, he entertain'd thoughts of Sailing to thoſe Countries he Diſcover'd. By which words it appears, That he follow'd no Mechanick Employment, or Handicraft; ſince, he ſays, he employed his Childhood in Learning; his Youth in Navigation and Coſmography, and his riper Years in Diſcoveries. Thus *Juſtinian* convinces himſelf of falſhood, and proves himſelf an inconſiderable, raſh, and malitious Countryman; for when he ſpeaks of a Renowned Perſon who did ſo much Honour to his Country, whoſe Hiſtoriographer *Juſtiniani* made himſelf, tho' the Admiral's Parents had been very mean, it had been more decent, to ſpeak of his Origin, as other Authors in the like Caſe do; ſaying he was of low Parentage, or come of very poor Friends, than to uſe injurious words, as he did in his Pſalter; and afterwards in his Chronicle, falſly calling him a Mechanick. And ſuppoſing he had not contradicted himſelf, Reaſon it ſelf made it appear, that a Man, who had been employed in Art Manual or Handicraft, muſt be born and grow old in it to become a perfect Maſter; and that he would not from his Youth have Travell'd ſo many Countries, as alſo that he would not have attained ſo much Learning and Knowledge, as his Actions demonſtrate he had, eſpecially in thoſe four Principal Sciences required, to perform what he did, which are, Aſtrology, Coſmography, Geometry and Navigation. But it is no wonder that *Juſtiniani* ſhould dare to deliver an untruth in this particular, which is hidden, ſince in Affairs well known concerning his Diſcovery and Navigation, he has inſerted above a dozen falſhoods in half a Sheet of Paper in his Pſalter, which I ſhall briefly hint at without ſtaying to give him an Anſwer, to avoid interrupting the Series of the Hiſtory, ſince by the very Courſe of it, and what others have writ on that Subject, the falſhood of his Writing will be made out. The firſt therefore was, That the Admiral went to *Lisbon* to learn Coſmography of a Brother of his own that was there; which is quite contrary, becauſe he liv'd in that City before, and taught his Brother what he knew. The ſecond falſhood is that at his firſt coming into *Caſtile*, their Catholick Majeſty's *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabel*, or *Elizabeth* accepted of his Propoſal, after it had been ſeven years bandy'd about and rejected by all Men. The third, That he ſet out to Diſcover with two Ships, which is not true, for he had three Caravals. The fourth, That his firſt Diſcovery was *Hiſpaniola*, and it was *Guanahani*, which the Admiral call'd *S. Salvador*, or *S. Saviour*. The fifth, That the ſaid Iſland *Hiſpaniola* was Inhabited by *Canibals*, that eat Men's fleſh; and the Truth is, The Inhabitants of it were the beſt People, and moſt civiliz'd of any in thoſe Parts. The ſixth, That he took by force of Arms, the Canoo, or *Indian* Boat he ſaw, whereas it appears that he had no War that firſt Voyage with any *Indian*, and continued in Peace and Amity with them till the day of his departure from *Hiſpaniola*. The ſeventh, That he return'd by way of the *Canary* Iſlands, which is not the proper way for thoſe Veſſels to return. The eighth, That from the ſaid Iſland he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to their Majeſty's aforeſaid, whereas it is certain, that he was not firſt at that Iſland, as was obſerv'd, and he himſelf was the Meſſenger. The ninth, That the ſecond Voyage he return'd with twelve Ships, and it is manifeſt he had ſeventeen. The tenth, That he Arrived at *Hiſpaniola* in twenty days, which is a very ſhort time to reach the neareſt Iſlands, and he perform'd it not in two Months, and went to others much farther diſtant. The eleventh, That he preſently made from *Hiſpaniola* with two Ships, and it is known there were three he took to go from *Hiſpaniola* to *Cuba*. *Juſtiniani*'s twelfth falſhood is, That *Hiſpaniola* is four hours diſtant from *Spain*, and the Admiral reckons it above five. And further, to add a thirteenth to the dozen, he ſays, the Weſtern point of *Cuba*, is ſix hours diſtant from *Hiſpaniola*, making it further from *Hiſpaniola* to *Cuba*, than from *Spain* to *Hiſpaniola*. So that by his negligence and heedleſſneſs, in being well inform'd and writing the Truth of theſe Particulars, which are ſo plain, we may plainly diſcern what inquiry he made into that which was ſo obſcure, wherein he contradicts himſelf, as has been made appear. But laying aſide this Controverſie, wherewith I believe I have by this time tir'd the Reader, we will only add, That conſidering the many Miſtakes

Columbus.

Falſhood of Juſtiniani's Hiſtory.

Columbus.

and Falſhoods found in the ſaid *Juſtiniani*'s Hiſtory, and Pſalter, the Senate of *Genoa* has laid a Penalty upon any Perſon that ſhall read or keep it; and has caus'd it to be carefully ſought out in all Places it has been ſent to, that it may by Publick Decree be deſtroy'd and utterly extinguiſh'd. I will return to our main deſign, concluding with this Aſſertion, That the Admiral was a Man of Learning and great Experience; that he did not employ his time in Handicraft or Mechanick Exerciſes, but in ſuch as became the Grandour and Renown of his wonderful Exploits, and will conclude this Chapter with ſome words taken out of a Letter he writ himſelf to Prince *John* of *Caſtile*'s Nurſe, which are theſe.

I am not the firſt Admiral of my Family, let them give me what Name they pleaſe; for when all is done, David, *that moſt Prudent King, was firſt a Shepherd, and afterwards choſen King of* Jeruſalem, *and I am Servant to that ſame Lord, who rais'd him to ſuch Dignity.*

CHAP. III.

Of the Admiral's Perſon, and what Sciences he learn'd.

The Admiral deſcrib'd.

THE Admiral was well ſhap'd, and of a more than middling Stature, long Viſag'd, his Cheeks ſomewhat full, yet neither fat nor lean; he had a Hawk Noſe, his Eyes white, his Complexion white, with a lovely red: In his Youth his Hair was fair, but when he came to 30 Years of Age, it all turn'd grey. He was always modeſt and ſparing in his Eating, Drinking and his Dreſs. Among Strangers he was affable, and Pleaſant among his Domeſticks, yet with Modeſty and an eaſy Gravity. He was ſo ſtrict in Religious Matters, that for Faſting and ſaying all the Divine Office he might be thought profeſt in ſome Religious Order. So great was his Averſion to Swearing and Curſing, that I Proteſt I never heard him ſwear any other Oath, but by *S. Ferdinand*; and when in the greateſt Paſſion with any body, he would vent his Spleen by ſaying, *God take you for doing or ſaying ſo.* When he was to write, his way of trying his Pen was by writing theſe words, *Jeſus cum Maria ſit nobis in via*, and that in ſuch a Character, as might very well ſerve to get his Bread. But paſſing by other Particulars of his Actions and Manners, which may be mention'd at their proper time in the Courſe of this Hiſtory; let us proceed to give an Account to what Science he moſt addicted himſelf. In his tender years he apply'd himſelf ſo much to ſtudy at *Pavia*, as was ſufficient to underſtand Coſmography; to which ſort of reading he was much addicted, for which reaſon he alſo apply'd himſelf to Aſtrology and Geometry, becauſe theſe Sciences are ſo link'd together, that the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other, and becauſe *Ptolemy* in the beginning of his Coſmography, ſays, That no Man can be a good Coſmographer unleſs he be a Painter too; therefore he learn'd to draw, in order to deſcribe Lands, and ſet down Coſmographical Bodies, Plains or Rounds.

CHAP. IV.

How the Admiral employ'd himſelf before he came into Spain.

Teſtimonies out of Columbus's own Writings.

THE Admiral having gain'd ſome inſight in Sciences, began to apply himſelf to the Sea, and made ſome Voyages to the Eaſt and Weſt; of which and many other things of thoſe his firſt days, I have no perfect Knowledge, becauſe he died at ſuch time as I being confin'd by filial Duty, had not the boldneſs to ask him to give an Account of things; or to ſpeak the truth, being but young, I was at that time far from being troubled with ſuch thoughts. But in a Letter writ by him in the Year 1501, to their Catholick Majeſties, to whom he durſt not have writ any thing but the truth; he has theſe following words.

Moſt Serene Princes, 'I went to Sea very 'young, and have continued it to this day; 'and this Art inclines thoſe that follow it, to 'be deſirous to diſcover the Secrets of this 'World; it is now forty Years that I have 'been Sailing to all thoſe parts, at preſent fre-'quented; and I have Deal and Con-

'verſed

Columbus. ‘ verſed with wiſe People, as well Clergy ‘ as Laity, *Latins*, *Greeks*, *Indians* and ‘ *Moors*, and many others of other Sects; ‘ and our Lord has been favourable to this ‘ my Inclination, and I have received of ‘ him the Spirit of underſtanding: He has ‘ made me very skilfull in Navigation, ‘ knowing enough in Aſtrology, and ſo in ‘ Geometry and Arithmetick. God hath ‘ given me a Genius and hands apt to ‘ draw this Globe, and on it the Cities, Ri- ‘ vers, Iſlands and Ports, all in their pro- ‘ per Places. During this time I have ſeen, ‘ and endeavoured to ſee, all Books of Coſ- ‘ mography, Hiſtory and Philoſophy, and ‘ of other Sciences; ſo that our Lord has ‘ ſenſibly opened my underſtanding, to the ‘ end I may Sail from hence to the *Indies*, ‘ and made me moſt willing to put this in ‘ execution. Fill'd with this deſire, I came ‘ to your Highneſſes. All that heard of my ‘ undertaking, rejected it with contempt ‘ and ſcorn. In your Highneſſes alone, ‘ Faith and Conſtancy had their Seat '. In another Letter written from *Hiſpaniola*, in *January* 1495, to their Catholick Majeſties, telling them the Errors and Miſtakes commonly made in Voyages and Piloting; he ſays thus, ‘ It happened to me that King ‘ *Renee*, whom God has taken to himſelf, ‘ ſent to me to *Tunis* to take the Galeaſſe ‘ call'd *Fernandina*; and being near to the ‘ Iſland of *St. Peter* by *Sardinia*, I was told ‘ there were two Ships and a Barack with ‘ the ſaid Galeaſſe, which diſcompos'd ‘ my Men, and they reſolved to go no fur- ‘ ther, but to return to *Marſeilles* for ano- ‘ ther Ship and more Men; and I perceiving ‘ there was no going againſt their Wills, ‘ without ſome contrivance, yielded to their ‘ deſires, and changing the point of the ‘ Needle, ſet ſail when it was late, and next ‘ morning at break of day, we found our ‘ ſelves near Cape *Cartegna*, all aboard think- ‘ ing we had certainly been ſailing for *Mar- ‘ ſeilles* '. In the ſame manner in a *Memo- randum*, or Obſervation he made to ſhow, that all the five Zones are Habitable, and proving it by Experience in Navigation, he ſays, ‘ In *February* 1467, I ſail'd my ſelf an Hun- ‘ dred Leagues beyond *Thule*, *Iſeland*, ‘ whoſe Northern part is 73 degrees diſtant ‘ from the Equinoctial, and not 63 degrees ‘ as ſome will have it to be; nor does it lie ‘ upon the Line where *Ptolemy*'s Weſt begins, ‘ but much more to the Weſtward; and to ‘ this Iſland which is as big as *England*, the ‘ *Engliſh* Trade, eſpecially from *Briſtol*. At ‘ the time when I was there, the Sea was ‘ not Frozen, but the Tides were ſo great, ‘ that in ſome Places it ſwell'd 26 Fathoms, ‘ and fell as much '. The Truth is, That the *Thule Ptolemy* ſpeaks of, lies where he ſays, and this by the Moderns is call'd *Frize- land*. And then to prove that the Equino- ctial or Land under it is Habitable, he ſays, ‘ I was in the Fort of St. *George de la Mina* ‘ belonging to the King of *Portugal*, which ‘ lies under the Equinoctial, and I am a ‘ Witneſs that 'tis not Inhabitable, as ſome ‘ would have it '. And in his Book of his firſt Voyage, he ſays, ‘ He ſaw ſome Mer- ‘ maids on the Coaſt of *Meneguета*, but that ‘ they are not ſo like Ladies, as they are ‘ painted '. And in another Place he ſays, ‘ I obſerved ſeveral times in Sailing ‘ from *Lisbon* to *Guinea*, that a degree on ‘ the Earth, anſwers to 56 Miles and two ‘ Thirds '. And farther he adds, ‘ That ‘ in *Scio*, an Iſland of the *Archipelago*, he ‘ ſaw Maſtick drawn from ſome Trees '. In another Place he ſays, ‘ I was upon the Sea ‘ 23 Years, without being off it any time ‘ worth the ſpeaking of; and I ſaw all the ‘ Eaſt and all the Weſt, and may ſay towards ‘ the North, or *England*, and have been at ‘ *Guinea*; yet I never ſaw Harbours for ‘ goodneſs, like thoſe of the *Weſt-Indies* '. And a little farther he ſays, ‘ That he took ‘ to the Sea at 14 Years of Age, and ‘ ever after follow'd it '. And in the Book of the ſecond Voyage, he ſays, ' I had got ‘ two Ships, and left one of them at *Porto* ‘ *Santo*, for a certain reaſon that oc- ‘ curr'd to me, where ſhe continued one ‘ day, and the next day after I join'd it at ‘ *Lisbon*, becauſe I light of a Storm and ‘ contrary Winds at South Weſt, and ſhe ‘ had but little Wind at North Eaſt, which ‘ was contrary '. So that from theſe In- ſtances we may gather, how much Experi- ence he had in Sea Affairs, and how many Countries and Places he Travel'd before he undertook his Diſcovery.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. V.

The Admiral's coming into Spain, *and how he made himself known in* Portugal, *which was the cause of his discovering the* West-Indies.

Another Columbus.

AS concerning the cause of the Admiral's coming into *Spain*, and his being addicted to Sea Affairs, the occasion of it was a famous Man, of his Name and Family, call'd *Columbus*, renown'd upon the Sea, on Account of the Fleet he commanded against Infidels, and even in his own Country, insomuch that they made use of his Name to frighten the Children in the Cradle; whose Person and Fleet, it is likely were very considerable, because he at once took four *Venetian* Galleys, whose bigness and strength I should not have believ'd, had I not seen them fitted out. This Man was call'd *Columbus the Young*, to distinguish him from another, who was a great Seaman before him. Of which *Columbus the Younger*, *Marc Antony Sabellicus*, the *Livy* of our Age, says in the eighth Book of his tenth Decade, That he lived near the time when *Maximilian*, Son to the Emperor *Frederick* the 3d. was chosen King of the *Romans*: *Jerome Donato* was sent Embassador from *Venice* into *Portugal*, to return thanks in the name of the Republick to King *John* the 2d, because he had cloathed and relieved all the Crew belonging to the aforesaid great Galleys, which were coming from *Flanders*, relieving them in such a manner, as they were enabled to return to *Venice*, they having been overcome by the Famous Corsair *Columbus the Younger*, near *Lisbon*, who had strip'd and turn'd them ashoar. Which Authority of so Grave an Author as *Sabellicus*, may make us sensible of the aforemention'd *Justiniani*'s Malice, since in his History he made no mention of this Particular, to the end it might not appear, that the Family of *Columbus* was less Obscure than he would make it. And if he did it thro' ignorance, he is nevertheless to blame; for undertaking to write the History of his Country, and omitting so remarkable a Victory, of which its Enemies themselves make mention. For the Historian, our Adversary, makes so great Account of his Victory, that he says, Ambassadors were sent on that Account to the King of *Portugal*. Which same Author in the aforementioned eighth Book, somewhat further, as one less obliged to inquire into the Admiral's Discovery, makes mention of it, without adding those twelve lyes which *Justiniani* inserted. But to return to the matter in hand, I say, That whilst the Admiral sail'd with the aforesaid *Columbus the Younger*, which was a long time; it fell out that understanding the beforementioned four great *Venetian* Galleys were coming from *Flanders*, they went out to seek, and found them beyond *Lisbon*, about Cape *St. Vincent*, which is in *Portugal*; where falling to blows, they fought furiously, and grappled, beating one another from Vessel to Vessel with the utmost rage, making use, not only of their Weapons, but Artificial Fire-works; so that after they had fought from Morning till Evening, and abundance were kill'd on both sides; the Admiral's Ship took fire, as did a great *Venetian* Galley, which being fast grappled together with Iron Hooks and Chains, used to this purpose by Sea faring Men, could neither of them be relieved, because of the confusion there was among them, and the fright of the fire, which in a short time was so increased, that there was no other remedy, but for all that could, to leap into the Water, so to die sooner, rather than bear the torture of the fire. But the Admiral being an excellent swimmer, and seeing himself two Leagues or a little further from Land, laying hold of an Oar, which good Fortune offered him, and sometimes resting upon it, sometimes swimming, it pleased God, who had preserved him for greater ends, to give him strength to get to shoar; but so tired and spent with the Water, that he had much ado to recover himself. And because it was not far from *Lisbon*, where he knew there were many *Genoeses* his Countrymen, he went away thither as fast as he could, where being known by them he was so courteously received and entertain'd that he set up House and Marry'd a Wife in that City. And for as much as he behav'd himself honourably, and was a Man of a Comely Presence, and did nothing but what was just; it happened that a Lady whose name was *Donna Felipa Moniz*, of a good Family and Pensioner in the Monastery of all Saints, whither the Admiral used to go to Mass, was so taken with him, that she became his Wife. His Father-in-Law *Peter Moniz Perestrello*, being dead, they went to live with the Mother-in-Law, where being together, and she seeing him so much addicted to Cosmography, told him that her Husband *Perestrello* had been a great Sea faring Man, and that he with two other Captains, having obtained the King of *Portugal*'s leave, went to make discoveries

The Admiral serves under him.

Comes to Lisbon and Marries.

coveries, upon Condition, that dividing what they found into three parts, they were to caſt Lots who ſhould chooſe firſt. Being thus agreed, they ſail'd away to the South Weſt, and arriv'd at the Iſland of *Madera* and *Porto Santo*, Places never before diſcovered. And becauſe the Iſland of *Madera* was biggeſt; they divided it into two Parts, the Iſland of *Porto Santo*, being the 3d which fell to the Lot of the ſaid *Pereſtrello*, *Columbus*'s Father-in-Law, who had the Government of it till he died. *Columbus.*

The Admiral being much delighted to hear ſuch Voyages and Relations, his Mother-in-Law gave him the Journals and Sea Charts left her by her Husband, which ſtill more inflam'd the Admiral; and he enquired into the other Voyages the *Portugueſes* then made to *St. George de la Mira*, and along the Coaſt of *Guinea*, being much pleaſed to diſcourſe with thoſe that had ſailed thither. To ſay the Truth, I can not certainly tell whether whilſt this Wife lived, the Admiral went to *Mira* or *Guinea*, as I ſaid above, the reaſon ſeems to require it. However it was, as one thing leads to another, and one conſideration to another, ſo whilſt he was in *Portugal*, he began to reflect, that as the *Portugueſes* Travel ſo far Southward, it were no leſs proper to ſail away Weſtward, and Land might in reaſon be found that way. That he might be the more certain and confident in this Particular, he began to look over all the Coſmographers again, whom he had read before, and to obſerve what Aſtrological Reaſons would corroborate this Project; and therefore he took notice of what any Perſons whatſoever ſpoke to that purpoſe, and of Sailers particularly, which might any way be a help to him. Of all which things he made ſuch good uſe, that he concluded for certain, that there were many Lands Weſt of the *Canary* Iſlands, and *Cabo Verde*; and that it was poſſible to ſail to, and diſcover them. But that it may appear from what mean Arguments he came to deduce, or make out ſo vaſt an undertaking, and to ſatisfy many who are deſirous to know particularly, what Motives induc'd him to Diſcover theſe Countries, and expoſe himſelf in ſo dangerous an undertaking, I will here ſet down what I have found in his Papers relating to this Affair. *The Admiral ſerves under him.*

CHAP. VI.

The Principal Motives that inclin'd the Admiral to believe he might diſcover the Weſt-Indies.

BEING about to deliver the Motives that inclin'd the Admiral to undertake the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, I ſay they were three, *viz.* Natural Reaſon, Authority of Writers, and the Teſtimony of Sailers. As to the firſt, which is Natural Reaſon, I ſay, he concluded that all the Sea and Land compos'd a Sphere or Globe; which might be gone about from Eaſt to Weſt, Traveling round it, till Men came to ſtand feet to feet one againſt another in any oppoſite Parts whatſoever. Secondly, he gave it for granted, and was ſatisfied by the Authority of approved Authors, that a great part of this Globe had been already Travelled over, and that there then only remained to diſcover the whole, and make it known, that Space which lay between the Eaſtern bounds of *India*, known to *Ptolemy* and *Marinus*, round about Eaſtward, till they came thro' our Weſtern Parts to the Iſlands *Azores*, and of *Cabo Verde* the moſt Weſtern Parts yet Diſcovered. Thirdly, He conſidered, that this Space lying between the Eaſtern limits known to *Marinus*, and the aforeſaid Iſland of *Cabo Verde*, could not be above a third part of the great Circumference of the Globe, ſince the ſaid *Marinus* was already gone 15 Hours, or 24 Parts into which the World is divided towards the Eaſt; and therefore to return to the ſaid Iſles of *Cabo Verde*, there wanted about eight Parts; for the ſaid *Marinus* is ſaid to have begun his Diſcovery towards the Weſt. Fourthly he reckoned, that ſince *Marinus* had in his ſaid Coſmography, given an Account of 15 Hours, or Parts of the Globe towards the Eaſt, and yet was not come to the end of the Eaſtern Land, it followed of courſe, that the ſaid end muſt be much beyond that; and conſequently, the farther it extended Eaſtward, the nearer of it came to the Iſlands *Cabo Verde*, towards our Weſtern Parts; and that if ſuch ſpace were Sea, it might eaſily be ſail'd in a few days, and if Land, it would be ſooner diſcovered by the Weſt, becauſe it would be nearer to the ſaid Iſlands. To which reaſon may be added, That given by *Strabo* in the 15th Book of his Coſmography, that no Man with an Army ever went ſo far as the Eaſtern Bounds of *India*, which *Cteſias* writes *Three reaſons for the Diſcovery.* *Arguments from reaſon.*

Columbus.

writes is as big as all the rest of *Asia*; *Onesicritus* affirms, it is the third part of the Globe; and *Nearchus*, that it is four Months Journey in a strait Line; besides that, *Pliny* in the 17th Chapter of his 6th Book, says, That *India* is the third part of the Earth: Whence he argu'd, that being so large, it must be nearer *Spain* by way of West. The 5th Argument that induced him to believe, that the distance that way was small, he took from the Opinion of *Alfragranus* and his followers, who make the Circumference of the Globe, much less than all other Writers and Cosmographers, allowing but 56 Miles and two Thirds to a Degree. Whence he would infer, that the whole Globe being small, that extent of the third Part must of necessity be small, which *Marinus* left as unknown; therefore that Part might be sail'd in less time than he assign'd; for since the Eastern bounds of *India* were not yet discovered, those bounds must lie near to us Westward, and therefore the Lands he should discover, might properly be call'd *Indies*. By this it plainly appears, how much one Mr. *Roderick*, Arch-Deacon of *Seville*, was in the wrong as well as his Followers, who blame the Admiral; saying, He ought not to have call'd those Parts *Indies*, because they are not so, whereas the Admiral did not call them *Indies*, because they had been seen or discover'd by any other Person, but as being the Eastern Part of *India* beyond *Ganges*, to which no Cosmographer ever assign'd bounds, or made it border on any other Country Eastward, but only upon the Ocean; and because these were the Eastern unknown Lands of *India*, and have no particular name of their own; therefore he gave them the name of the nearest Country, calling them *West-Indies*, and the more because he knew all Men were sensible of the Riches and Wealth of *India*; and therefore by that name he thought to tempt their Catholick Majesties, who were doubtful of his undertaking, telling them he went to discover the *Indies* by way of the West. And this mov'd him rather to desire to be employed by the King of *Castile*, than by any other Prince.

Why call'd Indies.

CHAP. VII.

The second Motive inducing the Admiral to discover the West-Indies.

A second Motive from Authors.

THE second Motive that encouraged the Admiral to undertake the aforesaid Enterprise, and which might reasonably give occasion to call the Countries he should so Discover *Indies*, was the great Authority of Learned Men, who said that it was possible to sail from the Western Coast of *Africk* and *Spain*, Westward to the Eastern bounds of *India*, and that it was no great Sea that lay between them, as *Aristotle* affirms, at the end of his 2d Book of Heaven and the World; where he says, That they may sail from *India* to *Cadiz* in a few days. Which some think *Averroes* proves, writing upon that Place. And *Seneca* in his first Book of Nature, looking upon the Knowledge of this World, as nothing in respect of what is attain'd in the next life; says, a Ship may sail in a few days with a fair Wind from the Coast of *Spain*, to that of *India*. And if as some would have it, this same *Seneca* writ the Tragedies; we may conclude it was to the same Purpose, that in the Chorus of his Medea, he speaks thus;

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat tellus, Typhysque novos
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

That is, There will come an Age in later Years, when the Ocean will loose the bonds of things, and a great Country be discovered, and another like *Typhys* shall discover a new World, and *Thule* shall no longer be the last Part of the Earth. Which is now most certain has been fulfill'd in the Person of the Admiral. And *Strabo* in the first Book of his Cosmography, says, the Ocean encompasses all the Earth; that in the East, it washes the Coast of *India*, and in the West, those of *Mauritania* and *Spain*, and that if the vastness of the Atlantick did not hinder, but they might soon sail from the one to the other upon the same Parallel. The same he repeats in the second Book. *Pliny* in the second Book of his Natural History, *Chap.* III. adds, That the Ocean surrounds

Columbus. surrounds all the Earth, and that the extent of it from East to West, is from *India* to *Cadiz*. The same Author, Book the 6th. *Chap.* 31, and *Solinus*, *Chap.* 68, of the remarkable things in the World, say, That from the Islands *Gorgones*, supposed to be those of *Cabo Verde*, was forty days sail on the Atlantick Ocean, to the Islands *Hesperides*, which the Admiral concluded were those of the *West-Indies*, *Marcus Polus Venetus*, and *John Mandeville* in their Travels say, They went much farther Eastward, than *Ptolemy* and *Marinus* mention, who perhaps do not speak of the Eastern Sea; yet by the Account they give of the East, it may be argued, That the said *India* is not far distant from *Africk* and *Spain*. *Peter Aliacus* in his Treatise, *De imagine mundi*, Chap. 8. *De quantitate terræ habitabilis, & Julius Capitolinus, de locis habitabilibus*; and in several other Treatises, say, That *Spain* and *India* are Neighbours Westward. And in the 19th Chapter of his Cosmography, he has these Words; according to the Philosophers and *Pliny*, the Ocean that stretches between the Western borders of *Spain* and *Africk*, and from the beginning of *India* Eastward, is of no great Extent, and there is no doubt but it may be sail'd over in a few days, with a fair Wind, and therefore the beginning of *India* Eastward, can not be far distant from the end of *Africk* Westward. These and the like Authorities of such Writers, inclined the Admiral to believe that the Opinion he had conceived was right, and one Mr. *Paul* Physician to Mr. *Dominick* of *Florence*, Contemporary with the Admiral, much encouraged him to undertake the said Voyage. For this Mr. *Paul* being a Friend to one *Ferdinand Martinez*, a Canon of *Lisbon*, and they writing to one another concerning the Voyages made in the time of King *Alphonso* of *Portugal* to *Guinea*, and concerning what might be made Westward; the Admiral who was most curious in these affairs, got Knowledge of it, and soon by the means of *Laurence Girardi, a Florentine* residing at *Lisbon*, writ upon this Subject to the said Mr. *Paul*, sending him a small Sphere, and acquainting him with his design. Mr. *Paul* sent his Answer in *Latin*, which in *English* is thus.

CHAP. VIII.

A Letter from Paul, *a Physician of* Florence, *to the Admiral, concerning the Discovery of the* Indies.

To *Christopher Columbus*, *Paul* the Physician wishes Health.

I Perceive your Noble and Earnest desire to sail to those Parts where the Spice is produced; and therefore in Answer to a Letter of yours, I send you another Letter, which some days since I writ to a Friend of mine, and Servant to the King of Portugal, *before the Wars of* Castile, *in Answer to another he writ to me by his Highnesses order, upon this same Account, and I send you another Sea Chart like that I sent him, which will satisfy your demands. The Copy of that Letter is this.*

To *Ferdinand Martinez* Canon of *Lisbon*, *Paul* the Physician wishes Health.

A Letter concerning the discovery Westward. *I Am very glad to hear of the familiarity you have with your most Serene and Magnificent King, and though I have very often discoursed concerning the short way there is from hence to the* Indies, *where the Spice is produced, by Sea, which I look upon to be shorter than that you take by the Coast of* Guinea; *yet you now tell me, that his Highness would have me make out and demonstrate it, so as it may be understood and put in Practice. Therefore, tho' I could better show it him with a Globe in my hand, and make him sensible of the Figure of the World; yet I have resolved to render it more easie and intelligible, to show this way upon a Chart, such as are used in Navigation; and therefore I send one to his Majesty, made and drawn with my own hand, wherein is set down the utmost bounds of the West from* Ireland, *in the North, to the furthest part of* Guinea, *with all the Islands that lie in the way: opposite to which Western Coast is described the beginning of the* Indies, *with the Islands and Places whither you may go, and how far you may bend from the North Pole towards the Equinoctial, and for how long a time; that is, how many Leagues you may sail before you come to those Places most fruitful in all sorts of Spice, Jewels and Precious Stones. Do not wonder if I term that Country where the Spice grows West, that product being generally ascrib'd to the East, because those who shall Sail Westward, will always find those Places in the West; and they that Travel by Land Eastward, will ever find those places in the East. The strait Lines that lie lengthways in the Chart, show the distance*

there

Columbus. *there is from West to East, the other cross them, from the distance from North to South. I have also mark'd down in the said Chart, several Places in* India, *where Ships might put in upon any Storm or contrary Winds, or any other accident unforeseen. And moreover, to give you full information of all those Places, which you are very desirous to know; you must understand, that none but Traders live or reside in all these Islands, and that there is there as great a Number of Ships and Sea-faring People with Merchandice, as in any other part of the World, particularly in a most noble Port call'd* Zaeton, *where there are every Year an Hundred large Ships of Pepper loaded and unloaded, besides many other Ships that take in other Spice. This Country is mighty Populous, and there are many Provinces and Kingdoms, and innumerable Cities under the Dominion of a Prince call'd the* Great Cham, *which Name signifies King of Kings, who for the most part Resides in the Province of* Cathay. *His Predecessors were very desirous to have Commerce, and be in Amity with Christians; and 200 Years since, sent Embassadors to the Pope, desiring him to send them many Learned Men and Doctors to teach them our Faith; but by reason of some Obstacles the Embassadors met with, they returned back without coming to* Rome. *Besides there came an Embassador to Pope* Eugenius *IV. who told him the great Friendship there was between those Princes, their People and Christians. I discours'd with him a long while upon the several Matters of the Grandeur of their Royal Structures, and of the Greatness, Length and Breadth of their Rivers, and he told me many wonderful things of the multitude of Towns and Cities founded along the banks of the Rivers, and that there were 200 Cities upon one only River, with Marble Bridges over it of a great Length and Breadth, and adorn'd with abundance of Pillars. This Country deserves as well as any other, to be discover'd; and there may not only be great Profit made there, and many things of Value found, but also Gold, Silver, all sorts of Precious Stones, and Spices in abundance, which are not brought into our Parts. And it is certain that many wise Men, Philosophers, Astrologers, and other Persons skill'd in all Arts and very Ingenious, Govern that mighty Province, and Command their Armies. From* Lisbon *directly Westward, there are in the Chart 26 Spaces, each of which contains 250 Miles, to the most noble and vast City of* Quisay, *which is 100 Miles in Compass, that is 35 Leagues; in it there are 10 Marble Bridges: The name signifies a Heavenly City, of which wonderfull things are reported, as to the ingenuity of the People, the Buildings and Revenues. This Space above mentioned, is almost the third part of the Globe. This City is in the Province of* Mango, *bordering on that of* Cathay, *where the King for the most part Resides. From the Island* Antilia, *which you call the seven Cities, and whereof you have some Knowledge, to the most noble Island of* Cipango, *are ten Spaces, which make 2500 Miles, or 225 Leagues, which Island abounds in Gold, Pearls, and Precious Stones: and you must understand, they cover their Temples and Palaces with Plates of pure Gold. So that for want of knowing the way, all these things are hidden and conceal'd, and yet may be gone to with safety. Much more might be said, but having told you what is most Material, and you being Wise and Judicious, I am satisfied there is nothing of it, but what you understand, and therefore I will not be more Prolix. Thus much may serve to satisfie your Curiosity, it being as much as the shortness of time and my Business would permit me to say. So I remain most ready to satisfie and serve his Highness to the utmost, in all the Commands he shall lay upon me.*

Florence, June 25.
1474

After this Letter, he again writ to the Admiral as follows;

To *Christopher Columbus*, *Paul* the Pyhsician wishes Health.

Another Letter to the Admiral.

I Received your Letters with the things you sent me, which I take as a great Favour, and commend your noble and ardent desire of Sailing from East to West, as it is mark'd out in the Chart I sent you, which would demonstrate it self better in the Form of a Globe. I am glad it is well understood, and that the Voyage laid down is not only possible, but true, certain, honourable, very advantageous, and most glorious among all Christians. You cannot be perfect in the knowledge of it, but by Experience and Practice, as I have had in great Measure, and by the solid and true Information of Worthy and Wise Men, who are come from those Parts to this Court of Rome, and from Merchants who have Traded long in those P[illegible] and are Persons of good R[illegible]. So that when the said Voyage is [illegible], it will be to Powerful Kingdoms, [illegible] most noble Cities and Provinces, Rich[illegible] abounding in all things we stand in need of, particularly in all sorts of Spice in great quantities, and store of Jewels. This will moreover be Grateful to those Kings and Princes, who are very desirous to Converse and Trade with Christians of these our Countries, whether it be for some of them to become Christians, or else to have Communication with the Wise and Ingenious Men of these Parts, as well in point of Religion, as in

Columbus. *in all Sciences, becauſe of the extraordinary Account they have of the Kingdoms and Government of theſe Parts. For which reaſons and many more that might be alledg'd, I do not at all admire, that you who have a great Heart, and all the* Portugueſe *Nation, which has ever had notable Men in all undertakings, be eagerly bent upon performing this Voyage.*

This Letter, as was ſaid before, encourag'd the Admiral much to go upon his Diſcovery, tho' what the Doctor there writ was falſe, as believing that the firſt Land they ſhould meet with, would be *Cathay*, and the Empire of the *Great Cham*, with the reſt he there relates; ſince as Experience has made appear, the diſtance from our *Indies* to that, is greater than from hence to our *Indies*

CHAP. IX.

The third Motive and Inducement, which in ſome meaſure excited the Admiral to Diſcover the Weſt-Indies.

A third Motive from the love of ſeeing ſome Land, before unheard of.

THE third and laſt Motive the Admiral had to undertake the Diſcovery of the *Weſt-Indies*, was the hopes of finding, before he came to *India*, ſome very beneficial Iſland or Continent, from whence he might the better purſue his main deſign. This his Hope was grounded upon the Authority of many Wiſe Men and Philoſophers, who look'd upon it as moſt certain, that the greateſt part of this Terraqueous Globe was Land, or that there was more Earth than Sea; which if ſo, he argued, that between the Coaſt of *Spain* and the bounds of *India* then known, there muſt be many Iſlands, and much Continent, as experience has ſince demonſtrated, which he the more readily believed, being impos'd upon by many Fables and Stories, which he heard told by ſeveral Perſons and Sailers, who Traded to the Iſlands and Weſtern Sea, and to *Madera*; which Teſtimonies making ſomewhat to his purpoſe, they were ſure to gain a Place in his Memory. Therefore I will not forbear relating them, to ſatisfy thoſe that take delight in ſuch Curioſities. It is therefore requiſite to be underſtood, That a Pilot of the King of *Portugal*, whoſe Name was *Martin Vicente*, told him, that he being once 450 Leagues Weſtward of Cape *S. Vincent*, found and took up in the Sea, a piece of Wood ingeniouſly wrought, but not with Iron; by which, and the Winds having been Weſt for many days, he gueſſed that piece of Wood came from ſome Iſland that way. Next one *Peter Correa*, who had Married the Admiral's Wife's Siſter, told him, That in the Iſland of *Porto Santo* he had ſeen another piece of Wood brought by the ſame Winds, well wrought, as that above mentioned; and that there had been Canes found ſo thick, that every joint would hold above four quarts of Wine. Which he ſaid he affirm'd, the King of *Portugal* himſelf diſcourſing with him about theſe Affairs, and that they were ſhown him, and there being no Place in our Parts, where ſuch Canes grow, he look'd upon it as certain, that the Wind had brought them from ſome Neighbouring Iſlands, or elſe from *India*. For *Ptolemy* in the firſt Book of his Coſmography, *Chap.* 17. ſays, There are ſuch Canes in the Eaſtern Parts of *India*: And ſome of the Iſlanders, particularly the *Azores* told him, That when the Weſt Wind blew long together, the Sea drove ſome Pines upon thoſe Iſlands, particularly upon *Gratioſa* and *Fayal*, there being no ſuch in all thoſe Parts. And that the Sea caſt upon this Iſland of *Flores*, another of the *Azores*, two dead Bodies of Men, very broad faced, and differing in Aſpect from the Chriſtians. At Cape *Verga* and thereabouts, they ſay, they once ſaw ſome cover'd *Almadies* or Boats, which it is believed were drove that way by ſtreſs of Weather, as they were going over from one Iſland to another. Nor were theſe only the Motives he then had, which yet ſeem'd reaſonable; but there were thoſe that told him they had ſeen ſome Iſlands, among whom was *Anthony Leme*, married in the Iſland of *Madera*, who told him, that having made a conſiderable run in a Caraval of his own Weſtward, he had ſeen three Iſlands. Theſe he did not give Credit to, becauſe he found by their own words and diſcourſe, that they had not ſail'd 100 Leagues to the Weſtward, and that they had been deceived by ſome Rocks, taking them for Iſlands; or elſe Perhaps they were ſome of thoſe floating Iſlands that are carried about by the Water, call'd by the Sailers *Aguada*, whereof *Pliny* makes mention, the firſt Book, *Chap.* 97. of his Natural Hiſtory, where he ſays, That in the Northern Parts the Sea diſcover'd ſome ſpots of Land, on which there are Trees of deep Roots, which parcels of Land are carried

Another Letter to the Admiral.

Floating Iſlands.

about like Floats, or Islands upon the Water. *Seneca* undertaking to give a Natural Reason why there are such sort of Islands; says in his 3d Book, that it is the Nature of certain spungy and light Rocks, so that the Islands made of them in *India*, swim upon the Water. So that were it never so true, that the said *Anthony Leme* had seen some Island, the Admiral was of opinion, it could be no other than one of them, such as those call'd of *St. Brandam* are supposed to be, where many wonders are reported to have been seen. There is also an Account of others that lie much Northward, and always burn. *Juventius Fortunatus* Relates, That there is an Account of two Islands towards the West, and more Southward than those of *Cabo Verde*, which swim along upon the Water. These and the like grounds might move several People of the Islands of *Ferro*, and *la Gomera*, as also of the *Azores*, to affirm that they saw Islands towards the West every Year, which they look'd upon as most certain, and many Persons of Reputation swore it was true. He says moreover, That in the Year 1484, there came into *Portugal*, one from the Island of *Madera* to beg a Caraval of the King to go to discover a Country, which he swore he saw every Year, and always after the self-same manner, agreeing with others, who said they had seen it from the Islands *Azores*. On which Grounds in the Charts and Maps formerly made, they placed some Islands thereabouts; and particularly because *Aristotle* in his Book of wonderful Natural things, affirms, it was reported that some *Carthaginian* Merchants had sail'd through the Atlantick Sea, to a most fruitful Island, as we shall declare more at large hereafter, which Island some *Portugueses* inserted in their Maps, calling it *Antilla*, tho' they did not agree in the Situation with *Aristotle*, yet none placed it above 200 Leagues due West from the *Canaries* and *Azores*, which they conclude to be certainly the Island of the seven Cities, Peopled by *Portugueses* at the time that *Spain* was Conquer'd by the *Moors* in the Year 714. At which time they say, seven Bishops with their People Embark'd, and Sail'd to this Island, where each of them built a City, and to the end, none of their People might think of returning to *Spain*; they burnt the Ships, Tackle and all things necessary for Sailing. Some *Portugueses* discoursing about this Island, there were those that affirm'd, several *Portugueses* had gone to it, who could not find the way to it again. Particularly they say, that in the time of *Henry Infant of Portugal*, a *Portuguese* Ship was drove by stress of Weather to this Island *Antilla*, where the Men went ashoar, and were led by the Islanders to their Church, to see whether they were Christians, and observed the *Roman* Ceremonies, and perceiving they did, they desired them not to depart till their Lord came, who was then absent, would make very much of them, and give them many Presents, and to whom they would presently send advice; but the Master and Seamen, were afraid of being detain'd, suspecting those People had not a mind to be discovered, and might therefore burn their Ship, and for that reason they sail'd back to *Portugal*, hoping to be rewarded for what they had done by the *Infante*. He reprov'd them severely, and bid them return quickly; but the Master for fear, run away from *Portugal* with the Ship and Men: and it is reported, that whilst the Seamen were at Church in the said Island, the Boys of the Ship gathered Sand for the Cook-room, the third part whereof they found to be pure Gold. Among others that set out to discover this Island, was one *James de Fiene*, whose Pilot *Peter Velasquez*, of the Town of *Palos de Moguer*, told the Admiral in the Monastery of *St. Mary de la Rabida*, that they set out from *Fayal*, and sailed above 150 Leagues South-West, and in their return discovered the Island *Flores*, being led to it by abundance of Birds they saw fly that way, because those being Land and not Sea-Fowls, they judged they could not rest but upon Land: After which they sailed so far North East, till they came to Cape *Clare*, in the West of *Ireland*, where they met with stiff Westerly Winds, and yet a smooth Sea, which they imagin'd was caused by some Land that shelter'd it towards the West. But it being then the Month of *August*, they would not turn towards the Island, for fear of Winter. This was above 40 Years before our *Indies* were discovered. This Account was confirm'd by the Relation a Mariner at Port St. *Mary* made, telling him that once making a Voyage into *Ireland*, he saw the said Land which he then thought to be part of *Tartary*, falling off towards the West, which it's like was the Land we now call *Bacallaos*, and that they could not make up to it by reason of the bad Weather. This he said agreed with what one *Peter de Velasco* of *Galicia* affirm'd to him in the City of *Murcia* in *Spain*, which was, that sailing for *Ireland*, they went away so far to North-West, that they discovered Land West of *Ireland*, which Land he believes to be the same, that one *Femaldolmos*, attempted to discover after the manner as I shall here faithfully set down as I found it in my Father's Writings, that it may appear how some Men lay the Foundation of great Mat-

Columbus.

ters

ters upon slight grounds. *Gonzalo de Oviedo Columbus do*, in his History of the *Indies*, writes, That the Admiral had a Letter, wherein he found the *Indies* describ'd, by one that had before discovered them, which was not so, but thus: *Vincent Dear, a Portuguese of Tavira*, Returning from *Guinea* to the *Tercera* Islands, and having pass'd the Island of *Madera*, which he left East of him, saw, or imagin'd he saw, an Island which he certainly concluded to be Land. Being come to the *Tercera* Island, he told it to one *Luke de Cazzana*, a *Genoese* Merchant, who was very Rich, and his Friend, perswading him to fit out some Vessel to Conquer that Place; which he was very willing to do, and obtain'd Licence for it of the King of *Portugal*. He writ therefore to his Brother *Francis de Cazzana*, who Resided at *Sevil*, to fit out a Ship with all speed for the said Pilot. But the said *Francis* making a jest of such an undertaking, *Luke de Cazzana* set out a Vessel in the *Tercera* Island, and the Pilot went out three or four times to seek the said Island, sailing from 120 to 130 Leagues, but all in vain, for he found no Land. Yet for all this, neither he nor his Partner gave over the Enterprize till Death, always hoping to find it. And the Brother aforesaid, told me and affirm'd it, that he knew two Sons of the Captain that discovered the *Tercera* Island, their names *Michael* and *Jasper Cortereal*, who went several times to discover that Land; and at last in the Year 1502, Perish'd in the Attempt, one after another, without ever being heard of, and that this was well known to many.

CHAP. X.

Proving it to be false, that the Spaniards *had formerly the Dominion of the* Indies, *as* Gonzalo de Oviedo *endeavours to make out in his History.*

A mistaken Account of a Spanish Author discovered.

IF all we have said above, concerning so many imaginary Islands and Countries, appears to be a meer Fable and Folly, how much more Reason have we to look upon that as a falshood, which *Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo* conceits in his Natural History of the *Indies*, looking upon his own imagination as a certain Truth, and saying he has fully made out, that there was another Discoverer of this Navigation of the Ocean, and that the *Spaniards* had the Dominion of those Lands, alledging to make out his Assertion, what *Aristotle* writes of the Island *Atlantis*, and *Sebosus* of the *Hesperides*. This he affirms upon the judgment of some Persons, whose Writings we have duly weigh'd and examin'd, and I would have omitted to talk on this Subject, to avoid condemning some, and tiring the Reader, had I not consider'd, that some Persons, to lessen the Admiral's Honour and Reputation, make great account of such Notions. Besides I thought I did not perform my Duty fully, by setting down with all Sincerity the Motives and Inducements that inclin'd the Admiral to undertake his unparallel'd Enterprize, if I should suffer such a Falshood, which I know to be so, to pass uncensur'd. Therefore, the better to discover his Mistake, I will in the first place, set down what *Aristotle*, as related by one *F. Theophilus de Ferrariis*, says as to this Point; which *F. Theophilus* among *Aristotle*'s Problems Collected by him, brings in a Book call'd, *De Admirandis in Natura auditis*, a Chapter with these following words: Beyond *Hercules*'s Pillars, it is reported there was formerly found an Island in the Atlantick Sea, by certain *Carthaginian* Merchants, which had never before been inhabited by any but brute Beasts. It was all Wooded and covered with Trees, had a great many Navigable Rivers, and abounded in all things Nature usually duces, tho' removed not many days sail from the Continent. It happened that some *Carthaginian* Merchants coming to it, and finding it a good Country, as well for the richness of the Soil, as temperature of the Air, they began to People it. But the Senate of *Carthage* being offended at it, soon made a Publick Decree, That for the future, no Person upon pain of Death, should go to that Island, and they that went first were put to Death; to the end that other Nations should not hear of it, and some more Powerful People take Possession of it; by which means it might become an Enemy to their Liberty. Now I have faithfully quoted this Authority, I will give the Reasons that induced me to say, That *Oviedo* has no just cause to affirm that this Island was *Hispaniola* or *Cuba*, as he asserts. In the first Place, because *Gonzalo de Oviedo* not understanding *Latin*, he of necessity took such Interpretation of this Place, as some body

body made him; who, by what we see did not well know how to Translate out of one Language into another, since he alter'd and chang'd the *Latin* Text in several Particulars, which perhaps deceiv'd *Oviedo*, and inclin'd him to believe that this Quotation spoke of some Island in the *Indies*, because we do not read in the *Latin* Text, that these People went out of the Streights of *Gibraltar*, as *Oviedo* writes; nor much less, that the Island was large, nor its Trees great, but that it was an Island much wooded. Nor is it found there, that the Rivers were wonderful; nor does it speak of its fatness, or say it was more remote from *Africk* than *Europe*, but in plain Terms, says, it was remote from the Continent: Nor does it say any Towns were built there, for Traders who happened upon it could build but little: Nor is it said to be famous, but that they were afraid its Fame would spread abroad into other Nations. So that the Expositor who interpreted this Place to him, being so ignorant, it caused *Oviedo* to imagine it to be another thing than really it was: and if he should say, that it is otherwise in *Aristotle*'s Text, and that what the Friar writes, is as it were a Compendium of what *Aristotle* writ; I must ask him who gave him Authority to bestow so many Kingdoms on whom he pleases, and to rob one of his Honour, who has gain'd it so fairly; and tell him he ought not to have been satisfied with reading that Authority as it lies in the Friar's Pamphlet, but should have seen it in the Original, that is, in *Aristotle*'s Works. Besides, That he was misinform'd in this Case, for tho' *Theophilus* in all his other Books following *Aristotle*, delivering the substance and summ of wha the says; yet he did not so in his Book *De Admirandis*, he himself owning in the beginning, that he does not in that his Book Abridge *Aristotle*, as he has done in the others; but that he there inserts all the Text word for word, and therefore it cannot be said there was either more or less in *Aristotle*, than what he set down. Add to this, That *Anthony Beccaria of Verona*, who Translated this Book out of *Greek* into *Latin*; of which Translation *Theophilus* made use, did not render it so faithfully, but that he inserted several Matters differing from the *Greek* Original, as will appear to any Man that shall observe it.

Columbus.

Atlantis *neither* Hispaniola *nor* Cuba.

In the second place I say, that tho' *Aristotle* had writ so, as *Theophilus* delivers it, yet *Aristotle* himself quotes no Author, but speaking as of a thing, for which there is no good Authority, says, *Fertur*, which implies that what he delivers concerning this Island, he writes as doubtfull and ill grounded. Besides, He writes of a thing not then new, but which had happened long before; saying, It is reported, that formerly an Island was found, and therefore it may well be said according to the Proverb, *That in great Travels there are great lyes*: Which Proverb is now verify'd, for in that Narration there are Circumstances no way agreeable to Reason, for as much as it says, That this Island abounded in all things, but had never been Inhabited, which is not consonant, nor likely, for as much as fruitfulness in Land proceeds from its beginning, cultivated by the Inhabitants, and where there are no Inhabitants, the Land is so far from producing any thing of it self, that even those things which Art produces, grow wild and useless. Nor is it more likely, that the *Carthaginians* should be displeased, because their People had found such an Island, and should put to death the discoverers; for if it was so remote from *Carthage* as the *Indies* are, it was a folly to fear that those who should come to Inhabit there would Conquer *Carthage*, unless, that as *Oviedo* affirms, the *Spaniards* possess'd those Islands before. He would further assert, That the *Carthaginians* were Prophets, and that now their Jealousie and Prophesie were fulfill'd, the Emperor taking *Tunis* or *Carthage*, with the Money brought from the *Indies*, which I am satisfied he would have said, to gain more Favour by telling such News, than he did, but that his Book was Publish'd before. So that any judicious Person may conceive it is a folly to say, that Island was never more heard of, because the *Carthaginians* quitted the Dominion of it, for fear any other Nation should take it from them, and come afterwards to destroy their Liberty; for they ought to have fear'd this much more from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*, that lay but two days sail from their City, than from *Hispaniola*, between which and them, there lay one third of the World. And if it should be objected that they apprehended the Wealth of that Country, might impower their Enemies to do them harm; I answer, they had more cause to hope, that being themselves Masters of those Riches, they might Oppose and Subdue whom they pleased, and that if they left that Island unpeopled, they left it in the Power of another to discover it; whence the same mischief might follow, which they feared. And therefore they ought rather to Fortify it and secure their Trade to it, as we know they did another time upon the like occasion; for having found the Islands which they then call'd *Cassiterides*, and now we call the *Azores*, they kept that Voyage very Private, because of the Tin they brought from thence; as *Strabo* tells us at

the latter end of the 3d Book of his Cosmography: Wherefore, Granting it were true what *Aristotle* had writ in this Fable, it might be said he meant it of the Voyage to the Islands *Azores*, which either for want of better understanding, and the great Antiquity of the Testimony, or through affection which blinds Men, *Oviedo* argues, should be understood of the *Indies* we now possess, and not of the said Islands *Azores*, or any of them. If it should be reply'd that this cannot be, because *Strabo* does not say they were the *Carthaginians* who were possest of the Islands *Azores*, but the *Phœnicians*: I Answer, That the *Carthaginians* being come from *Phœnicia* with their Queen *Dido*, therefore she and they were call'd *Phœnicians* at that time, as the Christians born in the Islands are now call'd *Spaniards*. And should it be again urg'd, that the Place of *Aristotle* which speaks of this Island, says, it had many Navigable Rivers, which is not to be found in the Islands *Azores*, but in *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*: I Answer, That if we will take notice of this Particular, they add, That there were abundance of Beasts in them, which there is not in *Cuba* or *Hispaniola* and it may well be, that in a thing of such Antiquity, there might be some Mistake in Relating that Particular, as often happens in many of these uncertain and so far distant Antiquities: Observe that neither *Cuba* nor *Hispaniola*, have any deep Navigable Rivers, as the Place quoted intimates; and that any Ships may enter the Mouths of the biggest Rivers of those Islands, but not conveniently sail up them. Besides that, as has been said, how great soever *Aristotle*'s Authority may be, the word might possibly be corrupted, and it might be writ *Navigandum*, instead of *Potandum*, which better agreed with what he treated of, commending it for Plenty of drinking Water, as well as fruitfulness in producing things to eat. This might well be verify'd of any one of the *Azores*, and with more reason, because neither *Cuba* nor *Hispaniola* lie so, as that the *Carthaginians* could be carried to them either by reason of their nearness, or by any Misfortune; for, if those who went purposely with the Admiral to discover, thought the way so long, that they would have turn'd back, how much longer must it seem to them who design'd no such tedious Voyage, and who, as soon as the time would permit, had turn'd back towards their Country. Nor does any Storm last so long, as to carry a Ship from *Cadiz* to *Hispaniola*; nor is it likely, that because they were Merchants, they should have any mind to run further from *Spain*, or *Carthage*, than the Wind oblig'd them, especially at a time when Navigation was not come to that perfection as now it is. For which reason very inconsiderable Voyages were then look'd upon as great, as appears by what we read of, *Jason*'s Voyage to *Colchos*, and that of *Ulysses*, thro' the *Mediterranean*, in which so many Years were spent; and therefore they were so famous, that the most excellent Poets have given an Account of them, because of the little Knowledge they had then of Sea Affairs, whereas it has been so improv'd of late in our Age, that there has been those, who have had the boldness to sail round the World, which has contradicted the Proverb that said, *He that goes to Cape Nam, will either return or not*, which Cape is in *Africk*, not very much distant from the *Canaries*. Besides, it is a notorious Mistake to think the Island, whither those Merchants were carried, could be either *Cuba* or *Hispaniola*, for it is well known, that with all the Knowledge we have at this present, 'tis almost impossible to come at them without meeting with any other Islands that encompass them all round. But if we would say that Land or Island, was none of the *Azores*, as has been said above, one lye ought to be grafted upon another, by alledging that it was the same Island of which *Seneca* in his 4th Book, makes mention, where he tells us, that *Thucydides* speaks of an Island call'd *Atlantica*, which in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War was all, or mostly drowned. Whereof also *Plato* makes mention in his *Timeus*. But because we have discourst too long concerning these Fables, I will proceed to the next Point, where it is said, that the *Spaniards* had entirely the Dominion of the said Islands, which Opinion is grounded upon what *Statius* and *Sebosus*, say, That certain Islands call'd *Hesperides* lay, 40 days sail West of the Islands *Gorgones*; and hence it is argu'd, that since those must of necessity be *Indies* and are call'd *Hesperides*; that name came from *Hesperus*, who was King of *Spain*, who of consequence, and the *Spaniards*, were Lords of that Country. So that rightly considering his words, he endeavours from uncertain Premises to deduce three infallible Consequences, contrary to *Seneca*'s Rule, who in his 6th Book of Nature, speaking of such like things, says it is hard to affirm any thing as sure and certain upon Grounds that are no other than Conjectures, as here *Oviedo* does; for as much as only *Sebosus* is said, to have made mention of those Islands *Hesperides*, declaring towards what part they lie, but not mentioning that they were the *Indies*, or of whom they took the Name, or by whom Conquer'd. And if *Oviedo* out of *Berosus*, affirms that *Hesperus*

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Hesperides *none of the* Indies.

was King of *Spain*; I grant it to be true but not that he gave the name to *Spain*, or *Italy*. But he like a true Hiſtorian, owning that *Beroſus* fails him in this particular, took up with *Higinus*, yet cautiouſly without mentioning in what Book or Chapter; and thus he conceals his Authority, for in ſhort, no Place is to be found where *Higinus* ſpeaks of any ſuch matter; but on the contrary in one only Book of his that is extant, Entitul'd, *De Poetica Aſtronomia*; he not only has no ſuch words, but in three ſeveral Places where he ſpeaks of theſe *Heſperides*, he ſays thus: *Hercules* is painted as Killing the Dragon that guarded the *Heſperides*. And ſomewhat further he ſays, That *Hercules* being ſent by *Euriſteus* for the Golden Apples to the *Heſperides*, and not knowing the way thither, he went to *Prometheus* on Mount *Caucaſus*, and intreated him to ſhew him the way, whence follow'd the Death of the Dragon. Now according to this we ſhall have other *Heſperides* in the Eaſt, to whom alſo *Oviedo* may ſay, *Heſperus* King of *Spain* gave his Name. *Higinus* ſays further, in the Chapter of Planets, that it appears by ſeveral Hiſtories, that the Planet *Venus* is called *Heſperus*, becauſe it ſetts ſoon after the Sun. From all which we may infer, that if we ought to make uſe of any Teſtimonies, or Quotations from Perſons us'd to relate Poetical Fables, as *Higinus* does, that very ſame which *Higinus* ſays, rather makes againſt *Oviedo* than for him; and we may ſuppoſe and affirm, they were call'd *Heſperides* from a certain Star. And as the *Greeks* for the ſame reaſon call'd *Italy*, *Heſpera*, as many write; ſo we may ſay, *Seboſus* call'd theſe Iſlands *Heſperides*, and made uſe of the ſame Conjectures, and ſome Reaſons to ſhow whereabouts they lay, which we ſaid above, mov'd the Admiral to believe for certain, that there were ſuch Iſlands Weſtward. Thus we may conclude that *Oviedo* did not only preſume to Counterfeit Authorities for what he ſaid, but that either through inadvertency, or to pleaſe him who told him theſe things, (for it is certain he did not underſtand them himſelf) he maintain'd two contradictions, the diſagreement between which were ſufficient to diſcover his Error. For if the *Carthaginians* who as he ſays, arriv'd at *Cuba* or *Hiſpaniola*, found that Country Inhabited by none but Brute Beaſts; How could it be true that the *Spaniards* had been poſſeſs'd of it long before, and that their King *Heſperus* gave it his Name? unleſs perhaps he will ſay, That ſome Deluge unpeopled it; and that afterwards ſome other *Noah* reſtored it to that condition it was diſcovered in by the Admiral: but becauſe I am quite tired with this Diſpute, and methinks the Reader is cloy'd with it, I will not dilate any more upon this Point, but follow on our Hiſtory.

CHAP. XI.

How the Admiral was diſguſted by the King of Portugal *on Account of the Diſcovery he propos'd to him.*

Propoſals made to the King of Portugal.

THE Admiral now concluding that his Opinion was excellently well grounded, he reſolved to put it in Practice, and to ſail the Weſtern Ocean in queſt of thoſe Countries. But being ſenſible that ſuch an undertaking was only fit for a Prince, who could go through with and maintain it; he reſolved to propoſe it to the King of *Portugal*, becauſe he liv'd under him. And tho' King *John* then Reigning, gave ear to the Admiral's Propoſals, yet he ſeem'd backward in imbracing them, becauſe the great trouble and expence he was at upon Account of the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the Weſtern Coaſt of *Africk* call'd *Guinea*, without any conſiderable Succeſs as yet, or being as yet able to weather the Cape of *Good Hope*, which Name ſome ſay was given it inſtead of *Agoſingue*, its proper Denomination, becauſe that was the furtheſt they hop'd to extend their Diſcoveries and Conqueſts, or as others will have it, becauſe this Cape gave them hopes of better Countries and Navigation. Be it as it will, the aforeſaid King had but little inclination to lay out more Money upon Diſcoveries; and if he gave any ear to the Admiral, it was becauſe of the excellent Reaſons he gave to prove his Opinion, which ſo far prevail'd upon him, that there remained only to grant the Admiral thoſe Terms he demanded. For the Admiral being a Man of a Noble and Generous Spirit, would Capitulate to his great Benefit, and Honour, that he might leave behind him ſuch a Reputation, and ſo conſiderable a Family, as became his great Actions and Merits. For this Reaſon the King by the Advice of one Doctor *Calzadilla*, of whom he made great Account, reſolved to ſend a Caraval privately, to attempt that which the Admiral had propoſed to him; becauſe in caſe thoſe Countries were

ſo diſcovered, he thought himſelf not oblig'd to beſtow any great Reward, which might be demanded on Account of the Diſcovery. Having thus ſpeedily equip'd a Caraval, and going out, it was to carry ſupplies to the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, he ſent it that way the Admiral had propos'd to go. But thoſe he ſent wanted the Knowledge, Conſtancy and Spirit of the Admiral: After wandring many days upon the Sea, they turn'd back to the Iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, Laughing at the undertaking, and ſaying, It was impoſſible there ſhould be any Land in thoſe Seas. This being come to the Admiral's Ear, and his Wife Dead, he took ſuch an Averſion to that City and Nation, that he reſolved to go to *Caſtile*, with a little Son he had left him by his Wife, call'd *D. James Columbus*, who inherited his Father's Eſtate. But fearing, leaſt if the King of *Caſtile* ſhould not Conſent to his Undertaking, he might be forced to propoſe it to ſome other Prince, which would take up much time, he ſent a Brother he had with him, call'd *Bartholomew Columbus*, into *England*, who tho' he was no *Latin* Scholar, was a skilfull and judicious Man in Sea Affairs, and could make Sea Charts, Globes and other Inſtruments fit for that Profeſſion, having been taught by the Admiral his Brother. *Bartholomew Columbus* being on his way for *England*, it was his fortune to fall into the hands of Pyrates, who ſtrip'd him and the reſt of his Company. For this Reaſon and being Sick and Poor in that Country, it was a long time before he could deliver his Meſſage, till having got ſome Supply by making Sea Charts, he began to make ſome Propoſals to King *Henry* the VIIth, then Reigning, to whom he preſented a Mapp of the World, on which were theſe Verſes, which I found among his Papers, and ſhall be here inſerted, rather for their Antiquity than Elegancy.

King Henry VII. of England.

Terrarum quicunque cupis feliciter oras
Noſcere, cuncta decens dotte pictura docebit,
Quando Strabo, affirmat, Ptolemæus, Plinius, atq;
Iſidorus, non una tamen ſententia quiſque.
Pingitur hic etiam nuper ſulcata carinis
Hiſpanis Zona illa, prius incognita genti,
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc eſt notiſſima multis.
Pro auctore, ſive Pictore.

And a little lower.

Janua cui patriæ eſt nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra Rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londiniis Ann. Dom. 1480, *atq; inſuper Anno.*
Octava Decimaque die cum tertia menſis
Febr. Laudes Chriſto canentur abunde.

The Senſe of the firſt Lines is to this effect. Whoſoever thou art, that deſireſt to know the Coaſts of Countries, muſt be taught by this Draught, what *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny* and *Iſidorus* aſſert, tho' not agreeing in all Points. Here is alſo ſet down, the formerly unknown Torrid Zone, now known to many. For the Author or Painter. The ſecond Verſes imply'd, That his Name was *Bartholomew Columbus* of the Red Earth, a *Genoeſe*, Publiſh'd this Work at *London*, *Anno* 1480, the 21ſt of *February*. Praiſe to God.

And becauſe it may be obſerved that he ſays, *Columbus of the Red Earth*; I muſt acquaint the Reader, that I have ſeen ſome Subſcriptions of the Admiral's, before he had that Title, where he writ *Columbus de terra rubra*. But to return to the King of *England*; I ſay, That he having ſeen the Map, and what the Admiral offer'd him, readily accepted of it, and order'd him to be ſent for. But God having reſerved it for *Caſtile*, the Admiral had at that time gone his Voyage and was return'd with Succeſs, as ſhall be ſhown it its Place.

CHAP. XII.

The Admiral's Departure from Portugal, *and the Conferences that he had with their Catholick Majeſties, King* Ferdinand, *and Queen* Iſabel *or* Elizabeth.

The Admiral goes into Spain.

I Will now forbear Relating how *Bartholomew Columbus* proceeded in *England*, and will return to the Admiral, who about the end of the Year 1484, ſtole away privately out of *Portugal*, with his Son *James*, for fear of being ſtopped by the King; for he being ſenſible how faulty they were, whom he had ſent with the Caraval, had a mind to reſtore the Admiral to his Favour, and deſired he ſhould renew the Diſcourſe of his Enterpriſe; but not being ſo diligent to put this in Execution, as the Admiral was in getting away; he loſt that good opportunity, and the Admiral got into *Caſtile* to try his Fortune, which was there to favour him. Therefore leaving his Son in

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a Monaſtery at *Palos*, call'd *la Rabida*, he preſently went away to the Catholick King's Court, which was then at *Cordova*, where being affable, and of Pleaſant Converſation, he contracted Friendſhip with ſuch Perſons, as he found moſt inclinable to his Undertaking, and fitteſt to perſwade the King to imbrace it; among whom was *Lewis de Santangel* an *Arragonian* Gentleman, Clerk of the Allowances in the King's Houſhold, a Man of great Prudence and Reputation. But becauſe the matter required to be handled with Learning, rather than empty words and favour, their Highneſſes committed it to the Prior of *Prado*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Granada*, ordering him together with ſome Coſmographers to take full information in this Affair, and report their Opinions therein. But there being few Coſmographers at that time; thoſe that were call'd together were not ſo skilful as they ought to be; nor would the Admiral ſo far explain himſelf as that he might be ſerv'd as he had been in *Portugal*, and be depriv'd of his Reward. For this Reaſon, the Anſwer they gave their Highneſſes was as various as were their Judgments and Opinions. For ſome ſaid, That ſince in ſo many Thouſand Years as had paſs'd ſince the Creation, ſo many skilful Sailers had got no Knowledge of ſuch Countries; it was not likely that the Admiral ſhould know more than all that were then, or had been before. Others, who inclin'd more to Coſmographical Reaſon, ſaid the World was ſo prodigious great, that it was incredible three Years Sail would bring him to the end of the Eaſt, whither he deſign'd his Voyage, and to Corroborate their Opinion, they brought the Authority of *Seneca*, who in one of his Works by way of Argument, ſaid, That many Wiſe Men among them diſagreed about this Queſtion, whether the Ocean were infinite, and doubted whether it could be ſail'd, and tho' it were Navigable, whether Habitable Lands would be found on the other ſide, and whether they could be gone to. They added, That of this Lower Globe of Earth and Water, only a ſmall Compaſs was Inhabited, which had remained in our Hemiſphere above Water, and that all the reſt was Sea, and not Navigable, but only near the Coaſts and Rivers. And that Wiſe Men granted it was poſſible to ſail from the Coaſt of *Spain* to the furtheſt part of the Weſt. Others of them argu'd almoſt after the ſame manner as the *Portugueſes* had done about ſailing to *Guinea*, ſaying, That if any Man ſhould ſail ſtreight away Weſtward, as the Admiral propos'd, he would not be able to return into *Spain*, becauſe of the roundneſs of the Globe, looking upon it as moſt certain, that whoſoever ſhould go out of the Hemiſphere, known to *Ptolemy*, would go down, and then it would be impoſſible to return, affirming it would be like climbing a Hill, which Ships could not do with the ſtiffeſt Gale. Tho' the Admiral ſufficiently ſolv'd all theſe Objections, yet the more Powerful his Reaſons were, the leſs they underſtood him thro' their ignorance, for when a Man grows old upon ill Principles in Mathematicks he cannot conceive the true, becauſe of the falſe Notions at firſt imprinted in his Mind. In ſhort, All of them holding to the *Spaniſh* Proverb, which, tho' it be contrary to Reaſon, commonly ſays, *Dubitat Auguſtinus*, St. *Auguſtin* queſtions it, becauſe the ſaid Saint in his 21ſt Book and 9th Chapter of the City of God, denies and looks upon it as impoſſible that there ſhould be *Antipodes*, or any going out of one Hemiſphere into the other; and further urging againſt the Admiral thoſe Fables that are current about the five Zones, and other untruths which they look'd upon as moſt certainly true, they reſolved to give Judgment againſt the Enterpriſe, as vain and impracticable; and that it became not the State and Dignity of ſuch great Princes, to be moved upon ſuch weak information. Therefore after much time ſpent upon this Subject; their Highneſſes anſwered the Admiral, That they were then taken up with many other Wars and Conqueſts, and particularly the Conqueſt of *Granada*, which they had then in hand, and therefore could not conveniently attend that new Undertaking, but that in time there would be more conveniency to Examine and Execute that which he propoſed. And to conclude, their Majeſties would not give Ear to the great Propoſals the Admiral made.

Reaſons againſt his Undertaking.

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CHAP. XIII.

How the Admiral not agreeing with the King of Caſtile, *reſolved to go elſewhere to offer his Service.*

The Admiral meets with more diſappointments.

WHilſt this was in agitation their Catholick Majeſties had not been always ſettled in one Place, becauſe of the War they made in *Granada*, for which Reaſon it was a long time before they came to a Reſolution and gave their Anſwer. The Admiral therefore went to *Sevil*, and finding their Highneſſes no way reſolved more than at firſt; he concluded to give the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* an Account of his Project. But after many Conferences, ſeeing there was no likelyhood of coming to ſuch concluſion as he wiſh'd for in *Spain*, and that the Execution of his Deſign was too much delay'd, he reſolved to apply himſelf to the King of *France*, to whom he had already writ concerning this Affair, deſigning, if he were not admitted there, to go into *England*, next to ſeek out his Brother, of whom he had as yet no manner of News. Being ſo reſolved to ſet out for the Monaſtery of *Rabida*, to ſend his Son *James*, whom he had left there, to *Cordova*, and then proceed on his Journey. But to the end what God had Decreed, ſhould not be diſappointed, he put it into the Heart of *F. John Perez*, Guardian of that Houſe, to contract ſuch Friendſhip with the Admiral, and be ſo taken with his Project, that he was concern'd at his Reſolution, and for the loſs *Spain* would ſuſtain by his Departure. Therefore he intreated him by no means to put his Deſign in Execution, for that he would go to the Queen, of whom he hoped, that he being her Father Confeſſor, ſhe would give Credit to what he ſhould ſay to her. Tho' the Admiral was quite out of Hopes and diſguſted to ſee ſo little Reſolution and Judgment in their Highneſſes Councellors, yet, being on the other ſide very deſirous that *Spain* ſhould reap the Benefit of his Undertakings, he complied with the Father's Deſires and Requeſt, becauſe he now look'd upon himſelf as a Natural born *Spaniard*, becauſe he had ſo long Reſided there: whilſt he was following his Project, and becauſe he had got Children there, which was the Cauſe he rejected the Offers made him by other Princes, as he declares in a Letter he writ to their Highneſſes in theſe words, *That I might ſerve your Highneſſes, I have refuſed to take up with* France, England *and* Portugal, *the Letters from which Princes your Highneſſes may ſee in the hands of Doctor* Villalan.

CHAP. XIV.

How the Admiral return'd to the Camp before Granada, *and took his leave of their Catholick Majeſties, having concluded nothing with them.*

The Admiral's demands.

THE Admiral departing from the Monaſtery of *Rabida* near *Palos*, together with *F. John Perez*, to the Camp of St. *Faith*, where their Catholick Majeſties then were to carry on the Siege of *Granada*; the ſaid Father further inform'd the Queen, and preſs'd the buſineſs ſo home, that Her Majeſty was pleaſed the Conferences about the Diſcovery ſhould be renew'd. But the Opinions of the Prior of *Prado* and others of his Followers varying, and on the other ſide, *Columbus* demanding to be made Admiral and Vice-Roy, beſides other Matters of great Conſequence; it was thought too much to grant him, becauſe if what he propos'd ſucceeded, they judg'd his Demand too conſiderable, and in Caſe it did not, they thought it a folly to give ſuch Titles, which made the buſineſs come to nothing. I cannot forbear declaring that I make great Account of the Admiral's Wiſdom, Reſolution and Foreſight, for he being ſo unfortunate in this Affair, having ſo earneſt a deſire, as I have ſaid before, to remain in this Kingdom, and being reduced to ſuch a Condition, that he ought to take up with any thing; it was a greatneſs of Spirit in him not to accept of any but great Titles and Honours, demanding ſuch things as if he had foreſeen and been moſt certainly aſſured of the Succeſs of his Project, he could not have Articled better, or more Honourably than he did, ſo that at laſt they were forced to grant, that he ſhould be Admiral on the Ocean, and enjoy all the Allowances, Privileges and Prerogatives, that the Admirals of *Caſtile* and *Leon* had in their ſeveral Seas, and that all Civil Employ-

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ments, as well of Government as Adminiſtration of Juſtice, in all the Iſlands and Continent ſhould be wholly at his Diſpoſal, and that all Governments ſhould be given to one or three Perſons he ſhould name; and that he ſhould appoint Judges in all parts of *Spain* Trading to the *Indies*, who ſhould decide all Matters relating to thoſe Parts. As for Profit and Revenue, he demanded, over and above the Salary and Perquiſites of the aforeſaid Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, the tenth of all that was bought bartered, found, or got within the bounds of his Admiralſhip, abating only the Charge of the Conqueſt; ſo that had there been 1000 Ducats in an Iſland, one Hundred were to be his. And becauſe his Adverſaries ſaid he ventured nothing in that Undertaking, but had the Command of a Fleet as long as it laſted, he demanded the eighth part of what he ſhould bring home in his Fleet, and he would be at the eighth part of the Expence. Theſe being Matters of ſuch great Conſequence and their Highneſſes refuſing to grant them; the Admiral took leave of his Friends and went away towards *Cordova*, to take Order for his Journey into *France*, for he was reſolved not to return to *Portugal*, tho' the King had writ to him, as ſhall be ſaid.

CHAP. XV.

How their Catholick Majeſties ſent after the Admiral, and granted him all he demanded.

Reaſons that prevail'd with the Queen.

IT was now the Month of *January*, in the Year 1492, when the Admiral departed from the Camp of St. *Faith*, and that ſame day *Lewis de Santangel* before mentioned, who did not approve of his going away, but was very deſirous to prevent it; went to the Queen, and uſing ſuch words as his inclination ſuggeſted to perſwade and reprove her at once, ſaid, He wonder'd to ſee that Her Highneſs, who had always a great Soul for all Matters of Moment and Conſequence, ſhould now want the Heart to venture upon an Undertaking, where ſo little was ventured, and which might redound ſo much to the Glory of God and propagation of the Faith, not without great Benefit and Honour to Her Kingdoms and Dominions, and ſuch in ſhort, that if any other Prince ſhould undertake it, as the Admiral offered; the Damage that would accrew to her Crown was very viſible, and that then ſhe would with juſt cauſe be much blam'd by her Friends and Servants, and reproached by her Enemies, and all People woul'i ſay, ſhe had well deſerv'd that Misfortune, and tho' ſhe her ſelf ſhould never have cauſe to repent it, yet her Succeſſors would certainly feel the ſmart of it. Therefore, ſince the matter ſeem'd to be grounded upon Reaſon, and the Admiral who propos'd it was a Man of Senſe and Wiſdom, and demanded no other Reward but what he ſhou'd find, being willing to bear part of the Charge, beſides venturing his own Perſon; Her Highneſs ought not to look upon it as ſuch an impoſſibility as thoſe Scholars made it, and that what they ſaid that it would be a Reflection on her if the Enterpriſe did not ſucceed, as the Admiral propos'd, was a folly, and he was of a quite contrary opinion, rather believing they would be look'd upon as Generous and Magnanimous Princes, for attempting to Diſcover the Secrets and Wonders of the World, as other Monarchs had done, and it had redounded to their Honour. But tho' the event were never ſo uncertain, yet a conſiderable ſum of Money would be well employ'd in clearing ſuch a doubt. Beſides that, The Admiral only demanded 2500 Crowns to fit the Fleet, and therefore ſhe ought not to deſpiſe that Undertaking, that it might not be ſaid it was the fear of ſpending ſo ſmall a ſum that kept her back. The Queen knowing the ſincerity of *Santangel*'s words, Anſwered, Thanking him for his good Advice, and ſaying, She was willing to admit of the Propoſals, upon condition the Execution were reſpited, till ſhe had a little Breathing after the War. And yet if he were of another Opinion, ſhe was content that as much Money as was requiſite for fitting out the Fleet ſhould be borrow'd upon her Jewels. But *Santangel* ſeeing the Queen had upon his Advice condeſcended to what ſhe had refuſed to all other Perſons, reply'd, There was no need of Pawning her Jewels, for he would do her Highneſs that ſmall Service as to lend his Money. Upon this Reſolution the Queen immediately ſent an Officer Poſt, to bring the Admiral back, who found him upon the Bridge of *Pinos*, two Leagues from *Granada*; and tho' the Admiral was much concern'd at the Difficulties and Delays he had met with in his Enterpriſe, yet underſtanding the Queens Will and Reſolution, he return'd to the Camp of St. *Faith*, where he was well entertain'd by their Catholick

The Admiral's demands granted.

lick Majesties, and his Dispatch and Articles committed to the Secretary *John Coloma*, who by their Highnesses Command and under their Hand and Seal, granted him all the Articles and Clauses we said above, he had demanded, without Altering or Diminishing any thing in them. *Columbus.*

CHAP. XVI.

How the Admiral fitted out three Caravals to go upon his Discovery.

The Admiral sets out.

THE aforesaid Articles being granted by their Catholick Majesties, he set out from *Granada* on the 12th of *May*, this Year 1492, for *Palos*, the Port where he was to fit out his Ships, that Town being oblig'd to serve their Highnesses three Months with two Caravals, which they ordered should be given to the Admiral. These and another Ship he fitted out with all Care and Diligence. The Ship he went in was call'd the St. *Mary*, another was *La Pinta*, whereof *Martin Alonso Pinzon* was Captain, and *Vincent Yanez Pinzon*, Brother to *Alonzo*, both of the Town of *Palos*, of the 3d which was call'd *La Nina*, and had square Sails. They being furnish'd with all Necessaries, and 90 Men, set sail directly towards the *Canaries*, on the 3d of *August*, and from that time forwards, the Admiral was very careful to keep an exact Journal of all that happened to him during the Voyage, specifying what Wind blew, how far he sail'd with every Wind; what Currents he found, and what he saw by the way, whether Birds, or Fishes, or other things; which he always did in four Voyages he made from *Spain* to the *Indies*. I will not write all those Particulars, for tho' to give an Account of his Voyage, and to show what Impressions and Effects Answered the Course and Aspects of the Stars, and to relate what difference there is between that and our Sea and our Countries, would be now very beneficial; yet I do not think all those particulars would now be pleasing to the Reader, whom such long and superfluous Relations must tire. Therefore I shall only Discourse of those things I shall think necessary and convenient.

CHAP. XVII.

The Admiral arriv'd at the Canary Islands, *and there furnish'd himself compleatly with all he wanted.*

The Rudder of a Caraval gives way.

THE next day after the Admiral's Departure for the *Canary* Islands, being *Saturday* the 4th of *August*, the Rudder of one of the Caravals, call'd *La Pinta*, broke loose, and being therefore forced to lie by, the Admiral soon came by her side, but the Weather blowing hard could give no assistance; yet Commanders at Sea are oblig'd so to do, to Encourage those that are in Distress. This he did the more readily, as misdoubting this had happened by the contrivance of the Master, to avoid going the Voyage, as he attempted to do before they set out. *Pinzon* the Captain being an able Seaman, soon repaired that fault with the help of some Ropes, so that they were able to continue their Voyage, till on *Tuesday* following, the Weather being rough, the Ropes broke, and they were forced again to lie by to mend what had given way. From which Misfortune of breaking of the Rudder twice, any body that had been superstitious, might have foreboded its future disobedience to the Admiral, when thro' the Malice of *Pinzon*, it twice got away from him, as shall be mentioned hereafter.

The Admiral's demands granted.

To return to what we have in hand, They apply the best remedy they could for the present, that they might at least reach the *Canary Islands*, which all three Ships discovered on *Thursday* the 9th of *August* about break of day, but the Wind being contrary, they could not come to an Anchor at *Gran Canaria*, tho very near it, that day nor the two following. Here the Admiral left *Pinzon*, that going ashoar he might endeavour to get another Ship; and he to the same purpose went away to the Island *Gomera*, with the Caraval call'd *La Nina*, that if they fail'd of a Vessel in one Island, they might find it in the other. Thus he came to *Gomera* on the *Sunday* following, being the 12th of *August*, and sent his Boat ashoar, which returned in the Morning, with the News that there was never a Vessel in the Island at that time, but that they hourly expected the Lady *Beatrix de Bobadilla*, Proprietress of that same Island, who was then at *Gran Canaria*, and

The Admiral at Gomera.

Columbus. and had hired a Veſſel of 40 Tun, belonging to one *Gradenna* of *Seville*, which being fitt for the Voyage he deſign'd, he might have taken. Therefore the Admiral reſolved to expect him in that Port, believing that if *Pinzon* had not been able to repair his own Veſſel, he might himſelf have got another at *Gomera*. Having ſtay'd there the two following days, and the Veſſel above mentioned not appearing, he ſent a Man aboard a Bark that was bound from *Gomera* to *Gran Canaria*, to acquaint *Pinzon* where he lay, and aſſiſt him in fixing his Rudder, writing to him that he did not go himſelf to aſſiſt him, becauſe that Veſſel could not ſail. But it being long after the departure of that Bark, before the Admiral received any Anſwer; he reſolved on the 23d of *Auguſt* to return with his two Veſſels to *Gran Canaria*, and ſailing the next day, met in the way the aforementioned Bark, which was not yet arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, by reaſon of the contrary Winds. Having taken out the Man he had ſent aboard the Bark, that Night he ſail'd cloſe by *Tenerife*, where they ſaw flames guſh out of the high Rock commonly call'd the *Peake*, or rather *El Pico*, which his Men admiring at, he told them the occaſion of that fire, proving what he ſaid by the Example of Mount *Etna* in *Sicily*, and of many others like it. Leaving that Iſland they arrived at *Gran Canaria* upon *Saturday* the 25th, whither *Pinzon* with much difficulty was got in but the day before. By him he was inform'd that the Lady *Beatrix* was ſail'd the *Monday* before, with that Veſſel he took ſuch pains to get, and the others being much troubled at it, he made the beſt of whatever happen'd; affirming, that ſince it did not pleaſe God he ſhould meet with that Veſſel, it was perhaps becauſe in finding it, he would at the ſame time have met with ſome obſtacle or oppoſition in preſſing of it, and have loſt time in ſhipping and unſhipping the Goods, which would be a hindrance to his Voyage: For this reaſon, fearing if he returned to ſeek it at *Gomera*, he might miſs of it by the way; he reſolved to repair his Caraval the beſt he could at *Gran Canaria*, making a new Rudder, ſhe having loſt hers, and to change the Sails of the other Caraval call'd *La Nina*, which were ſquare, to round, that ſhe might follow the other Ships with leſs danger and agitation.

At Gran Canaria.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Admiral ſet ſail from the Iſland of Gran Canaria *upon his Diſcovery, and what happened to him on the Ocean.*

WHen the Ships were refitted and in order to ſail on *Friday*, (this by what follows ought to be *Saturday*) the firſt of *September*; in the Afternoon the Admiral weighed Anchor, and departed from *Gran Canaria*, arriving the next day at *Gomera*, where four days more were ſpent in laying in Proviſions, Wood and Water; ſo that next *Thurſday* in the Morning, which was on the 6th of *September* 1482, which may be accounted the firſt ſetting out upon the Voyage on the Ocean, the Admiral departed from *Gomera*, and ſtood away to the Weſtward, but made but little way by reaſon of the Calm. On *Sunday* about day, he found himſelf nine Leagues Weſt of the Iſland *Ferro*, where they loſt ſight of Land, and many fearing it would be long before they ſhould ſee it again, ſigh'd and wept, but the Admiral after comforting them all with great promiſes of Lands, and Wealth to raiſe their Hopes and leſſen the Fear they had conceived of the length of the way, tho' they ſail'd 18 Leagues that day, he pretended by his Computation it was but 15, reſolving all the Voyage to keep ſhort in his reckoning, that his Men might not think themſelves ſo far from *Spain* as they were, if he ſhould truly ſet down the way he made, which yet he privately mark'd down. Continuing thus his Voyage, on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *September*, about Sun-ſetting, being about 150 Leagues Weſt of the Iſland *Ferro*, he diſcovered a large Body of the Maſt of a Tree of 120 Tun, which ſeem'd to have been a long time upon the Water. There and ſomewhat further the Current ſet ſtrong towards the North Eaſt, but when he had run 50 Leagues farther Weſtward, on the 13th of *September*, he found that at Night fall, the Needle vary'd half a point towards the North-Eaſt, and at break of day, half a point more, by which he underſtood that the Needle did not point at the North Star, but at ſome other fix'd and viſible point. This variation no Man had obſerv'd before, and therefore he had occaſion to be ſurpriz'd at it, but he was more amaz'd the 3d day after, when he was almoſt 100 Leagues further, for at Night the Needles vary'd about a Point to the North-Eaſt, and in the Morning they pointed upon the Star. On *Satur-*

The Admiral ſails Weſtward.

day

Columbus.

day the 15th of *September*, being almoſt 300 Leagues Weſt of *Ferro*; at Night they ſaw a wonderful flaſh of Light fall from the Sky, into the Sea, about four or five Leagues diſtance from the Ships, towards the South-Weſt, tho' the Weather was then fair, like *April*, the Wind favourable at North East, the Sea ſtill, and the Current ſetting North-East. The Men aboard the Caraval call'd *la Ninna*, told the Admiral they had the *Friday* before, ſeen a Heron and another ſort of Bird, which the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, which they were amaz'd at, thoſe being the firſt Birds they had ſeen: but they were more ſurpriſed the next day, which was *Sunday*, at the great abundance of Weeds between Green and Yellow, that appeared upon the Water, which ſeem'd to be newly waſh'd away from ſome Iſland or Rock. They ſaw enough of theſe Weeds the next day, which made many affirm they were already near Land, eſpecially becauſe they ſaw a ſmall Lobſter alive among thoſe Weeds, which they ſaid ſomewhat reſembled the Herb *Star-wort*, but that the Stalk and Branches were long, and it was all full of ſmall ſeeds. Afterwards they obſerved that the Sea-water was but half as ſalt as before: beſides, that Night abundance of *Tunny* Fiſhes follow'd them, running along, and ſticking ſo cloſe to them, that thoſe aboard the Caraval *Ninna*, kill'd one with a bearded Iron. Being now 360 Leagues Weſt of *Ferro*, they ſaw another of thoſe Birds the *Spaniards* call *Rabo de Junco*, becauſe of a long Feather their Tale conſiſts of, and in *Spaniſh*, *Rabo* ſignifies a Tale, as *Junco* is a Ruſh, ſo that *Rabo de Junco* imports Ruſh Tale. On *Tueſday* following, being the 18th of *September*, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, who was gone a-head with the Caraval call'd *Pinta*, which was an excellent Sailer, lay by for the Admiral, and told him he had ſeen a great Number of Birds fly away Weſtward, for which reaſon he hop'd to find Land that Night, and he thought he ſaw the Land to the Northward, 15 Leagues diſtant; that day about Sun-ſetting, looking very dark and cloudy. But the Admiral knowing for certain it was no Land, he would not loſe time to diſcover it, as all his Men would have had him; for as much as he was not yet come to the Place where he expected by his Computation to find Land, therefore they took in their Top-ſails at Night, becauſe the Wind freſhned, having for eleven days never abated one handful of Sail, going ſtill before the Wind Weſtward.

Sees firſt and ſecond Weeds

CHAP. XIX.

How all the Men carefully obſerved what ſigns they diſcovered, being eager to diſcover Land.

ALL the Men aboard the Ships being unacquainted with that Voyage, and fearfull of the Danger, becauſe far from any Relief, there were ſome that began to mutter, and ſeeing nothing but Sky and Water, carefully obſerved every thing that appear'd, at greater diſtance from Land, than any had been before. For which Reaſon I will relate all they made any Account of, and this only in the firſt Voyage; for I ſhall not mention leſſer Tokens generally ſeen upon ſuch occaſions. On the 19th of *September*, in the Morning, a Fowl call'd *Alcatraz*, which is a ſort of Sea Gull, flew over the Admiral's Ship, and others in the Afternoon, which made him conceive hope of Land, he imagining they would not fly very far from it. Upon theſe hopes, as ſoon as the Wind abated, they ſounded with 200 Fathom of Line: and tho' they found no bottom, they perceived the Current now ſet South-Weſt. On *Thurſday* the 22d, two hours before Noon, two *Alcatrazes* came to the Ship, and another ſometime after; beſides, they took a bird like a Heron, but that it was black, and had a white tuft on the head, the feet like a Duck, as commonly Water-fowls have; they alſo caught a little Fiſh, and ſaw abundance of Weeds; and about Evening there came aboard three Land-fowls ſinging, but at break of day they flew away, which was ſome comfort to them, conſidering that the other Fowls being large, and uſed to the Water, might better go far from Land, but that theſe little ones could not come from any far diſtant Country. Three hours after they ſaw another *Alcatraz*, that came from the W. N. W. and the next day after Noon, they ſaw another *Rabo de Junco* and an *Alcatraz*, and there appear'd more Weeds than before, towards the North, as far as they could ſee; which things ſometimes were a Comfort to them, believing they might come from ſome near Land, and ſometimes they cauſed dread, becauſe they were ſo thick, that in ſome meaſure they ſtaid the Ships, and fear making things worſe than they are, they apprehended that might befall them, which is fabulouſly reported of St. *Amaro* in the Frozen Sea, who is ſaid not to ſuffer Ships to ſtir backwards or forwards, and therefore they ſteer-

More Birds and other Tokens.

ed away from those Shoals of Weeds, as much as they could. But to return to the Tokens, The next day they saw a Whale, and on *Saturday* following, being the 22d of *September*, some small birds, and the Wind those days blew at South-West, sometimes more and sometimes less West, which tho' contrary to their Voyage, the Admiral said he look'd upon as very good, and a help to them, because the Men continually muttering, among other things that increased their fear, said this was one, That since the Wind was always right a Stern, they should never in those Seas have a Gale to carry them back, and tho' sometimes they found the contrary; they alledg'd that it was no settled Wind, and that not being strong enough to swell the Sea, it would never carry them back so far as they had to sail. Whatsoever the Admiral could say, telling them that the reason was, the Lands being now near, which did not suffer the Waves to rise, and using the best Argument he could, yet he affirms he stood in need of God's particular assistance, as *Moses* did when he led the *Israelites* out of *Egypt*, who forbore laying violent hands upon him, because of the Prodigies God wrought by his means. So said the Admiral, it happened to him in that Voyage; for upon *Sunday* following, the Wind started up at W. N. W. with a rowling Sea, as the Men wish'd, and three hours before Noon, they saw a Turtle fly over the Ship, and about Evening an *Alcatraz*, a River Fowl, and other white Birds, and some Crabs among the Weeds; and the next day they spy'd another *Alcatraz*, and several small Birds that came from the West, and small Fishes, whereof the Men of the other Vessels stuck some with Harping Irons, because they would not bite at the Hook.

Columbus.

Muttering among the Seamen.

CHAP. XX.

How the Men mutiny'd to turn back, and seeing other Signs and Tokens of Land, went on well enough satisfied.

THE more the aforesaid Tokens were found vain, the more they took occasion to apprehend and mutter; caballing together, and saying, the Admiral out of a foolish fancy of his own, had designed to make himself a great Lord at the Expence of their Lives and Danger; and since they had done their Duty in trying their Fortune, and had gone farther from Land and any Succour than any others had done, they ought not to destroy themselves, nor proceed in that Voyage, since if they did, they should have cause to repent; for Provisions would fall short, and the Ships fail, which they knew were already so faulty, that it would be hard to get back so far as they were gone, and that none would condemn them for so doing, but they would rather be look'd upon as very brave Men, for going upon such a design, and venturing so far; and that the Admiral being a Foreigner, and having no favour at Court, and so many Wise and Learned Men having condemn'd his Opinion, there would be no body now to favour and defend him, and they should sooner find Credit if they accused him of Ignorance and Mismanagement, than he whatsoever he could say for himself. Nor did there want some who said, that to end all dispute, in case he would not acquiesce to them, they might make short, and throw him over-board, and give out, that as he was making his Observations he droped into the Sea, and no Man would go about to enquire into the Truth of it, which was the readiest way for them to return home and secure themselves. Thus they went on from day to day, Muttering, Complaining and Consulting together: nor was the Admiral without Apprehensions of their Inconstancy, and ill intentions towards him. Therefore sometimes with good words, and sometimes with a full resolution to expose his Life; putting them in mind of the Punishment due to them if they obstructed the Voyage: He in some Measure quell'd their Apprehensions, and suppress'd their ill designs. To confirm the hope he gave them, he put them in mind of the aforesaid Signs and Tokens, assuring them they would soon find Land; which signs they were so attentive to, that they thought every Hour a Year till they saw Land. On *Tuesday* the 25th of *September*, about Sun-setting, as the Admiral was discoursing with *Pinzon*, whose Ship was very near, the said *Pinzon* on a sudden cry'd out, Land, Land Sir! Let not my good News miscarry: And show'd him towards the South-West, a bulk which look'd very like an Island, about 25 Leagues from the Ships. This was so pleasing to the Men, that they returned thanks to God; and the Admiral who had given no Credit to these words, to please the Men and that they should not obstruct his Voyage, stood that way a great part of the Night. Next Morning they perceived that what they had seen were only Clouds, which often look like Land, for which reason, to the great dissatisfaction of most of the Sailers, they turn'd the Sterns of their Ships Westward, as they had always done, except when the Wind hindred. Continuing still

The Men mutiny.

Columbus. still attentive to the Signs, they saw an *Alcatraz*, a *Rabo de Junco* and others Birds, like those above mention'd. On *Thursday* the 27th of *September* in the Morning, they saw another *Alcatraz* coming from the West, and sailing Eastward, and abundance of Fishes with gilt backs appeared, whereof they struck one with a Harping Iron. A *Rabo de Junco* flew by them, and they found that the Currents, for those last days, were not so regularly fixt, as they used to be before, but turn'd with the Tide, and there were not so many Weeds as before. On *Friday* following, all the Ships took some Fishes with gilt backs, and on *Saturday* they saw a *Rabo de Junco*, which tho' it be a Sea-fowl does not rest on it, but flies always in the Air, pursuing the *Alcatrazes*, till it makes them drop their excrement for fear, which it catches in the Air for its Nourishment, and thus it maintains its self on the Sea, and it is reported there are many of them about the Islands of *Cabo Verde*. Soon after, they saw two other *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of flying Fishes, which are about a span long, and have two little wings like a Bat; they fly about a Pike high from the Water, and a Musquet shot in length, more or less, and sometimes they drop upon the Ships. Afternoon they saw abundance of Weeds lying in length North and South, as they had done before, besides three *Alcatrazes* and a *Rabo de Junco* that pursued them.

On *Sunday* Morning, four *Rabo de Junco's* came to the Ship, by reason of whose coming so together, it was thought the Land was nearer, especially because soon after there flew by four *Alcatrazes*, and abundance of Weeds were seen in a line lying W.N.W. and E.S.E. and also a great Number of those Fishes they call *Emperadores*, which have a very hard skin, and are not fit to eat. How much soever the Admiral regarded these Tokens, yet he never forgot those in the Heaven, and the Course of the Stars. He therefore observed in this Place, to his great Admiration, that the *Charles Wain* at Night appeared in the West Point, and in the Morning they were directly N.E. by which he gather'd, that their whole Nights Course was but 3 Lines or 9 Hours, that is, so many Parts of 24, and this he made out every Night. He also perceived, that at Night fall the Compass vary'd a whole Point to the North-West, and at break of day it came right with the Star. These things confounded the Pilots, till he told them the cause of it was the Compass the Star took about the Pole, which was some satisfaction to them; for this variation made them apprehend some Danger in such an unknown distance from Home, and such strange Regions.

CHAP. XXI.

How they saw not only the aforementioned Signs and Tokens, but others better than they, which were some Comfort to the Men.

They disagree in their Computations. ON *Munday* the 1st of *October*, after Sun-rising, an *Alcatraz* came to the Ship, and two more about ten in the Morning, and long streams of Weeds lay from East to West. That day in the Morning, the Pilot of the Admiral's Ship, said, they were 578 Leagues West of the Island *Ferro*, the Admiral said by his Account, they were 584 Leagues, but in Private he concluded it was 707, which is 129 Leagues more than the Pilot reckoned. The other two Ships differed very much in their Computation, for the Pilot of the Caraval *Ninna* on *Wednesday* following, after Noon, said, they had sail'd 540 Leagues, and the other of the Caraval *Pinta*, said 634. Adding all they had sail'd during those three days, they were still much short of Truth, for they went always before the Wind, and had run much more. But the Admiral as has been said, wink'd at this gross Mistake, that the Men might not be quite dejected, being so far from home. The next day, being the 2d of *October*, they saw abundance of Fish, catch'd a small Tunny, and saw a white Bird, and many other small ones, and the Weeds they saw were withered and almost fallen to Powder. The next day after, seeing no Birds but some Fish, they mistrusted they had left some Islands on both hands, and were slip'd between without discovering them; guessing that those many Birds they had seen were passing from one Island to another. They were very earnest to steer either one way or the other, to seek out those Lands they imagin'd; but the Admiral would not consent, being unwilling to lose the fair Wind that carry'd him away to Westward, which he accounted his surest Course; and besides, because he thought it was a lessening the Reputation of his Undertaking, to run from one Place to another, seeking that which he always affirm'd he well knew where to find. For this reason the Men were ready to Mutiny, continuing to Mutter and Conspire against him; but it pleased God, as was said above, to assist him by the means of fresh Tokens; for on *Thursday*,

Columbus. *day*, the 4th of *October*, after Noon, above forty Sparrows together, and two *Alcatrazes* flew so near the Ships, that a Seaman killed one of them with a Stone; and before this they had seen another Bird like a *Rabo de Junco*, and another like a Swallow, and a great many flying Fishes fell into the Ships. Next day there came a *Rabo de Junco*, and an *Alcatraz*, from the Westward, and abundance of Sparrows were seen. On *Sunday*, the 7th of *October*, about Sun-rising, some signs of Land appear'd Westward, but being imperfect, no Man would speak of it; not so much for the shame that would follow of assenting what was not, as for fear of losing 30 Crowns a Year, their Catholick Majesties had promised for Life, to him that should first discover Land; and to prevent their crying Land, Land at every turn, as they might do without cause at every turn, out of Covetousness of that Allowance, it was ordered, that whosoever said he saw Land, if it were not made out in three days after, should lose the Reward, tho' afterwards he should prove the first Discoverer. All aboard the Admiral being thus forewarn'd, none of them durst cry out Land, but those in the Caraval *Ninna*, which was a better sailer, and kept a head, believing it to be certainly Land, fired a Gun, and put out their Colours in token of Land. But the further they sail'd, the more their Joys vanish'd, till that Appearance quite vanish'd, tho' it pleased God soon after to give them some manner of Comfort, for they saw great flights of great Fowl, and others of small Land-birds, flying from the West, towards the South-West. Therefore the Admiral being now so far from *Spain*, and sure that such small Birds would not go far from Land; he alter'd his Course, which till then was West, and stood to the South-West, saying, That if he changed his Road, it was, because he deviated but little from his first design, and because he would follow the Example of the *Portugueses*, who had Discovered most of their Islands by means of such Birds, and the more because those they saw follow'd almost the same way, he had always propos'd to himself to find Land, according to the Place they were then in; since as they well knew he had often told them, he never expected to find Land till he was 750 Leagues to the Westward of the *Canaries*; within which distance he had further said, he should discover *Hispaniola*, which he then call'd *Cipango*, and there is no doubt but he had found it, had not he known it was reported to lie in length from North to South: For which reason he had not inclin'd more to the South to run upon it, and therefore that and others of the *Caribbee* Islands lay now on his Larboard side, South of him, whither those Birds were directing their Course. Being so near to Land, was the reason they continually saw such abundance of Birds; and on *Munday* the 8th of *October*, there came to the Ship 12 Singing-birds of several Colours, and after flying a turn about the Ship, they held on their way. They also saw from the Ships many other Birds, flying towards the South-West, and that same Night abundance of large Fowls were seen, and flights of small Birds coming from the Northward, and flying after the rest. Besides, they saw a good Number of Tunny Fish. In the Morning they spy'd a Jay, an *Alcatraz*, Ducks and small Birds, flying the same way the others had done; and they perceiv'd the Air to be fresh and odoriferous, as it is at *Seville* in *April*. But they were now so eager to see Land, that they had Faith in no Signs whatsoever; so that tho' on *Wednesday* the 10 of *October*, they saw abundance of Birds pass by both Day and Night, yet the Men did not cease to complain, nor the Admiral to blame their want of Courage; declaring to them, that right or wrong they must go on in discovering the *Indies*, their Catholick Majesties had sent them to.

The Admiral alters his Course.

CHAP. XXII.

How the Admiral discovered the first Land, which was an Island call'd de los Lucayos.

Other Tokens.

THE Admiral being no longer able to withstand so many as oppos'd him, it pleased God, that on *Thursday* the 11th of *October*, after Noon the Men took heart and rejoyced, having Manifest Tokens that they were near Land, which were that those aboard the Admiral, saw a green Rush swim by the Ship, and then a great green Fish of that sort, that goes not far from the Rocks. Those aboard the Caraval *Pinta* saw a Cane and a Staff, and took up another Staff curiously wrought, and a small Board, and abundance of Weeds fresh wash'd away from the Banks. Those in the Caraval *Ninna* saw other such like Tokens, and a Branch of a Thorn full of red Berries, which seem'd to be newly broke off. By these Tokens, and Reason it self, the Admiral being assured he was near Land; at Night, after Prayers, he made a Speech to all the Men

Columbus. in general, putting them in mind how great a Mercy it was that God had brought them ſo long a Voyage, with ſuch fair Weather, and comforting them with Tokens, which every day were plainer and plainer; therefore he prayed them to be very watchful that Night, ſince they well knew, that in the firſt Article of the Inſtructions he gave each Ship at the *Canary* Iſlands, he ordain'd that when they had ſail'd 700 Leagues to the Weſtward, without diſcovering Land, they ſhould lie by from Midnight till Day. Therefore, ſince they had not yet obtain'd their deſires in diſcovering Land, they ſhould at leaſt expreſs their Zeal in being watchful. And for as much, as he had moſt aſſured hopes of finding Land that Night, every one ſhould watch in his Place; for beſides the Gratuity their Highneſſes had promiſed of 30 Crowns a Year, for Life, to him that firſt ſaw Land, he would give him a Velvet Doublet. After this, about ten at Night, as the Admiral was in the great Cabin, he ſaw a light aſhoar, but ſaid it was ſo blind, he could not affirm it to be Land, tho' he call'd one *Peter Gutierres*, and bid him obſerve whether he ſaw the ſaid Light, who ſaid he did; but preſently they call'd one *Roderick Sanchez*, of *Segovia* to look that way, but he could not ſee it, becauſe he came not up time enough where it might be ſeen; nor did they ſee it afterwards above once or twice, which made them judge it might be a Candle, or Torch belonging to ſome Fiſherman or Traveller, who lifted up, and let it fall down; or perhaps that they were People going from one Houſe to another, becauſe it vaniſh'd and ſuddenly appear'd again; ſo that few would gueſs by that they were near Land. Being now very much upon their Guard, they ſtill held on their Courſe, till about two in the Morning the Caraval *Pinta*, which being an excellent Sailer, was far a-head, gave the ſignal of Land, which was firſt diſcovered by a Sailer, whoſe Name was *Roderick de Triana*, being two Leagues from ſhoar. But the 30 Crowns a Year was not granted by their Catholick Majeſties to him, but to the Admiral, who had ſeen the Light in the midſt of Darkneſs, ſignifying the Spiritual Light he was then ſpreading in thoſe Dark Regions. Being now near Land, all the Ships lay by, thinking it a long time till Morning, that they might ſee what they had ſo long deſired.

Land diſcover'd.

CHAP. XXIII.

How the Admiral went aſhoar, and took Poſſeſſion for their Catholick Majeſties.

St. Salvador the firſt Iſland diſcover'd. DAY appearing, they perceived it was an Iſland 15 Leagues in Length, Plain, without Hills and full of Green Trees, and Delicious Waters, with a great Lake in the middle, Inhabited by abundance of People, who ran down to the ſhoar, aſtoniſhed and admiring at the ſight of the Ships, believing them to be ſome living Creatures, and were impatient to know certainly what they were. Nor were the Chriſtians leſs haſty to know them, whoſe curioſity was ſoon ſatisfied, for they ſoon came to an Anchor; the Admiral went aſhoar with his Boat well Arm'd, and the Royal Standard diſplay'd, as did the Captains of the other two Ships in their Boats with their Particular Colours of this Enterprize, which were a Green Croſs with an F on the one ſide; and on the other, the Names of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth* Crown'd. Having all given Thanks to God, Kneeling on the ſhoar, and kiſs'd the Ground with Tears of Joy, for the great Mercy receiv'd; the Admiral ſtood up, and call'd that Iſland St. *Salvador*. After that he took Poſſeſſion for their Catholick Majeſties in the uſual words, and with the Solemnity proper in thoſe Caſes; abundance of the Natives that were come out, being Preſent, and conſequently the Chriſtians admitted him as Admiral and Viceroy, and ſwore to obey him as repreſenting their Highneſſes Perſons, and with ſuch expreſſions of Joy, as became their mighty Succeſs; all of them begging his Pardon for all the Affronts they had done him thro' their Fear, and Irreſolution. Abundance of the *Indians* being come down to this rejoycing, and the Admiral perceiving they were Peaceable, Quiet and very Simple People, he gave them ſome red Caps, and ſtrings of Glaſs Beads, which they hung about their Necks, and other things of ſmall value, which they valued as if they had been Stone of high Prize.

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CHAP. XXIV.

The Manners and Cuſtoms of thoſe People, and what the Admiral ſaw in that Iſland.

Deſcription of the Iſlanders.

THE Admiral being gone off to his Boats, the *Indians* follow'd him to them and to the Ships ſwimming, and others in their Canoos, carrying Parrots, bottoms of ſpun Cotton, Javelins, and other ſuch Trifles to barter for Glaſs-Beads, Bells, and other things of ſmall value. Like People in their Original Simplicity, they went Naked as they were born, and a Woman that was among them had no other Cloathing. Moſt of them were young, not above 30 years of Age; of a good Stature, their Hair lank, thick, very black and ſhort, being cut above their Ears, except ſome few who had let it grow down to their Shoulders, and had ty'd it with a ſtrong Thread about their head like Womens Treſſes. Their Countenances were pleaſant, and their Features good, but their too high Foreheads made them look ſomewhat wild. They were of a middle Stature, well ſhaped, plump, but of an Olive Colour, like the People of the *Canaries*, or Peaſants that are Sun-burn'd. Some were Painted with black, ſome with white, and others with red; ſome only the Faces, others the whole Body, and others nothing but the Eyes and Noſe. They had no Weapons like our Men, nor knowledge of them; for when the Chriſtians ſhow'd them a Naked Sword, they took it ſimply by the edge. Nor had they any Knowledge of Iron, and therefore they made their Javelins we mentioned, of Wands, with the Points hardened at the fire, Arming them with a Fiſh bone inſtead of Iron. Some of them having Scars of Wounds about them, and being ask'd by ſigns how they came by 'em, they anſwered by ſigns, that People came from other Iſlands to take them away, and they received thoſe Wounds in their own defence. They ſeem'd ingenious and of a voluble Tongue, for they eaſily repeated the words they once heard. There were no ſort of Creatures there but Parrots, which they carried to barter among the other things we have ſpoke of, and in this Trade they continued till Night. Next day being the 13th of *October* in the Morning, many of them came down to the Shoar, and went aboard in their Boats called Canoos, which were made of one Piece, being the Body of a Tree hollow'd like a Tray. The biggeſt of them were ſo large, they contain'd 40 or 45 Men, and ſo leſs and leſs, till ſome would hold but one. They row'd with a Paddle like a Baker's Peal, or thoſe they uſe in dreſſing Hemp; true it is, that the Oars are not fix'd on the ſide with Pins to turn as ours are, but they dip them in the Water, and pull back as if they were digging. Theſe Canoos are ſo light and ſo Artificially built, that if they overſet they ſoon turn them right again ſwimming, and empty the Water by throwing the Veſſel from ſide to ſide like a Weaver's Shuttle, and when it is above half out, they lade out what remains with dry'd Calabaſhes cut in two, which they carry for that purpoſe. That day they brought ſuch things to barter for, as they had the day before, giving all they had for any ſmall thing they could get. Jewels or any ſort of Metal were not ſeen among them, except ſome ſmall Plates of Gold which hung at their Noſtrils, and being ask'd whence they had that Gold, they anſwered by ſigns, towards the South, where there was a King who had abundance of Pieces and Veſſels of Gold; expreſſing that towards the South and South-Weſt, there were many other Iſlands and large Countries. Being very Covetous of any thing of ours, and being themſelves but poor, and having nothing to give in Exchange, as ſoon as they came aboard, if they could lay their hands on any thing, tho' it were but a piece of a broken Earthen glazed Diſh or Porringer, they leap'd into the Sea and ſwam aſhoar; and if they brought any thing aboard, they would give it for any trifling thing of ours, or bit of broken Glaſs, ſo that ſome of them gave 16 bottoms of Cotton for three ſmall pieces of *Portugueſe* Braſs Coin not worth a Farthing; theſe bottoms weighed 25 pounds, and the Cotton was very well ſpun. Thus they ſpent the day, and at Night they all went aſhoar. It is to be obſerved, that their Liberality in Dealing did not proceed from the great Value they put upon thoſe things themſelves, which they had of our Men, but becauſe they valued them as being ours, looking upon it as moſt certain, that our Men were come down from Heaven, and therefore they earneſtly deſired to have ſomething left them as a Memorial.

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CHAP. XXV.

How the Admiral departed from that Iſland, and went to diſcover others.

NEXT *Sunday*, being the 15th of *October*, the Admiral run along the Coaſt of the Iſland, towards the North-Weſt, in his Boats, to diſcover ſomething about it; and that way he went, he found a large Bay or Harbour, capable of containing all the Ships in Chriſtendom. The People ſeeing him ſcour along, ran after, along the ſhoar, crying out, and promiſing to give him Proviſions, calling others to come to ſee the People drop'd from Heaven upon Earth, and lifted up their Hands to Heaven, as it were giving thanks for their coming. Many of them ſwimming, or in their Canoos, as beſt they could, came to the Boats, asking by ſigns, whether they were come down from Heaven, and Praying them to Land and reſt themſelves. The Admiral gave them all Glaſs Beads, Pins, and other Trifles, rejoycing at their great ſimplicity, till he came to a *Peninſula*, which made a good Port, and where a good Fort might be made. There he ſaw ſix Houſes of the *Indians* with Gardens about them, as Pleaſant as they are in *Caſtile* in *May*. But his Men being weary of rowing, and he plainly perceiving that was none of the Land he look'd for, nor ſo Beneficial, as that he ſhould make any longer ſtay there, he took ſeven of thoſe *Indians* to ſerve him as Interpreters; and returning to his Ships, ſail'd for other Iſlands that could be diſcovered from the *Peninſula*, and appear'd to be Plain, Green and very Populous, as the *Indians* themſelves affirm'd. The next day being *Munday*, the 16th of *October*, he came to one that was ſeven Leagues from the other, and call'd it *St. Mary of the Conception*. That ſide of this Iſland next St. *Salvador* extended North-Weſt five Leagues in Length, but the Admiral went to that ſide which lies Eaſt and Weſt, and is above 10 Leagues in length; and being come to an Anchor towards the Weſt, Landed to do as he had done in the other. Here the People of the Iſland ran together to ſee the Chriſtians, admiring as the others had done. The Admiral perceiving this was the ſame thing as the laſt: The next day being *Tueſday*, ſail'd Weſtward to another Iſland conſiderably bigger, and Anchored upon the Coaſt of it, which runs North-Weſt and South-Eaſt, above 28 Leagues. This was like the others, Plain, had a fine Strand, and was call'd *Fernandina*. Before they came to this Iſland, and that of the *Conception*, they found a Man in a ſmall Canoo, who had a piece of their Bread, and a Calabaſh of Water, and a little Earth like Vermillion, wherewith thoſe People Paint their Bodies, as was ſaid above; and ſome dry Leaves which they value, as being of a ſweet ſcent and wholeſome; and in a little Basket he had a ſtring of Beads of Green Glaſs, and two ſmall pieces of *Portugueſe* Money, by which it was gueſs'd that he was coming from St. *Salvador*, that he had paſs'd by the *Conception*, and was going to *Fernandina* to carry News of the Chriſtians: But *Iſland Fernandina.* becauſe the way was far, and he weary, he came to the Ships, was taken up with his Canoo, and courteouſly treated by the Admiral, deſigning as ſoon as he came to Land to ſend him aſhoar, which he did, that he might ſpread the News. The good Account he gave, caus'd the People of *Fernandina* to come aboard in their Canoos, to exchange the ſame ſort of things the others had done before, for theſe People were like the reſt; and when the Boat went aſhoar for Water, the *Indians* very readily ſhow'd where it was, and carry'd the ſmall Cask full on their Shoulders to fill the Hogſheads in the Boat. They ſeem'd to be a Wiſer and Diſcreeter People than the firſt, and as ſuch bargain'd harder for what they exchang'd, had Cotton Cloath in their Houſes, and Bed-Cloaths; and the Women covered their Privities with ſhort hanging Cotton-Cloaths, and others with a ſort of Swathe. Among other Notable things they ſaw in that Iſland, were ſome Trees which ſeem'd to be Grafted, becauſe they had Leaves and Branches of four or five ſeveral ſorts, and yet were Natural. They alſo ſaw Fiſhes of ſeveral ſhapes and fine Colours, but no ſort of Land Creatures but Lizards and Snakes. The better to diſcover the Iſland, they ſail'd away North-Weſt, and came to an Anchor at the Mouth of a beautiful Harbour; at the entrance whereof was a ſmall Iſland, and therefore they could not get in, there being but little Water; nor did they much care, becauſe they would not be far from a Town that appeared at a diſtance: for in the biggeſt Iſland they had yet ſeen they had not found above 12 or 15 Houſes together, built like Tents, in which they ſaw no other Ornaments or Moveables, but what they carry'd to the Ships to Exchange. Their Beds were like a Net, drawn together in the nature of a Sling ty'd to two Poſts in their Houſes, in which they lie. Here they ſaw ſome Dogs like Maſtives, and others like Beagles, but none of them bark'd

Conception Iſland.

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CHAP. XXVI.

How the Admiral ſail'd by other Iſlands that were in ſight where he was.

Iſland Iſabella.

FInding nothing of value in this Iſland, *Fernandina*, on *Friday* the 19th of *October*, they ſail'd away to another, call'd *Saomotto*, to which he gave the Name of *Iſabella*, to proceed regularly in his Names; for the firſt which the *Indians* call'd *Guanahani*, he call'd St. *Salvador*, or St. *Saviour*, in Honour of God, who had ſhow'd it and delivered him from many Dangers. The ſecond for his particular Devotion, to the Conception of the Virgin *Mary*; and becauſe ſhe is the great Patroneſs of Chriſtians, he call'd St. *Mary of the Conception*; the third he call'd *Fernandina*, in Honour of the Catholick King, and the fourth *Iſabella*, in Memory of the Catholick Queen; and the next after it which was *Cuba*, he ſtiled *Joanna*, in reſpect to Prince *John*, Heir of *Caſtile*, having in theſe Names regard both to Spirituals and Temporals. True it is, That as to Goodneſs, Extent, and Beauty, he ſaid this *Fernandina* far exceeded the others, for beſides that, it abounded in delicious Waters, Pleaſant Meadows and Trees, among which were many of *Aloes*: There were in it ſome Hills, which the others wanted, being very Plain. The Admiral enamour'd with its Beauty, and to perform the Ceremony of taking Poſſeſſion, Landed upon ſome Meadows as Pleaſant and Delightful as they are in *Spain* in *April*; and there was heard the ſinging of Nightingals and other Birds, ſo ſweet, that he could ſcarce depart. Nor were they only about the Trees, but flew thro' the Air in ſuch ſwarms, that they darkened the Sun, and moſt of them differ'd much from our Birds. There being abundance of Waters and Lakes; near to one of them they ſaw a ſort of Alligator ſeven foot long, and above a foot wide in the Belly, which being diſturb'd by our Men, threw its ſelf into the Lake, but it not being deep, they kill'd it with their Spears, not without dread and admiration, becauſe of its fierce and frightful look. Time afterwards made them look upon this as a dainty, it being the beſt food the *Indians* had; for as much as when that horrid Skin, and the Scales that cover it are taken of, the Fleſh is very white and very delicious, the *Indians* call them *Yvanas*. Yvañas. Being very deſirous to know more of that Country, and it being then late, they left that Creature for the next day, when they kill'd another, as they had done the firſt; and Travelling up the Land, found a Town, the People whereof fled, carrying away as much of their Goods as they could. The Admiral would not ſuffer any thing of what they had left to be taken away, leaſt they ſhould look upon the Chriſtians as Thieves. Therefore their fear being ſoon over, they came of their own accord to the Ships to Barter, as the others had done.

CHAP. XXVII.

How the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of Cuba, *and what he found there.*

Iſland of Cuba.

THe Admiral having learn'd the ſecrets of the Iſland *Iſabella*, its Product, and the Manners of the People, would loſe no more time among thoſe Iſlands, becauſe they were many and like one another, as the *Indians* ſa'd. He therefore ſet ſail with a fair Wind for a very large Country, much applauded by them all, call'd *Cuba*, which lay towards the South, and on *Sunday* the 28th of *October*, he came up with the Coaſt of it, on the North ſide. This Iſland at firſt ſight appeared to be better and Richer than thoſe before nam'd, as well by reaſon of the Beauty of its Hills and Mountains, as for the variety of Trees, the large Plains, and the greatneſs and extent of its Coaſts and Rivers. Therefore to get ſome Knowledge of its People, he came to an Anchor in a large River, where the Trees were very thick and tall, adorn'd with Fruit and Bloſſoms, differing from ours, and where there were abundance of Birds, the place moſt delicious, for the Graſs was high, and nothing like ours; and tho' there were ſeveral ſorts of Herbs known to us, yet the great variety made our Men not know them. Going to two Houſes that were not far off, they found the People were fled for fear, and had left their Nets, and all other Fiſhing tackle, and a Dog that did not bark. As the Admiral had ordered, nothing was touch'd, for it was enough for him at preſent to ſee what their Food and Neceſſaries were. Returning to their Ships they held on their Courſe Weſtward, and came to another River, which the Admiral call'd *de Mares*, or of Seas. This much exceeded the other, becauſe a Ship could turn

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Columbus. it up, and the Banks were much Inhabited; but the People seeing the Ships, fled towards the Mountains, which appear'd, and were high, round, and covered with Trees and Pleasant Plants, whither the *Indians* convey'd all they could carry away. The Admiral being disappointed, by the Peoples fear, of Learning any thing of the Nature of the Island, and considering if he Landed with many Men, it would increase their Terrour, he resolved to send two Christians, with one of the *Indians* he brought from St. *Salvador*, and with one of that Country, who ventured to come aboard in his Canoo. These he ordered to Travell up into the Country, making much of the Natives they met by the way, and that no time might be lost, whilst they were going, he order'd the Ship to be lay'd athear to Careen her, where they observed that all the fire they made was Mastick, whereof there was plenty all the Country over. This Tree is in all respects like our Mastick Tree, but much bigger.

CHAP. XXVIII.

How the two Christians return'd, and the Report they made of what they had seen.

A Town in Cuba. THE Ship being Repaired and ready to Sail, the Christians returned with two *Indians* on the 5th of *November*, saying, they had Travell'd twelve Leagues up the Land, and came to a Town of 50 Pretty large Houses, all of Timber covered with Straw, and made after the manner of Pavillions, like the others; that they contain'd about 1000 People, because all that were of one Family liv'd in a House, that the Principal Men of the Place came out to meet them, and led them by the Arms to their Town, giving them one of those great Houses to Lodge in, where they made them sit down upon Seats made of one Piece, in strange shapes, and almost like some Creature that had short Legs, and the Tail lifted up to lean against, which is as broad as the Seat for the conveniency of Leaning, with a Head before, and the Eyes and Ears of Gold. These Seats they call *Duchi*, where the Christians being seated, all the *Indians* sate about them on the Ground, and then came one by one to kiss their Hands and Feet, believing they came from Heaven; and they gave them some boil'd Roots to eat, not unlike Chesnuts in taste; earnestly intreating them to stay there among them, or at least to rest themselves 5 or 6 days, because the two *Indians* they took with them, gave those People an excellent Character of the Christians. Soon after, many Women coming in to see them; the Men went out, and these with no less respect, kiss'd their Feet and Hands, offering them what they brought. When their time came to return to the Ships, many *Indians* would go along with them, but they would admit only of the King, his Son and one Servant, whom the Admiral did much Honour to; and these Christians told him, that in their way out, and return, they had found several Towns, where they were entertain'd with the same Courtesy, but that there were not in them above five Houses together: Besides, That by the way, they met many People, who always carried a lighted Firebrand, to light fire, and Perfume themselves with certain Herbs they carried along with them, and to Roast some of those Roots they gave them; for as much as that was their Principal Food. They also saw very many sorts of Trees and Plants, which were not to be seen about the Sea-Coast; and great variety of Birds, far differing from ours, but that among them there were Partridges and Nightingals. As for Four-footed Creatures, they had seen none but dumb Dogs. That there was a great deal of Till'd Land, some sow'd with those Roots, a sort of Beans, and a sort of Grain they call *Maiz*, which was well tasted, Bak'd, or Dry'd and made into Flour. they saw vast quantities of Cotton well spun, in Bottoms, insomuch that in one House only, they saw above 12500 Pounds of it. The Plants it comes from are not set, but grow Naturally about the Fields, like Roses, and open of themselves, when they are Ripe, but not all at the same time; for upon one and the same Plant, they had seen a little young Bud, another open, and a third coming Ripe. Of these Plants the *Indians* afterwards carried great Quantities aboard the Ships, and gave a Basket full for a Thong of Leather; yet none of them make use of it to Cloath themselves, but only to make Nets for their Beds, which they call *Hamacas*, and in weaving Aprons for Women to cover their Nakedness. Being ask'd whether they had Gold or Pearls, or Spices, they made Signs that there was great Plenty towards the East, in a Country they call *Bohio*, which is the Island *Hispaniola*, but as is not yet certainly known what Place they meant.

Columbus.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the Admrial desisted from following the Western Coast of Cuba, *and turn'd Eastward towards* Hispaniola.

THE Admiral having this Account, and resolving to stay no longer in that River, order'd some Natives of that Island to be taken, designing to carry some from all Parts into *Spain*, to give an Account of his Country; and accordingly 12 were seiz'd, Men, Women, and Children, and this so peaceably and without any disturbance, that when they were ready to sail with them, the Husband of one of the Women, and Father of two Children that had been carry'd aboard, came to the Ships in a Canoo desiring he might be taken along with them, and not parted from his Wife and Children, which extreamly pleas'd the Admiral, who order'd he should be receiv'd, and they all well us'd and made much of. That same day, being the 13th of *November*, he came about to the Eastward, designing for the Island they call'd *Bohio*. The Wind blowing hard at North, he was forced to come to an Anchor again in the same Island of *Cuba*, among some high Islands, lying near a large Port, which he call'd *del Principe*, or the Princes Port, and the Sea, Our Ladies. These Islands lay so thick and close, that there was not above a quarter of a League distance between them at furthest, and but a Musquet shot for the most part. The Chanels were so deep, and so well adorn'd with Trees and Greens, that it was very delightful going among them; and among the Multitude of other Trees, there were abundance of Mastick, Aloes and Palm, the Trunck green and smooth, and other Plants of sundry sorts. And tho' these Islands were not Inhabited, yet there appeared the Tokens of many fires made by Fishermen, for as it afterwards appear'd, the People of *Cuba* went together in great Number, in their Canoos over to these Islands, and abundance more that lie hereabouts Uninhabited, and live upon the Fish they catch, upon Birds, Crabs, and other things they find on the Earth, for as much as generally the *Indians* eat abundance of filthy things, such as great Spiders, Worms that breed in rotten Wood and other Corrupt Places, and abundance of Fish almost raw; for as soon as taken, before they roast it, they digg out the Eyes to eat, and many other such things they feed on, which besides that, they are nauseous would kill any of us should we eat them. They follow this Fishing and Birding according to the Season, sometimes in one Island, sometimes in another, as one that changes his Diet, being weary of the last. But to return to the Islands of our Ladies Sea, in one of them the Christians, with their Swords, kill'd a Beast like a Badger, and in the Sea found much Mother of Pearl; and casting their Nets, among many other sorts of Fish they caught, one was like a Swine, all cover'd with a very hard skin, no part whereof was soft but the Tail. They also observ'd that in this Sea, and the Islands, the Tide swell'd and fell much lower than in other Places, where they had been till then, and their Tides were quite contrary to ours; for it was low Water when the Moon was S. W. and by S.

Conjugal affection in an Indian.

Food of the Indians.

CHAP. XXX.

How the Admiral set sail again Eastward for Hispaniola, *and one of the Ships forsook him.*

ON *Munday* the 19th of *November*, the Admiral departed from the Princes Port in *Cuba*, and the Sea of our Lady, Steering Eastward for the Island of *Bohio* and *Hispaniola*, but the Wind being contrary, he was forced to ply two or three days between the Island *Isabella*, which the *Indians* call *Somoto*, and the said Princes Port, which lie almost North and South, about 25 Leagues distant, in which Sea he still found long Traces of those Weeds he had seen in the Ocean, and he perceived they swam along the Current, and never lay athwart it During this time *Martin Alonzo Pinzon* being inform'd by certain *Indians* he had conceal'd aboard his Caraval, that in the Island *Bohio*, which we said was *Hispaniola*, there was great plenty of Gold; Covetously blinding him, on *Wednesday* the 21st of *November*, he went away from the Admiral without any stress of Weather, or any other occasion, for he could have come up to him before the Wind, but would not, and so making as much way as possibly he could, his Vessel being an excellent sailer, he made forwards all *Thursday*, whereas they had sail'd in sight of one another all the day before, and Night coming on he quite va-

Martin A-lo[illegible] leav[illegible] Adm[illegible]

nish'd

nish'd. Thus the Admiral was left only with two Ships, and the Weather not being fit for his Vessels to sail over towards *Hispaniola*, he was forced to return to *Cuba*, to another Port not far from the Princes, which he call'd St. *Catherines*, there to take in Wood and Water. In this Port he accidentally saw signs of Gold on some Stones in the River where they were Watering, and up the Country there were Mountains full of such tall Pine Trees, as would make Masts for the biggest Ships. Nor was there any want of Wood for Planks, to build as many Ships as they would, and among them Oaks and others like those in *Castile*. But perceiving that all the *Indians* directed him to *Hispaniola*, he run along the Coast 10 or 12 Leagues farther towards the South-East, meeting all the way excellent Harbours, and many large Rivers. The Admiral says so much of the Delightfulness and Beauty of that Country, that I have thought fit here to set down his own words, speaking of the Mouth of a River, which makes an Harbour by him call'd *Puerto Santo*, or Holy Harbour. Thus he says, When I went with the Boats before me to the Mouth of the Harbour towards the South, I found a River, up whose Mouth a Gally could easily row, and the way up it was such, that it was not to be discover'd but close by: The Beauty of it invited me to go up a Boats length, where I found from 5 to 3 Fathom Water; and proceeding, I went a considerable way up the River in the Boats; because, as well the Beauty and Delightfulness of the River, and the clearness of the Water, thro' which I could see the Sand at the bottom; as the abundance of Palm Trees of several sorts, the finest and highest I had yet met with; the other, infinite Number of large green Trees, the Birds and the verdure of the Plain, tempted me to fix there for ever. This Country, Most Serene Princes, is so wonderfully fine, and as far exceeds all other Beauty and Delightfulness, as the Day in brightness exceeds the Night. Therefore I often told my Companions, that tho' I should never so much endeavour to give your Highnesses a Perfect Account of it my Tongue and Pen would always fall short of the Truth. And to say the Truth, I was astonished to see so much Beauty, and know not how to express it; for I have writ of the other Countries, of their Trees and Fruits, of the Plants and Ports, and of all that belong'd to them, as largely as I was able, yet not as I ought, since all Men affirm'd it was impossible any other Country could be more delicious. Now I am silent, wishing this may be seen by others, who will write of it, that they may prove how little Credit is to be got more than I have done in Writing or Speaking of that Place considering what it deserves. The Admiral going on with his Boats, saw a Canoo among the Trees in the Port, drawn upon Land under a Bower, which Canoo was made of the Body of one Tree, and as big as a twelve Oar Barge, and in some Houses hard by, they found a Ball of Wax, and a Man's Skull in two Baskets hanging at a Post. The same they afterwards found in another House, which made our Men judge, they were the Sculls of the Founders of those Houses. No People appeared to receive any Information of, for as soon as ever they saw the Christians, they fled from their Houses to other Parts. Afterwards they found another Canoo about 70 Foot long, that would carry 50 Persons, made like the other we spoke of before.

Food of the Indians.

Two vast Canoos.

CHAP. XXXI.

How the Admiral sail'd over to Hispaniola, *and what he saw there.*

THE Admiral having sail'd 106 Leagues Eastward along the Coast of *Cuba*, came to the East Point of it, which he call'd *Alpha*, and on *Wednesday* the 5th of *December*, took off to sail over to *Hispaniola*, distant 20 Leagues from *Cuba* Eastward, and by reason of some Currents, could not reach it the next day, when he put into Port St. *Nicholas*, so call'd by him in Memory of that Saint, whose Festival was that day. This Port is large, deep, safe, and encompass'd with many tall Trees, but the Country is more Rocky, and the Trees are less, than those like those of *Castile*, among which were small Oaks, Myrtle and other Shrubs, and a Pleasant River ran along a Plain towards the Port, all about which, there were large Canoos like 15 Oar Barges. The Admiral not being able to meet with any of those People, ran along the Coast Northward, till he came to a Port he call'd the *Conception*, which lies almost due South of a small Island about the bigness of *Gran Canaria*, which was afterwards call'd *Tortuga*. Perceiving that this Island *Bohio* was very large, and that the Land and Trees were like those of *Spain*; and that at one draught of a Net they had taken several Fishes, like those of *Spain*, as Soles, Salmon, Pilchards, Crabs, and some others, therefore on *Sunday* the 9th of *December*, they gave it the Name of *Espannola*, as call'd in

Tortuga.

Columbus. in *Engliſh*, *Hiſpaniola*. All of them being very deſirous to enquire into the Nature of this Iſland; whilſt the Men were fiſhing on the Shoar, three Chriſtians Travelled along the Mountain, and lighted on a Company of *Indians*, as Naked as thoſe they had ſeen before, who ſeeing the Chriſtians draw near them, in a great fright, ran into the thickeſt of the Wood, as having no Cloaths to hinder them. The Chriſtians to get ſome information, ran after them, but could only overtake a young Woman, who had a Plate of Gold hanging at her Noſe. She was carried to the Ships, where the Admiral gave her ſeveral Baubles, as Bells and Glaſs, and then ſent her aſhoar without the leaſt diſguſt offer'd her, ordering three *Indians* of thoſe he brought from the other Iſlands to go with her, and three Chriſtians, to the Town where ſhe dwelt. The next day he ſent 11 Men aſhoar well Arm'd, who having Travell'd four Leagues, found a ſort of Town or Village of above 1000 Houſes ſcattered about a Valley, the Inhabitants whereof ſeeing the Chriſtians, all fled to the Woods. But the *Indian* Guide, whom our Men brought from St. *Salvador*, went after them, and ſaid ſuch things to them of the Chriſtians, affirming they were People come from Heaven, that he perſwaded them to turn back quietly and without any Fear. Afterwards full of Aſtoniſhment they would lay their Hands on our Mens Heads by way of Honour, brought them to eat, and gave them all they deſired, without asking any return, praying them to ſtay that Night in their Village. The Chriſtians would not accept of the invitation, but returned to their Ships carrying the News that the Country was very Pleaſant, abounding in their Proviſions: that the People were whiter and handſomer than any they had yet ſeen in the other Iſlands, and that they were Traſtable and Courteous, and told them the Country where the Gold was found, lay further Eaſtward. The Admiral hearing this Account, ſet ſail immediately, tho' the Wind was contrary, and on *Sunday* following, being the 15th of *December*, as he was plying between *Hiſpaniola* and *Tortuga*, he found one *Indian* alone in a little Canoo, which they all wonder'd was not ſwallowed by the Sea, the Wind and Waves were ſo high. He took him into the Ship, carried him to *Hiſpaniola*, and ſet him aſhoar with ſeveral Gifts. He told the *Indians* how kindly he had been uſed, and ſpoke ſo well of the Chriſtians, that abundance of them came preſently aboard, but they brought nothing of value, except ſome ſmall grains of Gold hanging at their Ears and Noſtrils, and being ask'd whence they had that Gold, they made ſigns there was a great deal higher up. The next day there came a great Canoo from the Iſland *Tortuga*, which was near the Place where the Admiral lay at Anchor, with 40 Men in it, at ſuch time as the *Cacique* or Lord of that Port of *Hiſpaniola* was upon the ſhoar, Bartering a Plate of Gold he had brought. When he and his ſaw the Canoo, they all ſate themſelves down upon the Ground, as a ſign they would not fight. Immediately almoſt all thoſe in the Canoo Landed, againſt whom the Cacique of *Hiſpaniola* got up alone, and with threatning words made them return to their Canoo. Then he threw Water after them, and taking up Stones off the Strand, caſt them into the Sea towards the Canoo. But when they were all in ſubmiſſive manner return'd to their Canoo, he took up a Stone and delivered it to one of the Admiral's Officers, to throw at thoſe in the Canoo, to expreſs that he took the Admiral's part againſt the *Indians*, but the Officer did not throw, ſeeing they preſently went off in their Canoo. After this, diſcourſing about the Affairs of that Iſland, which the Admiral had call'd *Tortuga*, he affirm'd there was more Gold in it than in *Hiſpaniola*, and that in *Bohio* there was more than in any other, which was about 15 days Journey from the Place where they were.

CHAP. XXXII.

How the Principal King of the Iſland came aboard, and of the State he came in.

ON *Tueſday* the 18 of *December*, the King that came the day before, where the Canoo of *Tortuga* was, and who lived 5 Leagues from the Place where the Ships lay, came in the Morning to the Town near the Sea, ſome of the *Spaniards* at the ſame time being there by the Admiral's Order to ſee whether they brought any more Gold. Theſe ſeeing the King come, went to acquaint the Admiral, ſaying he brought above 200 Men along with him, and that he came not a Foot but was carry'd on a ſort of Palanquine by four Men with great reſpect, tho' he was very Young. This King being at a ſmall diſtance from the Ships, having reſted a little, drew near with all his Men, concerning

Account of the Cacique or Indian King.

Columbus. ing which, the Admiral himſelf writes thus: There is no doubt but your Highneſſes had been very much pleas'd to have ſeen his Gravity, and the Reſpect his People pay'd him, tho' all Naked. When he came aboard, and underſtood I was under Deck, being then at Dinner, he ſurpris'd me, ſitting down by me, without giving me time to go out to receive him, or riſe from Table. When he came down he made ſigns to all his Followers to ſtay above, which they did with great Reſpect, ſitting down upon the Deck, except two Ancient Men that ſeemed to be his Councellours, that ſat down at his Feet. They ſaid this Man was a Cacique. I order'd ſuch Meat as I was eating, to be brought him; they juſt taſted of every thing, and ſent the reſt to their Men, who all eat of it. The ſame they did as to drinking, for they only kiſs'd the Cup and gave it about. They were all wonderful Grave, and ſpoke but few words, and thoſe they utter'd, by what I could gather, were very deliberate and ſtaid. The two old Men obſerv'd the King's Mouth, and ſpoke for and to him. After eating, one of his Gentlemen with great Reſpect brought him a Girdle, not unlike thoſe uſed in *Caſtile*, tho differently wrought, which he took in his hand, and gave me with two pieces of wrought Gold very thin. Of which Gold I believe there is little here, and I gueſs'd that place was near to where they took it, which produced very much. I believing he would like a Carpet or Counterpain that lay on my Bed, gave it him, together with ſome fine Amber Beads I had about my Neck, with a pair of red Shooes, and a Bottle of Orange-flower Water, with which he was wonderfully pleas'd, and both he and his Councellors expreſs'd much concern becauſe they did not underſtand me, nor I them, tho' I made out, that if I wanted any thing, all the Iſland was at my Command. I preſently brought out a Letter-Caſe, in which I carry'd a Gold Medal weighing 4 Ducats, on which your Highneſſes Effigies are cut, and ſhowed it him, ſaying over again, that your Highneſſes were Mighty Princes, and Poſſeſt the beſt part of the World, and ſhewed him the Royal Standard, and the other of the Croſs, which he made great Account of. Therefore turning to his Councellors, he ſaid, Your Highneſſes were certainly Mighty Princes, ſince you had ſent me ſo far as from Heaven thither, without any fear. Much more paſs'd between us, which I did not underſtand, but perceiv'd they admired at every thing they ſaw; but it being then late, and he deſiring to be gone, I ſent him aſhoar very Honourably in my Boat, and cauſed ſeveral Guns to be fired, and he being aſhoar got into his Palanquine, attended by above 200 Men, and a Son of his was carried on a Man of Note's Shoulders. He ordered all the *Spaniards* that were aſhoar, to have Meat given them, and to be very Courteouſly uſed. Afterwards a Sailer that met him on the way, told me, that every one of the things I had given him, were carry'd before him by a Man of great worth, and that his Son went not along with him on the Road, but at ſome diſtance behind him with as many more Attendance as he had, and a Brother of his a Foot, with near as many more, two great Men leading him under the Arms, to whom I had given ſome ſmall Matters when he came aboard after his Brother.

CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Admiral loſt his Ship upon the Flats thro the careleſſneſs of the Sailers, and the aſſiſtance he receiv'd from the King of that Iſland.

THE Admiral continuing the Relation as above, ſays, That on *Monday* the 24th of *December*, the Weather was very calm, without any Wind hardly, but ſo much as carried him from St. *Thomas*'s Sea, to *Punta Santa*, or the Holy Cape, off which he came by about a League, and about 11 of the Clock at Night he went to take his Reſt, for he had not ſlept in two Days and a Night; and the Weather being Calm, the Seaman that was at the Helm, left it to a Grummet, which (ſays the Admiral) I had forbid during the whole Voyage, bidding them, whether the Wind blew or not, never to leave the Helm to a Grummet. And to ſay the Truth, I thought my ſelf ſafe from Flats and Rocks, for that *Sunday* I ſent my Boats to the King, they went at leaſt three Leagues and a half beyond the ſaid *Punta Santa*, and the Seamen had view'd all the Coaſt, and the Shoals that lie three Leagues E. S. E. of that Cape, and obſerv'd which way to ſail, which I had not done during the Voyage; and it pleaſed our Lord, that at Midnight, ſeeing me gone to Bed, and we being in a dead calm and the Sea as ſtill as the Water in a Diſh, all the Men went to reſt, leaving the Helm to a Grummet. Thus it came to paſs, that the Current eaſily carried away the Ship upon one

Columbus. of thoſe Shoals, which tho' it was Night, made ſuch a roaring Noiſe, that they might be heard and diſcover'd a League off. Then the Fellow who felt the Rudder ſtrike and heard the Noiſe, began to cry out, and I hearing it, got up immediately, for none had yet perceived that we were a Ground. Preſently the Maſter, whoſe Watch it was, came out, and I order'd him and other Sailers to take the Boat, and carry out an Anchor a Stern; whereupon he and others leap'd into the Boat, and I believing they would have done as I ordered, they row'd way, flying with the Boat to the other Caraval, which was half a League off. I then perceiving they ran away with the Boat, that the Water Ebb'd, and the Ship was in Danger, cauſed the Maſts to be cut down, and lightned her as much as I could to ſee to get her off; but the Water ſtill Ebbing, the Caraval could not budge, but turning athwart the Streams the ſeames opened, and all below Deck was full of Water. Mean while the Boat returned from the Caraval to relieve me, for the Men aboard perceiving the Boat fled, would not receive it, which oblig'd it to return to the Ship. No hopes of ſaving the Ship appearing, I went away to the Caraval to ſave the Men, and becauſe the Wind blew from the Land, and great part of the Night was ſpent, and yet we knew not which way to get from among thoſe Flats; I lay by with the Caraval till day appeared, and then I drew towards Land within the Shoals, having firſt ſent *James de Arana* the Provoſt, and *Peter Gutierres* your Highneſſes Secretary, to acquaint the King with what had happened, telling him, That as I was going to viſit him in his own Port, as he had deſired the laſt *Saturday*, I had loſt my Ship oppoſite to his Town, and a League and a half from it upon a Flat. The King underſtanding it, with Tears in his Eyes, expreſſed much Grief for our Loſs, and immediately ſent aboard all the People in the Place, with many large Canoos. So they and we began to unload, and in a ſhort time carried off all that was upon Deck. The Aſſiſtance this King gave was great; and afterwards he himſelf, with his Brothers and Kindred, took all poſſible Care both aboard and aſhoar, that all things might be done orderly; and from time to time he ſent ſome of his Kindred Weeping, to beg of me not to be dejected, for he would give me all he had. I do aſſure your Highneſſes, better Order could not have been taken in any part of *Caſtile*, to ſecure our things, for we loſt not the value of a Pin, for he cauſed all our Cloaths to be lay'd together near his Palace, where he kept them till the Houſes were voided, which he had appointed for us. He placed Armed Men to keep them, who ſtood there all Day and all Night, and all the People Lamented, as if our Loſs had concern'd them much; ſo loving, tractable and free from Covetouſneſs they are, that I ſwear to your Highneſſes, there are no better People, nor a better Country in the World. They love their Neighbour as themſelves, and their Converſation is the ſweeteſt in the Univerſe, being Pleaſant and always Smiling. True it is, both Men and Women go as Naked as they were born, yet your Highneſſes may believe me, they have very commendable Cuſtoms, and the King is ſerv'd with great State, and he is ſo ſtaid, that it is a great ſatisfaction to ſee him, as it is to think what good Memories theſe People have, and how deſirous they are to know every thing, which moves 'em to ask many Queſtions, and to enquire into the Cauſe and Effects of every thing.

Great kindneſs of the Indians to the Spaniards.

CHAP. XXXIV.

How the Admiral reſolved to plant a Colony where the King Reſided, and call'd it the Nativity.

ON *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*, the Chief King of that Country came aboard the Admiral's Caraval, and expreſſing much Grief and Sorrow, Comforted him, offered all he would have, and ſaying he had already given the Chriſtians three Houſes to lay up all they got out of the Ship, and that he had given them many more, had they ſtood in need of them. In the mean while a Canoo came with ſome *Indians* from another Iſland, bringing ſome Plates of Gold to exchange for Bells, which they valued above any thing. Beſides the Seamen came from Shoar, ſaying abundance of *Indians* reſorted from other Places to the Town, who brought ſeveral things in Gold and gave them for Points, and other things of ſmall value, offering to bring much more if the Chriſtians would. Which the great Cacique perceiving was pleaſing to the Admiral, he told him he would cauſe a great quantity to be brought from *Cibao*, a Place that yielded much Gold. Being aſhoar, he invited the the Admiral to eat *Axis* and *Cazabi*, which is their Principal Diet, and gave him ſome Vizor Masks, with

Columbus. the Admiral builds a Fort and leaves Men in the Island.

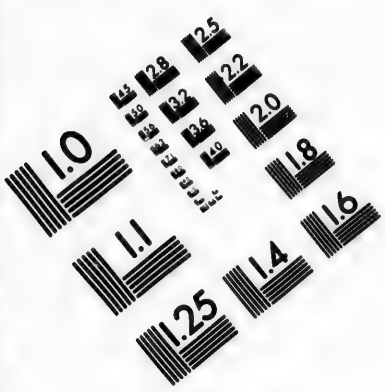
with the Eyes, Nose and Ears of Gold, and other pretty things which they hung about their Necks. Then complaining of the *Caribbes*, who carried away his Men to make Slaves and eat them, he was much Comforted, when the Admiral comforting him, shew'd him our Weaponts, saying, he would defend him with them. He was much Astonish'd at our Canon, which so terrified them, that they fell down as if they were Dead, when they heard the Report. The Admiral therefore finding so much kindness among those People, and such signs of Gold, almost forgot the grief conceiv'd for the loss of his Ship; thinking God had permitted it that he might fix a Colony there, and leave Christians to Trade, and get further Knowledge of the People and Country, learning the Language, and conversing with the Natives, that when he returned from *Spain* with Succours, he might have some body to direct him in his Affairs, for Peopling and Subduing that Country. To this he was the more inclin'd, because many voluntarily offered themselves to stay and Inhabit there. For this reason he resolved to build a Tower with the Timber of the Ship that was wreck'd, whereof he lost no part, but made use of it all. To forward his design, the next day being *Thursday*, the 27th of *December*, News was brought, that the Caraval *Pinta*, was in a River towards the East Point of the Island. To be assured of it, the Cacique, whose Name was *Guacanagari*, sent a Canoo with some *Indians*, who carried a Christian thither: He having gone 20 Leagues along the Coast, returned without any News of it, which was the Reason that no Credit was given to another *Indian*, who said he had seen her some days before. Nevertheless the Admiral did not alter his Resolution of leaving some Christians in that Place who were all still more sensible of the Goodness and Wealth of the Country, the *Indians* bringing Masks and other things of Gold to give them, and telling them of several Provinces in the Island where it was found. The Admiral being now ready to depart, and discoursing with the King concerning the *Caribbes*, or *Canibals*, of whom they complain'd and were in great dread, therefore to please him with leaving some Christians there, and at the same time make him afraid of our Arms, he caused a Gun to be fired against the side of the Ship, which shot quite thro' it, and the Bullet fell into the Water, which not a little terrified the Cacique Besides, he shew'd him all our other Weapons, and how they offended with them, and defended themselves, telling him, that since such Weapons were left to defend him, he needed not to fear the *Caribbes*, for the Christians would destroy them all, and he would leave them for his Guard, and return himself to *Castile* for Jewels and other things to give him. Then he particularly recommended to him *James de Arana*, Son to *Roderick de Arana* of *Cordova*, of whom mention has been made above. To him, and *Peter Gutierres* and *Roderick de Eskovedo*, he left the Government of the Fort, and Command of 36 Men, with abundance of Commodities, Provision, Arms and Cannon, and the Boat that belong'd to the Ship, with Carpenters, Caulkers, and all other Necessaries for settling there, also a Surgeon, Gunner, and such like Persons. This done he repaired with all Possible speed to return directly to *Castile*, without making any more Discoveries, fearing, since he had but one Ship left, least some other Misfortune might befall him, which might hinder their Catholick Majesties coming to the Knowledge of those Kingdoms he had newly acquired for them.

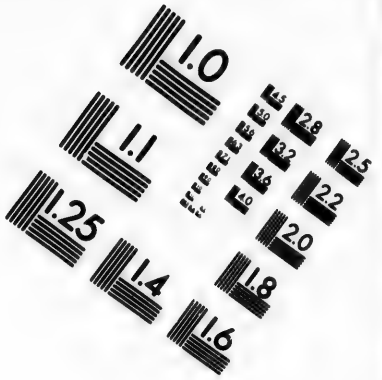
CHAP. XXXV.

How the Admiral set out to return to Spain, *and found the other Caraval commanded by* Pinzon.

Note the first Christmas Feast.

ON *Friday* the 4th of *January*, at Sunrising, the Admiral set sail, with the Boats a-head, standing North-West, to get out of shoal Water, that was about the Port where he left the Christians, by him call'd the Port of the *Nativity*, because on *Christmas* day he had Landed, escaping the danger of the Sea, and begun to build that Colony. Those Flats reach from Cape *Santo* to Cape *Serpe*, which is six Leagues, and run out above three Leagues to Sea, and all the Coast North-West and South-East is an open Strand, and Plain for four Leagues up the Country, where there are then high Mountains, and abundance of large Villages, in comparison of what is in the other Islands. Then he sail'd towards a high Mountain, which he call'd *Monte Christo*, and lies 18 Leagues E. of Cape *Santo*. So that whosoever would come to the City of the *Nativity*, when he discovers *Monte Christo*, which is round like a Pavillion, and looks almost like a Rock, must keep out at Sea two Leagues from it, and sail West till he comes





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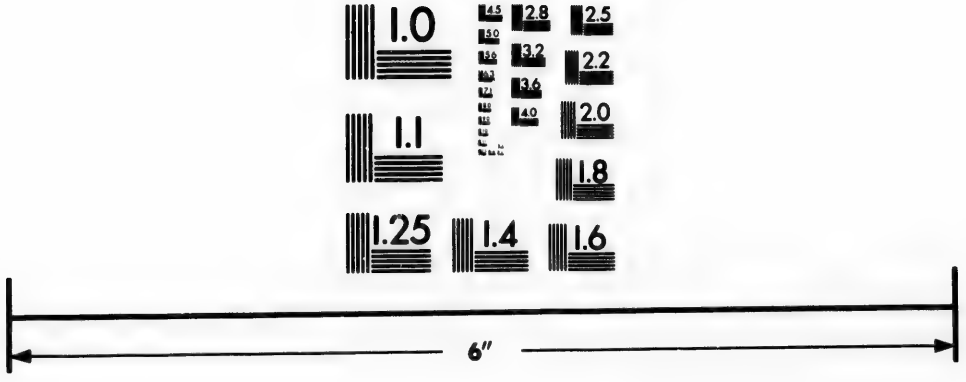

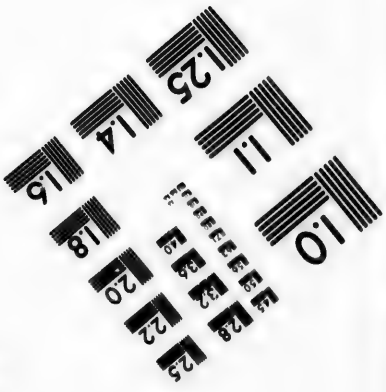

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Columbus.

comes to Cape *Santo*, when the City of the *Nativity* will be five Leagues from him, and he muſt paſs thro' certain Chanels among the Flats, which lie before it. The Admiral thought fit to mention theſe Marks, that it might be known where the firſt Habitation of Chriſtians was in thoſe Weſtern Parts. Having ſailed Eaſt of *Monte Chriſto* with Contrary Winds, on *Sunday* the 6th of *January*, in the Morning, a Sailer from the round Top diſcovered the Caraval *Pinta* that was ſailing Weſtward, right before the Wind. As ſoon as it came up with the Admiral, *Martin Alonzo Pinzon*, the Captain, coming aboard the Admiral's Caraval, began to ſhow ſome Reaſons, and give excuſes for his leaving of him, ſaying it had happened againſt his Will. The Admiral, tho' he very well knew the contrary, and was ſatisfied of the Man's Evil Inclination, remembring his bold manner of proceeding before in the Voyage, yet conniv'd at him, and bore with all, for fear of ruining his Undertaking, which might eaſily have been done, becauſe moſt of his Crew were *Martin Alonzo*'s Countrymen, and ſeveral of them his Relations. And the truth is, that when he forſook the Admiral, which was at *Cuba*, he went away with a deſign to ſail to the Iſland *Bohio*, becauſe the *Indians* aboard his Caraval told him, there was abundance of Gold there. When he was there and found nothing of what had been told him, he was returning towards *Hiſpaniola*, where other *Indians* had told him there was much Gold, and thus he had ſpent 20 days in ſailing not above 15 Leagues Eaſt of the *Nativity*, to a River which the Admiral call'd of *Grace*, and there *Martin Alonzo* had lain 16 days, and had got Gold enough, as the Admiral had done at the *Nativity*, giving things of ſmall value for it. Of this Gold he diſtributed one half among his Crew, to gain and pleaſe them, that he as Captain might keep the reſt, and afterwards he would perſwade the Admiral that he knew nothing of all this. He now following on his way to come to an Anchor at *Monte Chriſto*; the Weather not permitting him to proceed further, he went in his Boat up a River, South-Weſt of the Mount, where in the Sand he diſcovered ſigns of Gold duſt, and therefore called it the *River of Gold*. This River lies 17 Leagues Eaſt of the *Nativity*, and is not much leſs than the River *Guadalquiver* that runs by *Cordova*.

The other Caraval found.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the firſt Skirmiſh between the Chriſtians *and* Indians, *which happened about the Gulph of* Samana *in* Hiſpaniola.

Fierce Indians.

ON *Sunday* the 13th of *January*, being near the Cape call'd *Enamorado*, or the *Lovers Cape*, the Admiral ſent the Boat aſhoar, where our Men found ſome *Indians* with fierce Countenances on the ſhoar, with Bows and Arrows, who ſeemed to be ready to engage, but at the ſame time were in a Conſternation. However, having ſome Conference with them, they bought two of their Bows and ſome Arrows, and with much difficulty prevail'd to have one of them go aboard the Admiral. Their Speech was ſuitable to their fierceneſs, which appeared greater than any People they had yet met with had ſhown, for their Faces were all daub'd over with Charcoal, it being the Cuſtom of all thoſe People to Paint themſelves, ſome black, ſome red, and ſome white, ſome one way, and ſome another; their Hair was very long, and hung in a Bagg made of Parrots Feathers. One of them ſtanding before the Admiral, as Naked as he was born, as all the others there till then diſcovered were, he ſaid in a lofty tone, they all went ſo in thoſe Parts. The Admiral thinking this was one of the *Caribbes*, and that the Bay parted them from *Hiſpaniola*; he ask'd of him where the *Caribbes* dwelt, who pointed with his Finger, in another Iſland Eaſtward, and that there were Pieces of *Guanin*, as big as half the Stern of the Caraval; and that the Iſland *Matinino* was all Inhabited by Women, with whom the *Caribbes* went and lay at a certain time of the Year; and if afterwards they brought forth Sons, they gave them to the Fathers to carry away. Having Anſwered to all the Queſtions put to them, partly by ſigns, and partly by that little the *Indians* of St. *Salvador* could underſtand of their Language, the Admiral gave them to eat, and ſome Baubles, as Glaſs Beads, and green and red Cloath, which done, he ſent them aſhoar, that they ſhould cauſe Gold to be brought if the others had any. The Boat being aſhoar, they found on the ſhoar among the Trees 55 of them, all Naked, with long Hair, as the Women in *Spain* wear it, and behind on the Crown of the Head, they had Plumes of Parrot's or other Birds Feathers, and all of them Arm'd with Bows and Arrows. When our Men Landed, the *Indian* that had been aboard made the others lay down their Bows and

Arrow-

Columbus.

Arrows, and a great Cudgel they carry inſtead of a Sword, for, as has been ſaid, they have no Iron at all: when they came to the Boat, the Chriſtians ſtept a ſhoar, and having begun to Trade for Bows and Arrows by Order of the Admiral, the *Indians* who had already ſold two, not only refuſed to ſell any more, but with ſcorn, made as if they would ſeize the Chriſtians, and ran to their Bows and Arrows where they had left them, taking up with them Ropes to Bind our Men; they being upon their Guard ſeeing them come in that fury, tho' they were but ſeven, fell Courageouſly upon them, and cut one with a Sword on the Buttock, and ſhot another with an Arrow in the Breaſt. The *Indians* aſtoniſh'd at the reſolution of our Men, and the Wounds our Weapons made, fled, moſt of them leaving their Bows and Arrows; and many of 'em had been kill'd, had not the Pilot of the Caraval, who Commanded the Boat, protected them. The Admiral was not at all diſpleaſed at this Skirmiſh, imagining theſe were the *Caribbes* all the other *Indians* ſo much dreaded, or that at leaſt they Bordered on them, they being a Bold and Reſolute People, as appeared by their Aſpect, Arms and Actions, and he hop'd that the Islanders hearing how ſeven Chriſtians had behav'd themſelves againſt 55 Fierce *Indians* of that Country, they would the more Reſpect and Honour our Men that were left behind at the *Nativity*, and would not dare to offend them. Afterwards, about Evening, they made a ſmoak at Land to ſhow their Courage, wherefore the Boat went again to ſee what they would have, but they could never be brought to venture themſelves, and ſo the Boat returned. The Bows were of Yew, almoſt as big as thoſe in *France* and *England*, the Arrows of ſmall Twigs growing out of the ends of the Canes, which are Maſſive and very ſtreight, about the length of a Man's Arm and a half; the head is made of a ſmall Stick hardened at the Fire, about a quarter of a Yard and half long, at the end whereof they fix a Fiſhes Tooth, or Bone, and Poiſon it. For this reaſon the Admiral gave that Gulph the Name of *Golpho de Flechas*, that is, *Gulph of Arrows*, whereas the *Indians* call'd it *Samana*. There appear'd a great deal of fine Cotton, and *Axi*, which is the Pepper they uſe, and is very hot, ſome of it long and ſome round. Near Land, where there was little Water, grew abundance of thoſe Weeds our Men ſaw in long ſtrings upon the Ocean, whence they concluded it all grew near Land, and when ripe, broke looſe, and was carried out to Sea by the Current.

A fray with the Indians.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How the Admiral ſet out for Spain, *and the Caraval* Pinta *was parted from him in a great Storm.*

Diſcovers return towards Spain.

ON *Wedneſday*, the 16th of *January*, 1493. the Admiral ſet forward with a fair Wind from the aforeſaid Gulph of Arrows, now call'd *Samana*, towards *Spain*, becauſe now both the Caravals were very Leaky, and they took much pains to keep them up: Cape *Santelmo* being the laſt Land they ſaw; 20 Leagues North-Eaſt of it, there appeared abundance of Weeds, and 20 Leagues ſtill farther, they found all the Sea covered with ſmall Tunny-fiſhes, whereof they ſaw great Numbers the two following days, which were the 19th and 20th of *January*, and after them abundance of Sea-Fowls, and all the way the Weeds ran with the Current in long Ropes, lying Eaſt and Weſt, for they had already found, that the Current takes theſe Weeds a great way off, and that they keep not on long in the ſame way, for ſometimes they go one way, and ſometimes another, and this they ſaw almoſt every day, till they were almoſt half Seas over. Holding on their Courſe with a fair Wind, they made ſo much way, that in the Opinion of the Pilots, on the 9th of *February*, they were South of the Iſlands *Azores*; but the Admiral ſaid they were 150 Leagues ſhort, and this was the Truth, for they ſtill found abundance of Weeds, which as they went towards the *Indies*, they did not ſee till they were 263 Leagues Weſt of the Iſland of *Ferro*. As they ſailed on thus with fair Weather, the Wind began to riſe more and more every day, and the Sea to run ſo high, that they could ſcarce live upon it. For which reaſon, on *Thurſday* the 14th of *February*, they drove which way ſoever the Wind would carry them; and the Caraval *Pinta*, Commanded by *Pinzon*, not being able to lie athwart the Sea, run away due North, before the South Wind, the Admiral Steering North-Eaſt to draw nearer to *Spain*, which the Caraval *Pinta* could not do, by reaſon of the Darkneſs, tho' the Admiral had always his Light out. Thus when day appeared, they had quite loſt ſight of one another, each looking upon it as moſt certain, that the other was loſt;

A terrible Storm.

Columbus. loſt; therefore betaking themſelves to Prayers and Religious Acts; thoſe aboard the Admiral caſt Lots, which of them ſhould go in Pilgrimage for the whole Crew to our Lady of *Guadalupe*, which fell to the Admiral. Afterwards they drew for another to go to *Loretto*, and the Lot fell upon one *Peter de Villa*, a Seaman of *Port St. Mary*. Then they caſt Lots for a third, who was to Watch a Night at St. *Olave* of *Moguer*, and the Storm ſtill increaſing, they all made a vow to go barefoot and in their Shirts at the firſt Land they came to, to ſome Church of our Lady. Beſides theſe general Vows, ſeveral others were made by Private Men, becauſe the Tempeſt was now vehement, and the Admiral's Veſſel could ſcarce withſtand it for want of Ballaſt, which was fallen ſhort, the Proviſions being ſpent. To ſupply which want, they thought convenient to fill all the Veſſels in the Ship with Sea-Water, which was ſome help, and made the Ship bear more upright, and be in leſs danger of overſetting. Of this violent Storm, the Admiral has theſe Words. I had been leſs concern'd for the Tempeſt, had I alone been in danger, for I know I owe my Life to the Supream Creator, and becauſe I have been other times ſo near Death, that only the leaſt part was wanting to compleat it. But what infinitely Grieved and Troubled me was the conſideration, that as it had pleaſed our Lord to give me Faith and Aſſurance to go upon this undertaking, wherein I had now been ſucceſsful; ſo now that thoſe who oppoſed it were to be convinced, and your Highneſſes ſerved by me with Honour and Increaſe of your Mighty State, his Divine Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to obſtruct all this by my Death, which had yet been more tolerable, had it not been attended with the loſs of all thoſe Men I had carried with me, upon promiſe of Happy Succeſs. They ſeeing themſelves in that affliction did not only Curſe their ſetting out, but the fear and awe my Perſwaſions infuſed into them, to diſſwade their Return when outward Bound, as they had ſeveral times reſolved to do. But above all my Sorrow was double, when I remembered two Sons I had left at School at *Cordova*, deſtitute of Friends, in a ſtrange Country, before I had done, or at leaſt could be known to have done any Service, which might be believed to incline your Highneſſes to remember them. And tho' on the one ſide I Comforted my ſelf with the Faith, that our Lord would not permit a thing which was ſo much for the exaltation of his Church, to be left imperfect, when I had with ſo much oppoſition and trouble, almoſt brought it to Perfection: yet on the other ſide I conſidered, it was his Will, that becauſe of my Demerits he would not permit me to obtain ſuch Honour in this World, but ſnatch'd it from me. Being in this inward Confuſion, I remembered your Highneſſes good Fortune, which tho' I were dead, and the Ship loſt, might find ſome means that a Conqueſt ſo near atchiev'd ſhould not be loſt, and that it was poſſible the Succeſs of my Voyage ſhould by ſome means or other, come to your Knowledge. For this reaſon as briefly as the time would permit. I writ upon Parchment, that I had diſcovered theſe Lands, I had promis'd, as alſo in how many days, and what way I had done it, the goodneſs of thoſe Lands, the Nature of the Inhabitants, and how your Highneſſes Subjects were left in Poſſeſſion of all I had Diſcovered; which Writing folded and Seal'd, I Superſcrib'd to your Highneſſes, promiſing in Writing upon it a 1000 Ducats to him, that ſhould deliver it ſeal'd to you; to the end, that if any Foreigners found it, the promiſed Reward might prevail with them, not to give that Intelligence to another. Then I cauſed a great Cask to be brought to me, and having wrapped the Writing in an Oyl'd Cloath, and then put it into a Cake of Wax, I droped it into the Cask, and having ſtop'd the Bung cloſe, caſt it into the Sea, all the Men fancying it was ſome Act of Devotion. And apprehending that might perhaps never be taken up, and the Ship ſtill ſailing nearer to *Spain*, I made another Pacquet like the firſt, and placed it at the top of the Poop, to the end that when the Ship ſunk, the Cask might take its chance, remaining ſtill above Water.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

How the Admiral arriv'd at the Iſlands Azores, *and the People of the Iſland of St.* Mary *took away his Boat and the Men in it.*

They ſpy Land. SAiling on in ſuch mighty danger, and ſo great a Storm, on *Friday* the 15 of *February*, at break of day, one *Ruy Garcia*, from the Round Top, ſaw Land bear E. N. E. from them. The Pilot and Seamen judg'd it was the Rock of *Lisbon*, but the Admiral concluded it was one of the Iſlands *Azores*, and tho' they were at no great diſtance from it, yet they could not come to an Anchor that day becauſe of the Weather. Thus plying about becauſe the Wind was Eaſt, they loſt ſight of that Iſland

Island and discover'd another, about which they ran struggling against Wind and Weather, with continual Labour and no respite, not being able to get to Land. Wherefore the Admiral in his Journal says, On *Saturday* the 16th of *February*, I arrived at one of those Islands at Night, and by reason of the bad Weather, could not tell which of them it was. That Night I took a little rest, because from *Wednesday* till then, I had never slept, and was lame of both my Legs, having been continually in the open Air and wet, nor was it little that I suffered by Provisions. Upon *Monday* Morning, being at an Anchor, I understood from some of the Inhabitants, that it was the Island of St. *Mary*, one of the *Azores*, and all of them admired I had escap'd, considering the terrible Storm, which had held for 15 days without intermission in those Parts. These People understanding what the Admiral had discovered, seem'd to rejoyce, giving Praise to God, and three of them came aboard with some fresh Provisions and many Complements from the Commander of the Island, who was far from thence at the Town; for about this Place, there was nothing to be seen but a Hermitage, which as they said, was Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Thereupon the Admiral and all his Crew remembring they had made a Vow the *Thursday* before, to go barefoot and in their Shirts, the first Land they came at, to some Church of our Lady; they were all of Opinion they ought here to perform it, especially it being a Place where the People and Governour express'd so much Affection and Tenderness for our Men, and belonging to a King, who was so great a Friend to him of *Castile*. Therefore the Admiral desired those three Men to repair to the Town, and cause the Chaplain to come that had the Keys of that Hermitage, that he might say Mass there. These Men consenting, they went into the Caraval's Boat, with half the Ship's Crew, that they might begin to perform their Vow, and being come back, the rest might go to do their Part. Being Landed barefooted and in their shirts, as they had Vow'd to do, the Governour, with abundance of People from the Town, who lay in Ambush, on a sudden rush'd out upon them and made them Prisoners, taking their Boat, without which he thought the Admiral could never get away from him.

Columbus.

A treacherous Act.

CHAP. XX.

How the Admiral Weathered another Storm, and at last recovered his Boat and Men.

THE Admiral thinking they stay'd too long, who were gone afhoar in the Boat; it being then Noon, whereas they went off by break of Day, he suspected some misfortune had befallen them, either at Land or at Sea. Therefore not being able from the Place where he lay, to discover the Hermitage they were gone to, he resolved with his Ship to sail about a Point, whence the Church could be seen. Being come near, he saw abundance of People a Horseback, who dismounting, went into the Boat to attack the Caraval. The Admiral therefore mistrusting what might happen, ordered his Men to be in a readiness and Arm'd, but make no show of resistance, that the *Portuguese* might come the nearer. When they were near the Admiral, the Captain of them stood up, demanding to Parley, which the Admiral granted, thinking he would come aboard, and might be secur'd without breach of Faith, since he had seiz'd his Men without Provocation. But the *Portuguese* durst not come nearer than to be heard, when the Admiral told him, he admired at his irregular manner of Proceeding, and that none of his Men came in the Boat since they were gone afhoar upon a safe Conduct, and offers of Relief, especially since the Governour himself had sent to welcome him. He therefore desired him to consider, that besides his doing an Action which Enemies would not be guilty of, and against the Laws of Honour, the King of *Portugal* would be highly offended at it, whose Subjects were, when they Landed, in the Dominions of their Catholick Majesties, or resided there, made much of, and treated with all manner of Civility, and were safe without any safe Conduct, as if they were in *Lisbon*; besides that their Highnesses had given him Letters of Recommendation to all Princes, Potentates, and other Persons in the World, which he would show him if he drew near. Therefore since such Letters were receiv'd with Respect in all Parts, and he and the King's Subjects well treated on their Account, much more they ought to be so in *Portugal*, their Princes being so near Neighbours and Allies, especially, he being their great Admiral of the Ocean and Vice-Roy of the *Indies* he had discovered, all which he was ready to show him under their Highnesses Hands and Seals. Accordingly at that distance he show'd his Commissions, and told him he might draw near without any Apprehension, for

The Portuguese thought to secure the Admiral.

Columbus. for as much as in regard to the Peace and Amity betwixt their Catholick Majeſties and the King of *Portugal*, they had Commanded him to pay the utmoſt Civility to ſuch *Portugueſe* Ships as he met; adding, that though he ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in keeping his Men, yet that would not prevent his returning to *Spain*, he having ſtill Men enough to Sail to *Sevil*, and to do him harm, if need were, whereof he himſelf would be the occaſion, and ſuch Puniſhment would be adjudged well deſerved of him, beſides that his King would Puniſh him, as giving cauſe for a War between him and their Catholick Majeſties. The Captain and his Men Anſwered, that they neither knew their Catholick Majeſties, nor their Letters, nor did they fear them, and would make him know what *Portugal* was. By this Anſwer the Admiral ſuſpected, there had ſome Breach happened between the two Crowns ſince his Departure, and therefore gave him ſuch an Anſwer as his Folly deſerv'd. At laſt when they were Parting, the Captain ſtood up, and at a great diſtance ſaid, he might go to the Harbour with his Caraval, for that all he did, was by Order of the King his Maſter. The Admiral hearing it, call'd all that were aboard to bear witneſs, and calling to the Captain and *Portugueſe*, ſwore he would never go off the Caraval, till he had taken an 100 *Portugueſe* to carry them into *Caſtile*, and to deſtroy all that Iſland. This ſaid, he again came to an Anchor in the Port, where he was at firſt, the Weather obliging him to it. But the next day the Wind ſtill increaſing, and the Place where he lay being unſafe, he loſt his Anchors, and was forced to ſtand out to Sea, towards the Iſland of St. *Michael*, where in Caſe he could not come to an Anchor, he had reſolved to run it out at Sea, not without much Danger, as well becauſe the Sea ran high, as by reaſon he had but three able Seamen left, and ſome Grummets, all the reſt being Land Men, and *Indians* who underſtood nothing of Sea affairs. But ſupplying the want of the abſent in his own Perſon, he paſſed that Night with much Labour and Danger, till day appearing, perceiving he had loſt ſight of the Iſland of St. *Michael*, and that the Weather was calmer, he reſolved to return to the Iſland of St. *Mary*, to endeavour to recover his Men, Anchors, and Boat. He came up with it on *Thurſday* the 21ſt of *January*, after Noon, and ſoon after the Boat came off with five Men and a Notary, who all upon Security given them, went aboard and lay there that Night, it being late. The next day they ſaid they came from the Captain to know for certain whence the Ship came, and whether it had the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion, which being made out, they were ready to ſhow them all manner of Friendſhip, which they did becauſe they could not ſeize the Ship nor the Admiral, and that they might ſuffer for what they had done. The Admiral ſuppreſſing his reſentment, ſaid, he thank'd them for their Civil Offers, and ſince they proceeded according to the Maritime Laws and Cuſtoms, he was ready to ſatisfy them; and accordingly ſhow'd them the King of *Spain*'s General Letter of Recommendation, Directed to all his Subjects and thoſe of other Princes, as alſo his Commiſſion for that Voyage; which the *Portugueſes* having ſeen, they went aſhoar ſatisfied, and ſoon diſmiſſed the Seamen, with their Boat, of whom they underſtood it was reported in the Iſland, that the King had ſent Orders to all his Subjects to ſecure the Perſon of the Admiral by any means whatſoever.

They reſtore his Men.

CHAP. XL.

How the Admiral ſail'd from the Iſlands Azores, *and was forced into* Lisbon *by a Storm.*

Another terrible Storm.

ON *Sunday* the 24th of *February*, the Admiral ſail'd from the Iſland of St. *Mary* for *Spain*, being in great want of Wood and Ballaſt, which he could not take in, becauſe of the bad Weather, tho' the Wind was fair for his Voyage. Being an 100 Leagues from the neareſt Land, a Swallow came into the Ship, which as was believ'd the Storm had drove out to Sea, which appeared more plainly, becauſe the next day being the 28th of *February*, a great many more Swallows and Land Fowl came aboard, and they ſaw a Whale. On the 3d of *March* the Tempeſt was ſo great, that after Midnight it ſplit their Sails, wherefore being in great danger of their Lives, they made a Vow to ſend one in Pilgrimage to our Lady *de Cinta* at *Guelva*, whither he was to go barefoot, and in his ſhirt. The Lot fell again upon the Admiral, God ſhowing thereby, that his Offerings were more acceptable than thoſe of others; beſides which, other private Vows were made. Thus running on without a Rag of Cloath, but bare Maſts, a mighty Sea, high Winds and frightfull Thunder, each of which ſeem'd enough to deſtroy the Caraval, it

Columbus.

it pleased God to give them sight of Land, about Midnight, which offered no less danger than the rest; for to avoid being beaten to pieces, and running into some Place where they knew not how to get off, they were forced to make some Sail, to bear up against the Storm till day, which appearing, they found they were upon the Rock of *Lisbon*. The Admiral was forced to put in there, to the great Astonishment of the People of that Country, and their Seamen, who ran from all Parts to behold, as it were some Wonder, a Ship that had escap'd so terrible a Storm; having receiv'd News of many Ships that had Perish'd about *Flanders*, and in other Countries of late days. He came to an Anchor in the River of *Lisbon* upon *Monday* the 4th of *March*, and presently sent away an Express to their Catholick Majesties with the News of his Arrival, and another to the King of *Portugal*, asking leave to go up to Anchor before the City, the Place where he was, not being safe, against any that should design to do him harm, upon pretence, it was done by the King's Order, as believing by his Ruine, they might obstruct the King of *Spain*'s Success.

The Admiral at Lisbon.

CHAP. XLI.

How the People of Lisbon *came to see the Admiral, as a Prodigy; and he went to Visit the King of* Portugal.

The Admiral refuses to quit his Vessel.

ON *Tuesday* the 5th of *March*, the Master of a great Guard Ship that lay in the Harbour, came with his Boat full of Arm'd Men to the Admiral's Caraval, requiring him to come along to give an Account of himself to the King's Officers, as was practised by all Ships that came into the Harbour. He Answered, That the King of *Spain*'s Admirals, as he was, were not oblig'd to obey any such Summons, nor to quit their Ships, to give any Account of themselves, and he was resolved to do his Duty. The Master bid him at least to send his Boatswain. The Admiral reply'd, It was still the same thing, whether he sent a Grummet, or went himself, and therefore it was in vain to desire him to send any Body. The Master being sensible he was in the Right, desired him at least to show him the King of *Spain*'s Letter, that he might satisfy his Captain: This being but reasonable, the Admiral show'd him their Catholick Majesties Letter, with which he was satisfied, and went back to his Ship to give an Account of what had happened to *Alvaro de Acunna* his Captain, who came immediately with Trumpets, Fifes, Drums, and great State, aboard the Admiral, expressing much kindness, and offering his Service. The next day it being known at *Lisbon*, that the Ship came from the *Indies*, such throngs of People went aboard to see the *Indians*, and hear News, that the Caraval could not contain them, and the Water was covered with Boats, some of them Praising God for so great a Happiness, and others Storming that they had lost that Discovery, thro' their King's incredulity; so that day was spent with great concourse of People. The next day, the King Ordered his Officers to present the Admiral with all sorts of Refreshment, and all things he stood in need of either for himself, or his Men, without asking any Pay. At the same time he writ to the Admiral, Congratulating his Happy Arrival, and desiring, since he was in his Dominions, he would come to see him. The Admiral was doubtful what to do in this Case, but he considered the King was in Amity with their Catholick Majesties, and had treated him Courteously; and besides, to take off all suspicion that he came from his Conquests, he consented to go to *Valparaiso*, 9 Leagues from *Lisbon*, where the King was, whither he came on *Saturday* Night, being the 9th of *March*. The King ordered all the Nobility of his Court to go out to meet him, and being come into his Presence, did him great Honour, commanding him to put on his Cap and sit down, and having with a chearful Countenance heard the Particulars of his Prosperous Voyage, offered him all he stood in need of, for the Service of their Catholick Majesties, though he thought, that for as much as he had been a Captain in *Portugal*, that Conquest belong'd to him. To which the Admiral Answered, That he knew of no such Agreement, and that he had strictly observ'd his Orders, which were not to go to the Mines of *Portugal*, nor to *Guinea*. The King said, all was well, and he doubted not but Justice would be done. Having spent a long time in this sort of Discourse, the King Commanded the Prior of *Crato*, the greatest Man then about him, to Entertain the Admiral, and show him all Civility and Respect, which was done accordingly. Having stay'd there all *Sunday* and all *Monday*, till after Mass, the Admiral took leave of the King, who express'd great Kindness, and made him great Proffers, ordering *D. Martin de*

Nobly receiv'd by the King.

Columbus. *Noronha* to go along with him, and many other Gentlemen went for Company to Honour him, and hear an Account of his Voyage. As he was thus on his way to *Lisbon*, he paſs'd by a Monaſtery, where the Queen then was, who ſent earneſtly to intreat him he would not paſs by without ſeeing her. She was much pleaſed to ſee him, and did him all the Favour and Honour that was due to the greateſt Lord. That Night a Gentleman came from the King, to the Admiral, to let him know, that if he pleaſed to go by Land into *Spain*, he would attend him, provide Lodgings all the way, and furniſh him all neceſſaries, as far as the Borders of *Portugal*.

CHAP. XLII.

How the Admiral left Lisbon *to return to* Caſtile *by Sea.*

The Admiral returns to Palos. ON *Wedneſday* the 13th of *March*, two hours after day, the Admiral ſet ſail for *Sevil*, and on *Friday* following at Noon, arrived at *Saltes*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Palos*, whence he had ſet out on the 3d of *Auguſt* the foregoing Year 1492, 7 Months and 11 days before his Return. He was there received by all the People in Proceſſion, giving thanks to God for his Proſperous Succeſs, which it was hop'd, would redound ſo much to the Propagation of Chriſtianity, and increaſe of their Catholick Majeſties Dominions; all the Inhabitants of that Place looking upon it as a great matter that the Admiral ſet out from thence, and that moſt of the Men he had with him, belong'd to it, tho' many of them, thro' *Pinzon's* fault, had been Mutinous and Diſobedient. It happened that when the Admiral came to *Palos*, *Pinzon* was arriv'd in *Galicia*, and deſign'd to go by himſelf to *Barcelona* to carry the News to their Catholick Majeſties, who ſent him Orders not to go thither without the Admiral, with whom he had been ſent to Diſcover, at which he was ſo concern'd and offended, that he return'd indiſpos'd, to his Native Country, where within a few days he dyed for Grief: But before he got to *Palos*, the Admiral ſet out for *Sevil*, deſigning thence for *Barcelona*, where their Catholick Majeſties were; and he was forced to ſtay a little by the way, tho' but never ſo little, to the ſo great Admiration of the People whereſoever he went, that they ran from all the neighbouring Towns, down to the Roads to ſee him, the *Indians*, and other things he brought. Thus holding on his way he got to *Barcelona* about the middle of *April*, having before ſent their Highneſſes an Account of the Happy Succeſs of his Voyage, which was extraordinary Pleaſing to them, and they ordered him a moſt Solemn Reception, as to a Man that had done them ſuch ſingular Service. All the Court and City went out to meet him; and their Catholick Majeſties ſate in Publick with great State, on rich Chairs under a Canopy of Cloath of Gold; and when he went to kiſs their Hands, they ſtood up to him as to a great Lord, made a difficulty to give him their Hands, and cauſed him to ſit down Having given a brief Account of his Voyage, they gave him leave to retire to his Appartment, whither he was attended by all the Court; and he was ſo highly Honoured and Favoured by their Highneſſes, that when the King rode about *Barcelona*, the Admiral was on one ſide of him, and the *Infante Fortuna* on the other; whereas before, none went by his Majeſty but the ſaid *Infante*, who was his near Kinſman.

His Reception at Barcelona.

CHAP. XLIII.

How it was reſolved that the Admiral ſhould return with a Powerful Fleet to People the Iſland Hiſpaniola, *and his Holineſſes Approbation of the Conqueſt was obtain'd.*

The Pope's grant. ORders were given at *Barcelona*, with great Care and Expedition for the Admiral's Return to *Hiſpaniola*, as well to relieve thoſe that were left there, as to enlarge the Colony and ſubdue the Iſland, with the reſt that were and ſhould be diſcovered. To make their Title to them the ſtronger, their Catholick Majeſties, by the Advice of the Admiral, procured the Pope's Approbation and Conſent for the Conqueſt of the ſaid *Indies*, which Pope *Alexander* the 6th, who then Governed the Church, readily granted; not only for what was already, but for all that ſhould be diſcovered Weſtward, till it ſhould come to the Eaſt, where any Chriſtian Prince was then Actually in Poſſeſſion, forbiding all Perſons in General, to intrude within thoſe Bounds

The

Columbus. The ſame his Holineſs confirm'd the next Year, in very ſignificant Terms. And their Catholick Majeſties being ſenſible that the Admiral had been the cauſe of all this Favour granted by the Pope, and that his Diſcovery had Entitled them to the Poſſeſſion of all thoſe Parts, they were pleaſed he ſhould be immediately gratify'd at *Barcelona*, on the 28th of *May*, and therefore granted him a New Privilege, or rather an Expoſition, and Explanation of what he had before, confirming to him all they had Granted before, and in plain Terms declared how far the Bounds of his Admiralſhip, and Vice-Royſhip extended, being over all that which his Holineſs had granted them, thus ratifying what they had given him before, which Privileges and Prerogatives are as follows.

CHAP. XLIV.

Privileges and Prerogatives granted by their Catholick Majeſties to the Admiral.

His Recep-tion at Barcelona.

FErdinand *and* Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, King and Queen of *Caſtile*, of *Leon*, of *Aragon*, of *Sicily*, of *Granada*, of *Toledo*, of *Valencia*, of *Galicia*, of *Majorca*, of *Minorca*, of *Sevil*, of *Sardinia*, of *Jaen*, of *Algarve*, of *Algezira*, of *Gibraltar*, of the *Canary Iſlands*, Count and Counteſs of *Barcelona*, Lord and Lady of *Biſcay* and *Molina*, Duke and Dutcheſs of *Athens* and *Neopatria*, Count and Counteſs of *Rouſſillion*, and *Cerdaigne*, Marqueſs and Marchioneſs of *Oriſtan*, and *Gociano*, &c. For as much as you *Chriſtopher Columbus*, are going by our Command with ſome of our Veſſels and Men to Diſcover and Subdue ſome Iſlands and Continent in the Ocean, and it is hop'd that by God's Aſſiſtance, ſome of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent in the Ocean will be Diſcovered and Conquer'd by your Means and Conduct, therefore it is but Juſt and Reaſonable, that ſince you expoſe your ſelf to ſuch danger to ſerve us, you ſhould be rewarded for it. And we being willing to Honour and Favour you for the Reaſons aforeſaid; Our Will is, That you, *Chriſtopher Columbus*, after Diſcovering and Conquering the ſaid Iſlands and Continent in the ſaid Ocean, or any of them, ſhall be our Admiral of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent you ſhall ſo Diſcover and Conquer; and that you be our Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour in them, and that for the Future you may call and ſtile your ſelf, *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, and that your Sons and Succeſſors in the ſaid Employment may call themſelves Dons, Admirals, Vice-Roys and Governours of them; and that you may exerciſe the Office of Admiral, with the charge of Vice-Roy and Governour of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent, which you and your Lieutenants ſhall Conquer, and freely decide all Cauſes Civil and Criminal, appertaining to the ſaid Employment of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, as you ſhall think fit in Juſtice, and as the Admirals of our Kingdoms uſe do; and that you have Power to Puniſh Offenders; and you and your Lieutenants exerciſe the Employments of Adm'ral, Vice-Roy and Governour in all things belonging to the ſaid Offices, or any of them; and that you enjoy the Perquiſites and Sallaries belonging to the ſaid Employments, and to each of them, in the ſame manner as the High Admiral of our Kingdoms does. And by this our Letter, or a Copy of it Sign'd by a *Publick Notary*: We Command Prince *John* our moſt dearly Beloved Son, the Infantes, Dukes, Prelates, Marqueſſes, Great Maſters and Military Orders, Priors, Commendaries, our Councellors, Judges, and other Officers of Juſtice whatſoever, belonging to our Houſhold, Courts, and Chancery, and Conſtables of Caſtles, ſtrong Houſes, and others; and all Corporations, Bayliffs, Governours, Judges, Commanders, Sea Officers; and the Aldermen, Common-Council, Officers, and Good People of all Cities, Lands and Places in our Kingdoms and Dominions, and in thoſe you ſhall Conquer and Subdue, and the Captains, Maſters, Mates, and other Officers and Sailers, our Natural Subjects now being, or that ſhall be for the time to come, and any of them, that when you ſhall have diſcovered the ſaid Iſlands and Continent in the Ocean; and you, or any that ſhall have your Commiſſion, ſhall have taken the uſual Oath in ſuch Caſes, that they, for the future, look upon you as long as you live, and after you, your Son and Heir, and ſo from one Heir to another for ever; as our Admiral on our ſaid Ocean, and as Vice-Roy and Governour of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent, by you *Chriſtopher Columbus* Diſcovered and Conquered; and that they treat you and your Lieutenants, by you appointed, for executing the Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, as ſuch in all Reſpects, and give you all the Perquiſites and other things belonging and appertaining to the ſaid Offices; and allow, and cauſe to be allow'd you, all the Honours, Graces, Conceſſions, Prehe-

The Admiral's Letters Patent.

minences,

Columbus.

minences, Prerogatives, Immunities and other things, or any of them which are due to you, by Vertue of your Commands, of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, and to be obſerved compleatly, ſo that nothing be diminiſhed; and that they make no Objection to this, or any part of it, nor ſuffer it to be made; for as much as we from this time forward, by this our Letter, beſtow on you the Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Perpetual Governour for ever; and we put you into Poſſeſſion of the ſaid Offices, and of every of them, and full Power to uſe and exercile them, and to receive the Perquiſites and Sallaries belonging to them, or any of them, as was ſaid above. Concerning all which things, if it be requiſite, and you ſhall deſire it, We Command our Chancellour, Notaries and other Officers, to Paſs, Seal and Deliver to you, our Letter of Privilege, in ſuch Firm and Legal manner, as you ſhall require or ſtand in need of. And that none of them preſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon pain of our Diſpleaſure, and Forfeiture of 30 Ducats for each Offence. And we Command him, who ſhall ſhow them this our Letter, that he Summon them to appear before us at our Court, where we ſhall then be, within 15 days after ſuch Summons, under the ſaid Penalty. Under which ſame we alſo Command any *Publick Notary* whatſoever, that he give to him that ſhows it him, a Certificate under his Seal, that we may know how our Command is Obey'd.

Given at Granada, *on the* 30*th of* April, *in the Year of our Lord* 1492. *I the King, I the Queen.*

By their Majeſties Command, *John Coloma* Secretary to the King and Queen.

Entered according to Order *Roderick Doctor.*

Regiſtred, *Sebaſtian Dolana, Francis de Madrid,* Chancellors.

The Confirmation.

And now for as much as it has Pleaſed our Lord, that you have Diſcovered ſeveral of the ſaid Iſlands, as we ſtill hope you will by his Grace, diſcover and find others and the Continent, in the ſaid Ocean, and thoſe Parts of the *Indies*, and have deſired and requeſted of us, that we would confirm to you our ſaid Grant here ſet down, and all the Contents of it, to the end that you and your Children, Heirs and Succeſſors, one after another, and after your days, may have and enjoy the ſaid Employments, of Admiral, Vice-Roy, and Governour, of the ſaid Ocean, Iſlands and Continent, as well of thoſe you have already found and diſcovered, as of thoſe you ſhall for the future find and diſcover with all the Power, Preheminence and Prerogative, as the Admirals, Vice-Roys, and Governours in our Kingdoms, of *Caſtile* and *Leon* do enjoy, and that all the Perquiſites and Sallaries appertaining and belonging to the ſaid Offices, and Granted and Allow'd to our Admirals, Vice-Roys and Governours, may be made good to you; or that we made ſuch Proviſion in this Caſe, as in our Goodneſs we ſhall think fit. And we having regard to the Hazard and Danger you have expos'd your ſelf to in our Service, in going to diſcover and find out the ſaid Iſlands, and that which you now run in attempting to find out the other Iſlands and Continent, wherein we have been, and hope to be by you well ſerved: To Requite and Reward you, do by theſe Preſents, confirm to you and your Children, Heirs and Succeſſours, one after another, now and for ever the ſaid Employments of Admiral of the ſaid Ocean, and Vice-Roy, and Governour of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent by you diſcovered and found out; and of the other Iſlands and Continent, that ſhall be by you, or your Induſtry found, or diſcovered for the Future in thoſe Parts of the *Indies*. And it is our Will, that you, and after you your Children, Heirs and Succeſſors, one after another, enjoy the ſaid Employment of our Admiral of the ſaid Ocean, which is ours, and Commences at a Line, we have cauſed to be drawn, from the Iſlands *Azores*, to thoſe of *Cabo Verde*, and ſo from Pole to Pole, North and South; ſo that all beyond the ſaid Line Weſtward, is ours, and belongs to us. And accordingly we Conſtitute you Admiral, and your Sons and Succeſſors, one after another, of all that Part for ever. And we alſo appoint you, our Vice-Roy and Governour, and after you, your Sons, Heirs and Succeſſors, one after another, of the ſaid Iſlands and Continent, diſcovered, and to be diſcovered in the ſaid Ocean in thoſe Parts of the *Indies*, as has been ſaid: and we grant you the Poſſeſſion of all the ſaid Employments of Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour for ever, with full Commiſſion and Authority to Uſe and Exerciſe in the ſaid Sea, the Office of Admiral in all thoſe things, and in the ſame Manner and Form, and with the Rights and Privileges, Perquiſites and Sallaries, as our Admirals of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, have and do uſe, have enjoy'd or injoy, as well in the ſaid Iſlands and Continent already diſcovered, as in thoſe that ſhall hereafter be diſcovered in the ſaid Ocean and ſaid Parts of the *Indies*, that the Planters of them all may be the better Governed. And we grant you ſuch Power and Authority, that you may as our Vice-

Roy

Roy and Governour, and your Lieutenants, Judges, Commanders, and Officers by you created, exerciſe the Civil and Criminal Juriſdiction, the Supream and Mean Authority, and the Abſolute and Mixt Command. And in thoſe Places you may remove, turn out, and put in others in their Places, as often as you pleaſe, and ſhall think convenient for our Service. And that they have Power to Hear, Judge, and Determine all Sutes or Cauſes, Civil or Criminal, that ſhall occur or ariſe in the ſaid Iſlands or Continent; and that they have and receive the Fees and Salaries uſually Annex'd, and appertaining to thoſe Employments in our Kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. And you our ſaid Vice-Roy and Governour may hear and determine all the ſaid Cauſes and any of them, whenſoever you ſhall pleaſe upon the firſt Motion by way of Appeal or Complaint, and Examine, Determine and Deſide them, as our Vice-Roy and Governour; and you and your Children may do all that is reaſonable in ſuch Caſes, and all other things appertaining to the Office of Vice-Roy and Governour, and that you and your Lieutenants and Officers appointed to this purpoſe, may take ſuch cognizance, and uſe ſuch methods as you ſhall think proper for our Service, and the execution of our Juſtice. All which you and they may do and perform Lawfully and effectually, as they might and ought to do, had the ſaid Officers been appointed by us. But our Will and Pleaſure is, That ſuch Letters Patents, as you ſhall grant, be Drawn and Granted in our Name, with theſe Words, *Ferdinand and Elizabeth by the Grace of God, King and Queen of* Caſtile *and* Leon, *&c.* and be Sealed with our Seal, which we will cauſe to be given you for the ſaid Iſlands and Continent. And we Command all the People, Inhabitants and other Perſons in the ſaid Iſland and Continent, to obey you as our Vice-Roy and Governour of the ſame; and thoſe that ſail on the ſaid Seas to Obey you, as our Admiral of the ſaid Ocean; and that all of them execute your Letters and Orders, and take part with you and your Officers, for the execution of our Juſtice; and give, and cauſe to be given you, all the Aid and Aſſiſtance you ſhall require and ſtand in need of, upon ſuch Penalties as you ſhall impoſe on them, which we by theſe Preſents do impoſe on them, and do look upon them as impos'd; and do grant you Authority to execute them on their Perſons and Goods. And it is alſo our Will, That if you ſhall find it for our Service, and the execution of Juſtice, That any Perſons who ſhall be in the ſaid Iſlands or Continent, depart from them, and do not return nor ſtay in them, and that they come and appear before us, you may in our Name Command, and make them depart the ſaid Iſlands. All whom by theſe Preſents we Command, that they preſently Perform, Execute and put in Practice all that has been ſaid, without looking further, or asking Advice upon it, nor expecting any other Letter or Command from us, notwithſtanding any Appeal or Petition they ſhall make or preſent againſt your ſaid Order. For all which things, and any other due or belonging to the ſaid Offices of our Admiral, Vice-Roy and Governour, we give you ſufficient Authority, with all Incidents, Dependencies, and Emergencies to them Annex'd or Inherent. Concerning all which things, if it ſhall be your Will, we do command our Chancellor, Notaries, and other Officers belonging to our Seals, that they Give, Paſs, Diſpatch and Seal you our Letter of Privilege, made as effective, firm and ſtrong, as you ſhall require of them and ſtand in need of; and that none of them preſume to do any thing to the contrary, upon Pain of our Diſpleaſure, and of 30 Ducats to be paid to our Treaſury by every one that ſhall be guilty of the contrary. And beſides, we Command him that ſhall ſhow them this our Letter to Summon them to appear before us at our Court, whereſoever we are, within 15 days upon the ſaid Penalty. Under which we command any *Publick Notary*, that ſhall be call'd for ſuch Purpoſe, that he give to him that ſhall ſhow it him, a Certificate ſign'd under his hand, that we may know how our Commands are obey'd. *Given in the City of* Barcelona, *the* 28*th of* May, *in the Year of our Lord* 1493.

I the King, I the Queen.

By their Majeſties Order, *Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo*, Secretary to the King and Queen, our Lord and Lady.

Peter Gutierres, Chancellor, without Fees, for Seal or Entry. Deliver'd *Roderick Doctor*. Entred *Alonzo Perez*.

Contin.

CHAP. XLV.

How the Admiral went from Barcelona *to* Seville, *and ſet out thence for* Hiſpaniola.

The Admiral's 2d. Voyage.

ALL things neceſſary for the Peopling of thoſe Countries, being provided, the Admiral departed from *Barcelona* for *Seville* in *June*, and being come thither, ſo diligently ſollicited the fitting out of the Fleet their Catholick Majeſties had ordered him to

Columbus. provide, that in a short time 17 Ships, between great and small, were made ready, well stored with Provisions, and with all things thought necessary for Peopling of those Countries, as Handicrafts of all sorts, Labourers, Countrymen to Till the Land; besides, the Fame of Gold and other Rarities in those Countries, had drawn together so many Gentlemen and other Persons of worth; that it was necessary to lessen the Number, and not to allow so many to go aboard, at least till it appeared in some Measure how things would succeed in those Parts, and till things were a little settled. Yet was it impossible so much to confine the Number of People that went aboard, but that it amounted to 1500 of all sorts; among whom some carried Horses, Asses and other Beasts, which were afterwards of great Use and Advantage to the Planters in those Countries.

Being thus furnished, the Admiral weighed Anchor in the Road of *Cadiz*, where the Fleet had been fitted, upon *Wednesday* the 25th of *September*, 1493, an Hour before Sun-rising, my Brother an I being there, and stood South-West for the *Canary* Islands, designing there to take in some necessary Refreshment. On the 28th of *September*, being 100 Leagues from *Spain*, there came aboard the Admiral's Ship, abundance of Land-Fowl, Turtle Doves, and other sorts of small Birds, which seem'd to be passing over to Winter in *Africk*, and to come from the Islands *Azores*. He holding on his Course, on *Wednesday* the 2d of *October*, arrived at *Gran Canaria*, and came to an Anchor: At Midnight sail'd again for *Gomera*, where he arriv'd on the 5th of *October*, and Orders were given for taking up with all speed, whatsoever the Fleet stood in need of. *He arrives at the Canaries.*

CHAP. XLVI.

How the Admiral departing from Gomera, *crossed the Ocean and discovered the* Caribbee *Islands.*

ON *Monday* the 7th of *October*, the Admiral continued his Voyage towards the *Indies*, having first delivered a Commission shut up and Seal'd, to every Ship, commanding them not to open it, unless they were separated from him by stress of Weather, for he in those Letters giving an Account of the Course they were to steer, to come to the Town of the *Nativity* in *Hispaniola*, would not have that Course known to any without great need. Thus sailing with a fair Gale till *Thursday* the 24th of *October*, when being 400 Leagues West of *Gomera*, he yet met with none of the Weeds he had seen the first Voyage, when he was out but 250 Leagues, to the great astonishment of them all; that day and the next, a Swallow flew about the Fleet. On *Saturday* at Night, the Body of St. *Elmo* was seen, with seven lighted Candles on the Round-Top, and there followed mighty Rains, and frightful Thunder. I mean, the Lights were seen, which the Seamen affirm to be the Body of St. *Elmo*, and they sing Litanies and Prayers to him; looking upon it as most certain, that in those Storms where he appears, there can be no danger. Whatsoever this is, I leave to them, for if we will believe *Pliny*, when such Lights appeared in those times to the *Roman* Sailers in a Storm, they said they were *Castor* and *Pollux*, whereof *Seneca* makes mention also, at the beginning of his first Book of Nature.

But to return to our History; on *Saturday* the 2d of *November*, at Night, the Admiral perceiving a great Alteration in the Sky and Winds, and taking Notice of the Mighty Rains, he concluded for certain that he was near some Land, and for this Reason caused most of the Sails to be furl'd, and ordered all to be upon the Watch; nor without cause, for that same Night, as Day began to break, they spy'd Land 7 Leagues to the Westward, which was a high Mountainous Island, and he call'd it *Dominica*, because discovered upon *Sunday* Morning. A while after he saw another Island North-East of *Dominica*, and then another, and another after that, more Northward. For which Mercy God had been pleased to bestow on them, all the Men assembling in the Poop, sung the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers and Hymns very Devoutly, giving thanks to God, for that in 20 days after departing from *Gomera*, they had made that Land, judging the distance between them to be between 750 and 800 Leagues. And finding no convenient Place to come to an Anchor on the East side of the Island *Dominica*, they stood over to another Island which the Admiral call'd *Marigalante*, that being his Ship's Name. Here Landing, he with all necessary Solemnity again confirm'd the Possession he had in his first Voyage, taken of all the Islands and Continent of the *West-Indies*, for their Catholick Majesties. *Island* Dominica *discovered.* *Island* Marigalante

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. XLVII.

How the Admiral discovered the Island of Guadalupe, *and what he saw there.*

Guadalupe Island.

ON *Monday* the 4th of *November*, the Admiral sail'd from the Island *Marigalante* Northwards, by another Great Island, which he call'd St. *Mary of Guadalupe*, for his own Devotion, and at the request of the Friars of the House of that Name, to whom he had made a Promise to call some Island by the Name of their Monastery. Before he came to it, at two Leagues distance, they discovered a very high Rock, ending in a Point, whence gush'd out a stream of Water, as thick as a large Barrel, which falling made such a Noise, that it was heard aboard the Ships, tho' many affirm'd it was only a white vein in the Rock, the Water was so white and frothy by reason of its steep fall. Going athoar in the Boat to view a sort of Town they saw from the shoar, they found no body there, the People being fled to the Woods, except some Children, to whose Arms they ty'd some Baubles to allure their Fathers when they returned. In the Houses they found Geese like ours, and abundance of Parrots with red, green, blue and white Feathers, as big as common Cocks; they also found Pompions, and a sort of Fruit, which look'd like our green Pine Apples, but much bigger, and within, full of a solid Meat, like a Melon, and much sweeter both in taste and smell, which grow on long stalks like Lilies or Aloes, wild about the Fields, and are better than those that are brought up by Art, as afterwards appeared. They also saw other sorts of Fruits and Herbs differing from ours. Beds of Cotton Nets, that is Hammacks, Bows, and Arrows, and other such things, of which our Men took none, that the *Indians* might be the less afraid of the Christians. But what they most admired was, that they found an Iron Pan, tho' I believe that the Rocks and Fire-stones in that Country being of the Colour of bright Iron, a Person of but indifferent judgment that found it, without looking further, took it for Iron, tho' in Truth it was not so; for as much as from that day to this, there was never any thing of Iron found among those People, nor did I hear the Admiral speak of this. And therefore I am of Opinion that he using daily to write down whatsoever happened, and was told him, that he might among other things set down what was told him concerning this particular, by those that were athoar. And tho' it were of Iron it was not to be admired, because the *Indians* of the Island of *Guadalupe*, being *Caribbees*, and making their excursions to rob, as far as *Hispaniola*, perhaps they had that Pan of the Christians, or of the other *Indians* of *Hispaniola*; and it is possible they might carry the Body of the Ship the Admiral lost, to make use of the Iron, and tho' it were not the Hulk of that Ship, it must be the remainder of some other Wreck, carried thither by the Wind and Current from our Parts. But be it what it will, they that day took neither the Pan nor any thing else, but return'd to their Ships. The next day, which was *Tuesday* the 5th of *November*, the Admiral again sent two Boats athoar, to endeavour to take somebody that might give him an Account of the Country, and inform him how far off, and which way *Hispaniola* lay. Each of the Boats brought back a Youth, who agreed in saying they were not of that Island, but of another call'd *Borriquen* (now St. *John*) and that the Inhabitants of that Island of *Guadalupe* were *Carillees* or *Canibals*, and had taken them Prisoners from their own Island. Soon after the Boats returning to shoar, to take up some Christians they had left there, found six Women with them, who had fled to them from the *Caribbees*, and came of their own accord aboard the Ships. The Admiral to allure the Islanders, would not keep them aboard, but gave them some Glass Beads and Bells, and made them be set athoar against their Wills. This was not done unadvisedly, for as soon as they Landed, the *Caribbees* in the sight of the Christians, took away all the Admiral had given them. Therefore either thro' the hatred they bore the *Caribbees*, or for the fear they had conceived of those People: a while after, when the Boats returned for Wood and Water, the said Women got into them, begging of the Seamen to carry them aboard the Ships, and giving them to understand by signs, that those People did eat Men, and make Slaves of them, and therefore they would not stay with them; so that the Men yielding to their Intreaties, carried them back to the Ships, with two Children and a young Man that had made his escape from the *Caribbees*, thinking it safer to put themselves into the hands of People they never saw, and such Strangers to their Nation, than to remain among those they knew to be Wicked and Cruel, and who had eaten their Husbands and Children, and they say they do not kill and eat the Women, but keep them as Slaves. One of the Women told them, that towards the South, there were many Islands,

Columbus. *Product of the Island Guadalupe.*

Islands, some inhabited, others not, which both he and the other Women, severally call'd *Giamachi, Caiscaco, Haino, Buriari, Arubeira, Sixibei.* But the Continent which they said was very great, both they and the People of *Hispaniola*, call'd *Zuanta*, because in former times Canoes had come from that Land, to Barter with abundance of Lads, of whom they said there were two thirds in an Island not far distant; and they also said, that a King of that Country whither they fled, was gone with ten great Canoes, and 300 Men to make incursions into the Neighbouring Islands, and take People to eat. The three Women gave information where the Island *Hispaniola* lay; for tho' the Admiral had inserted it in his Sea-Chart; yet for his further information, he would hear what the People of that Country said of it. He would immediately have sail'd that way, had he not been told, that one Captain *Mark*, was gone afhoar with 8 Men, without his leave, before day, and was not yet return'd. He was therefore forced to send out to look for him, tho' in vain, for by reason of the great thickness of the Trees, there could be no discovering of them. Therefore the Admiral, that they might not be lost, or be obliged to leave a Ship behind to take them in, which might afterwards miss her way to *Hispaniola*, resolved to stay there till the next day; and because the Country as has been said, was full of great Woods, he ordered them to be fought after again, and that they should carry Trumpets and Muskets, to bring 'em to the Noise. These People having stray'd all that day, return'd to their Ships without finding or hearing any News of them. The Admiral therefore seeing it was now *Thursday* Morning, and no News had been heard of them since *Tuesday*, and that they went without leave, resolved to continue his Voyage, or at least make show of so doing, that it might be a Punishment to others, but at the Intreaty of some of their Kindred and Friends, he stay'd, and ordered the Ships should in the mean while take in Wood and Water, and the Men wash their Linen; and sent Captain *Hojeda*, with 40 Men, to look for those that were stray'd, and pry into the Nature of the Country, where he found Mastick, Aloes, Sandal, Ginger, Frankincense, and some Trees in taste and smell like Cinnamon, abundance of Cotton, and many Falcons, and saw two of them pursuing the other Birds; they also saw Kites, Herons, Daws, Turtles, Partridges, Geese, and Nightingals, and affirm'd that in Travelling six Leagues, they cross'd 26 Rivers, several whereof were vast deep, which makes me believe, that the Country being uncouth, they often cross'd the same River. Whilst these were admiring at what they saw, and other Companies went about the Island, seeking the Straglers, they returned to the Ships without being met by any that look'd for them, on *Friday* the 8th of *November*, saying the thickness of the Woods was the cause they had lost themselves. The Admiral to Punish their Presumption, commanded the Captain to be cast into Irons, and the rest to suffer by retrenching their Allowance of Provisions. Then he Landed, and went to some Houses, where he saw all the things above mentioned, especially a great deal of Cotton spun and unspun, Looms to Weave, abundance of Mens Skulls hung up, and Baskets full of Mens Bones. These Houses they saw, were the best, and more plentifully stored with Provisions, and other things Necessary for the use of the *Indians*, than any others the Admiral saw in the Islands at his first Voyage.

CHAP. XLVIII.

How the Admiral departed from the Island Guadalupe, *and of some Islands he found in his way.*

Monserratte I. Mard.

ON *Sunday* the 10th of *November*, the Admiral weighed Anchor, and sailed with the whole Fleet along the Coast of the Island *Guadalupe*, towards the North-West for *Hispaniola*, and came to the Island *Monseratte*, calling it by that Name, because of its highth, and understood by the *Indians* he had with him, that the *Caribbees* had unpeopled it, devouring the Inhabitants. Thence he proceeded to St. *Mary Redonda*, so call'd, because it is so round, and upright, that there seems to be no getting into it without Ladders, which the *Indians* call'd *Ocamanire*. Next he came to St. *Maria Antigua*, which is above 28 Leagues in extent. Still holding on his Course North-West, there appeared several other Islands towards the North, and lying North-West and South-East, all very high and full of Woods, in one of which they cast Anchor, and call'd it St. *Martin*, where they took up pieces of Coral, sticking to the Anchor Flouks, which made 'em hope they should find other useful things in those Countries. Tho' the Admiral was very desirous to know every thing, yet he resolved to hold on his Course towards *Hispaniola*,

Redonda.

St. Maria Antigua.

S. Martin.

niola, to relieve those he had left there, but the Weather being bad, he came to an Anchor on *Thursday* the 13th of *November*, in an Island, where he ordered some *Indians* to be taken, to know whereabouts he was. As the Boat was returning to the Fleet with four Women and three Children the Men had taken, it met a Canoo, in which there were four Men, and one Women; who perceiving they could not make their escape, stood upon their Guard, and hit two of the Christians with their Arrows, which they let fly with such force and dexterity, that the Woman shot a Target quite thro', but the Boat furiously boarding, the Canoo overset, so that they took them all Swimming in the Water, and one of them swimming, shot several Arrows, as if he had been upon dry Land. These had their Members cut off, for they are taken by the *Caribbees* in other Islands, and gelt, as we do to fat Capons, that they may be more pleasing to the tast. The Admiral departing hence, continued his Voyage W. N. W. where he found above 50 Islands, which he left to the Northward, the biggest of them he call'd St. *Ursula*, and the others the 11000 Virgins. Next he came to the Island which he call'd St. *John Baptist*, but the *Indians*, *Borriquen*, and the Fleet Anchored in a Bay on the West side of it, where they took several sorts of Fish, as Skate, Olaves, Pilchards, and Shads, and saw Falcons and Bushes like wild Vines. More to the Eastward, some Christians went to certain Houses well built after their Fashion, with a Square before them, and a broad Road down to the Sea, with Towers made of Cane on both sides, and the top of them curiously interwoven with Greens, as is seen in the Gardens of *Valencia*. At the end of it next the Sea, was a rais'd a Gallery or Balcony that could hold 10 or 12 People, lofty and well built.

Columbus. *St. Ursula.* *St. John or Borriquen.*

CHAP. XLIX.

How the Admiral Arrived at Hispaniola, *where he understood the* Spaniards *were dead.*

ON *Friday* the 12th of *November*, the Admiral came up with the North side of *Hispaniola*, and presently sent ashoar at *Samana*, one of the *Indians* born in that Part, whom he brought out of *Spain*, being then Converted to our Holy Faith, who offered to reduce all the *Indians* to submit to the Christians. The Admiral continuing his Voyage towards the Town of *Natal*, or the Nativity, when he came to Cape *Angel*, some *Indians* went aboard, to Barter their Commodities with the Christians. Coming to an Anchor in the Port of *Monte Christo*, a Boat that went ashoar, found near a River two dead Men, one of them seem'd to be Young, the other Old, who had a Rope made of a certain sort of Broom, or such like Furze that grows in *Spain*, call'd *Esparto*, about his Neck, his Arms extended, and his Hands ty'd to a piece of Wood, in the Form of a Cross, but they could not discern whether they were Christians or *Indians*, but look upon it as an ill Omen. The next day, being the 26th of *November*, the Admiral sent ashoar in several Places; the *Indians* came very friendly and boldly to talk with the Christians, and touching our Men's Shirts and Doublets, said Shirt, Doublet in *Spanish*, to show they knew how those things were called, which delivered the Admiral from the Jealousie he had conceived, on Account of the Dead Men, judging that if those People had wrong'd the Christians left there, they had not come so boldly aboard the Ships. But the next day, when he came to an Anchor near the Town of *Navidad*, or the Nativity, after Midnight, a Canoo came to the Fleet, and ask'd for the Admiral, and being bid to come aboard, for he was there, they would not do it, saying, they were resolved not to go aboard till they saw and knew him. The Admiral therefore was forced to come to the Ship's side to hear them, and then presently two went up with two Masks, which they gave to the Admiral, from the Cacique *Guacanagari*, saying, he sent many Commendations. They being ask'd by the Admiral concerning the Christians left there, Answered, that some of them died of Distempers, some parted from their Company, and so were gone into other Countries, but that all of them had four or five Wives, tho' it appeared by their way of speaking, that all or most of them were Dead, yet the Admiral not thinking fit to take any Notice at that time, sent back the *Indians*, with a Present of some things made of Latten, and other Baubles, for *Guacanagari*, and themselves, and so they went away that same Night, with the Gifts for the Cacique.

An Indian set ashoar. *Indians come boldly aboard.*

Columbus.

CHAP. L.

How the Admiral went to the Town of Navidad, *or the* Nativity, *found it forsaken and burnt, and had an interview with King* Guacanagari.

ON *Thursday* the 28th of *November*, about Evening, the Admiral with all his Fleet, came into the Port, before the Town of *Navidad* or the *Nativity*, found it all burnt, and that day no body was seen all about there: Next day in the Morning, the Admiral Landed very much concern'd to see the Houses and Fort burnt, and nothing left belonging to the Christians, but only ragged Cloaths and such like things, as is usual in a Place Plunder'd and destroy'd, and seeing no body to enquire of, the Admiral went with some Boats up a River that was hard by. Whilst he was going up it, he ordered the Well he had made in the Fort, to be cleansed, thinking to find Gold in it, because at his going away, fearing what might happen, he commanded those he left behind, to throw all the Gold they could get into that Well, but nothing was found in it; and the Admiral that way he went up with his Boats, could lay hold of no *Indian*, because they all fled from their Houses, to the Woods. Having therefore found nothing but some of the Christians Cloaths, he returned to *Navidad*, where he saw 8 of the Christians, and three others, in the Fields near the Town, whom they knew to be Christians by their Cloaths, and they seem'd to have been dead about a Month. The Christians going about to seek some other Tokens, or writings of the Dead, a Brother of the Cacique *Guacanagari*, came with some *Indians* to talk with the Admiral. These could speak some Words of *Spanish*, and knew the Names of all the Christians, that had been left there, and said that those *Spaniards* soon began to fall at variance among themselves, and to take every one what Gold and as many Women as they could; whereupon *Peter Gutierres* and *Escovedo* kill'd one *James*, and then they and 9 others went away with their Women to a Cacique, whose name was *Caunabo*, who was Lord of the Mines, and kill'd them all; then many days after came with a great many Men to *Navidad*, where there was only *James de Arana*, with 10 Men, who had remained with him to guard the Fort, all the rest being dispersed about the Island. The Cacique *Caunabo* coming up by Night, fired the Houses where the Christians liv'd, with their Women, for fear whereof they fled to the Sea, where eight of them were drowned, and three died afloar, whom they show'd. That *Guacanagari* himself, fighting with *Caunabo* in defence of the Christians, was wounded and fled. This Account agreed with that given by other Christians, sent by the Admiral to learn more of the Country, who went to a Town where *Guacanagari* lay ill of a Wound, which he said had hindred him from waiting on the Admiral, and giving him an Account of what was become of the Christians, among whom he said, soon after the Admiral returned for *Spain*, there began to be Dissention, and every one would Barter Gold for himself, and take what Women he thought fit, and not satisfied with what *Guacanagari* gave and allow'd to be given them, they divided into several Parcels, and dispersed some one way and some another, and that some *Biscainers* joyning together, went where they were all kill'd; and this was the Truth of what had happened, which they might tell the Admiral, desiring him by those same Christians, that he would go see him, because he was in such a Condition that he could not leave his House. The Admiral did so, going the next day to visit him, and he with great signs of Sorrow, told him all that had happened, as has been related above, and that he and his Men had been all wounded in defence of the Christians, as appeared by their Wounds, which were not given by Christian Arms, but with *Azagayas*, or Wooden Swords, and Arrows pointed with Fish Bones. This Discourse being over, he presented the Admiral with 8 strings of small Beads, made of white, green, and red Stones, a string of Gold Beads, a Regal Crown of Gold, and three little Calabashes full of Gold Sand, all which might be about 4 Mark Weight in Gold, each Mark being half a Pound. The Admiral in return, gave him abundance of our Baubles, which might be worth three Royals, (or eighteen Pence) and were valued by him above a Thousand. Tho' he was very ill, he would needs go with the Admiral to see the Fleet, where he was courteously Entertain'd, and much pleased to see the Horses, of which the Christians had before given him an Account. And because some of those that were dead, had misinform'd him concerning our Holy Faith, the Admiral was forced to instruct him in it, and afterwards would have him wear an Image of the Virgin *Mary* about his Neck, which at first he had refused to receive.

How the Spaniards left in Hispaniola, were destroyed.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. LI.

How the Admiral left the Colony of Navidad, *and went to found the City which he call'd* Iſabella.

THE Admiral reflecting on the Diſaſter of thoſe Chriſtians, and his own Misfortune at Sea, having loſt the Men and Fort aſhoar, and his Ship upon the Water, and that not far off there were better and more Commodious Places to Plant a Colony; on *Saturday* the 7th of *December*, he ſail'd with the whole Fleet Eaſtward, and about Evening caſt Anchor not far from the Iſlands of *Monte Chriſto*, and the next day at *Monte Chriſto*, among thoſe ſeven low little Iſlands, whereof mention has been made already, which tho' they are without Trees, are nevertheleſs Pleaſant; for in that Winter Seaſon, they there found Flowers, and Neſts with Eggs, others with Young Birds, and all other things that are ſeen in Summer. Thence he went to Anchor before a Town of *Indians*, where reſolved to plant a Colony, he Landed with all the Men, Proviſions and Utenſils he brought aboard the Fleet, in a Plain near a Rock, on which a Fort might conveniently be built, where he built a Town and call'd it *Iſabella*, in Honour of Queen *Iſabel* or *Elizabeth*. This place was judged very convenient, for as much as the Port was very large, tho' expos'd to the North-Weſt, and had a moſt delicate River a Bow ſhot from it, from which Canals of Water might be drawn to run thro' the middle of the Town, and beyond was a mighty open Plain, from which the *Indians* ſaid the Mines of *Cibao* were not very remote. For theſe Reaſons the Admiral was ſo eager upon ſettling the ſaid Colony, that what with the fatigue endured at Sea, and what he here went thro', he not only wanted time to write day by day what happen'd, according to his Cuſtom, but it happened he fell ſick, which interupted his writing from the 11th of *December*, till the 12th of *March*, in the Year 1494. During which time, having ordered the Affairs of the Town the beſt he could, for Affairs abroad he ſent one *Alonzo de Hojeda*, with 15 Men to ſeek out the Mines of *Cibao*. Afterwards on the 2d of *February*, 12 Ships of the Fleet returned to *Caſtile*, under the Command of one Captain *Anthony de Torres*, Brother to Prince *John*'s Nurſe, a Man of great Judgment and Honour, and in whom their Catholick Majeſties and the Admiral much Confided. He had all in writing at large that had happened, as alſo the Nature of the Country, and what it required. Not long after *Hojeda* returned, and giving an Account of his Journey, ſaid, That the 2d day, after he ſet out for *Iſabella*, he lay at the Paſs of a Mountain, which was very difficult of Acceſs, that afterwards, at every League's diſtance he found Caciques, who had been very kind to him; and continuing his Journey the 6th day after he ſet out, he came to the Mines of *Cibao*, where the *Indians* immediately before him, took up Gold in a ſmall River, as they had done in many others of the ſame Province, where he affirm'd there was great Plenty of Gold. This News much rejoyced the Admiral, who was then recovered of his Sickneſs, and he reſolved to go aſhoar, to obſerve the diſpoſition of the Country, that he might the better know what was to be done. Accordingly on *Wedneſday* the 12th of *March*, 1494, he ſet out from *Iſabella* for *Cibao*, to ſee the Mines, with all the People that were in Health, both a Foot and a Horſeback, leaving a good guard in the two Ships and three Caravals that remained of the Fleet, and cauſing all the Ammunition and Tackle belonging to the other Ships, to be put aboard his own, that none might Rebel with them as they had attempted to do whilſt he was ſick. Becauſe many having gone that Voyage, upon the Belief, that as ſoon as they Landed they might Load themſelves with Gold, and ſo return rich home, (which Gold, whereſoever it is found, requires time, trouble, and labour to gather it) the thing not falling out as they expected; being therefore diſſatisfied and offended, as alſo becauſe of the building of the New Town, and weary of the Diſeaſes, the Climate and change of diet cauſed among them, they had privately Conſpired to revolt from the Admiral, and taking the Ships that remain'd, by force to return in them to *Spain*. One *Bernard de Piſa*, who had been an Officer of Juſtice at Court, and went that Voyage in the Quality of their Catholick Majeſties Controuler, was the Ring-leader and head of theſe Mutineers, therefore the Admiral, when informed of it, would not Puniſh him any otherwiſe, than by ſecuring him aboard a Ship, with a deſign to ſend him afterwards into *Spain*, with his Proceſs drawn up, as well for Mutinying, as for having writ a falſe Information againſt the Admiral, which he had hid in the Ship. Having therefore ordered all theſe Affairs, and having left ſome Perſons both at Sea and aſhoar, together with his Brother *D. James Columbus* to look

Iſabella *the firſt Colony in the Weſt Indies.*

Conſpiracy againſt the Admiral.

to

Columbus. to, and ſecure the Fleet, he ſet forwards towards *Cibao*, carrying along with him all the Tools and Neceſſaries to build a Fort, to keep that Province under, and ſecure the Chriſtians left there to gather Gold, againſt any Attempts or Deſigns of the *Indians*. And the more to terrify them, and take away all Hopes that they might do in the Admiral's Preſence, as they had done in his Abſence with *Arana*, and the 38 Chriſtians left among them; he then carried along with him all the Men he could, that they might in their own Towns ſee and be ſenſible of the Power of the Chriſtians, and be ſenſible, that whenſoever any wrong was done to one ſingle Man of ours Travelling thro' the Country, there was a force of Men to Chaſtize it. And to appear the more formidable, when he ſet our for *Iſabella* and other Towns, he made his Men march with their Arms in Rank and File, as is uſual in time of War, and with Trumpets ſounding, and Colours flying. In his way he March'd along that River, which lay about a Muſquet ſhot from *Iſabella*; and a League beyond, he croſs'd another leſs River, and went to lie that Night three Leagues off in a Plain, divided into Pleaſant Fields, reaching to the Foot of a Craggy Hill, and about two Bow ſhoots high. This he call'd *Puerto de los Hidalgos*, or the Gentleman's Port, (the *Spaniards* call Paſſes on Mountains, dry Ports) becauſe ſome Gentlemen went before to order the Road to be made, and this was the firſt Road made in the *Indies*, for the *Indians* make their ways broad enough but for one Man to paſs at a time. beyond this Paſs he came into a large Plain, over which he Travelled 5 Leagues the next day, and went to lie near a great River, which the Men paſs'd upon Floats and in Canoos. This River, which he call'd of *Canes*, fell into the Sea at *Monte Chriſto*. In his Journey he paſs'd by many *Indian* Towns, the Houſes whereof were Round, Thatch'd, and with ſuch a little Door, that he who goes in muſt ſtoop very low. Here, as ſoon as ſome of the *Indians* brought from *Iſabella*, went into the Houſes, they took what they liked beſt, and yet the owners were not at all diſpleaſed. As if all things were in Common. In the like manner, the People of the Country, coming near to any Chriſtian, would take from him what they thought fit, thinking our things had been as common as theirs. But they were ſoon undeceiv'd, being told the contrary. In their way they paſs'd over Mountains moſt pleaſantly Wooded, where there were wild Vines, Aloes, and Cinnamon Trees, and another ſort that produces a Fruit like a Fig, and were vaſtly thick at the Foot, but the Leaves were like thoſe of the Apple Tree. Of this ſort of Tree, the Scammony is ſaid to come.

His Journey to the Mines.

CHAP. LII.

How the Admiral came to the Province of Cibao, *where he found the Gold Mines, and built the Caſte of St.* Thomas.

Deſcription of the Country. ON *Friday* the 14th of *March*, the Admiral ſet forward from the River of *Canes*, and a League and a half from it, found a great River, which he call'd the River of *Gold*, becauſe in paſſing it, they gathered ſome grains of Gold. Having paſſed it with ſome difficulty, he proceeded to a large Town, where many of the People fled to the Mountains, but moſt of them fortified their Houſes, barring their Doors with ſome Canes, as if that were a great defence, to hinder any Body from coming in; for according to their Cuſtom, no Man dares break in at the Door he finds ſo barr'd, for as much as they have no Wooden doors, or other means to ſhut themſelves in, and it ſeems theſe Barrs are ſufficient. Hence the Admiral went to another fine River, which he call'd the *Green River*, the Banks whereof were covered with bright round Stones, and there he reſted that Night. Holding on his Journey the next day, he paſs'd by ſome great Towns, where the People had put ſticks croſs their Doors, like the others above mentioned, and the Admiral and his Men being tired, they ſtayed that Night at the Foot of a rugged Mountain, which he call'd *Port Cibao*, for as much as the Province of *Cibao* begins beyond the Mountain. From this the firſt Mountain they paſs'd was 11 Leagues diſtant, all which diſtance is a Plane, and the way directly South. Setting out the next day, he Travelled along a Path, where they were forced with much difficulty, to lead the Horſes; and thence he ſent back ſome Mules to *Iſabella*, to bring Bread and Wine, for they began to want Proviſions, and the Journey was long, and they ſuffered the more, becauſe they were not yet uſed to the *Indian* Diet, as they are now who Live and Travel in thoſe Parts, who find the Food of that Country more eaſy of digeſtion, and more agreeable to that Country, than what is carryed from *Europe*, tho' it

Columbus. it is not of ſo great Nouriſhment. Thoſe that went for Proviſions, being returned, the Admiral paſſing over the Mountain on *Sunday* the 16th of *March*, entred the Country of *Cibao*, which is rough and ſtony, full of Gravel, plentiful of Graſs, and Watered by ſeveral Rivers, in which Gold is found. The further they went into this Country, the more uncouth they found it, and encumbred with Mountains, on the tops whereof, there appeared Grain of Gold Sand; for as the Admiral ſaid, the great Rains carry it down from the Tops of the Mountains, to the Rivers in ſmall Sand. This Province is as big as *Portugal*, and there are in it abundance of Mines, and Gold in the Brooks, but for the moſt part there are very few Trees, and thoſe along the Banks of Rivers, and are moſt of them Pines and Palms of ſeveral ſorts. Now *Ojeda* having as was ſaid, Travell'd that Counrry the *Indians* had ſome Knowledge of the Chriſtians, ſo it happened, that what way ſoever the Admiral went, the ſaid *Indians* came out to the Road to meet him, with Preſents of Proviſions, and ſome ſmall quantity of Gold Duſt they had gathered, after they underſtood they came for it. The Admiral perceiving he was now 18 Leagues from *Iſabella*, and the Country he had left behind very craggy, he ordered a Fort to be built in a very Pleaſant and Strong Place, which he call'd the Caſtle of St. *Thomas*, to Command the Country about the Mines, and be a Place of Safety for the Chriſtians that went thither. *The Fort of St. Thomas.* The Command of this New Fort, he gave to *D. Peter Margarite*, a Perſon of Account, with 56 Men, among whom were Workmen of all ſorts to build the Caſtle, which was built with Clay and Timber, that being a ſufficient ſtrength to keep out any Number of *Indians* that ſhould come againſt it. Here breaking Ground to lay the Foundation, and cutting a Rock to make the Ditches, when they were got two Fathom below the Stone, they found Neſts made of Hay and Straw, and inſtead of Eggs, three or four round Stones, as big as Oranges, as Artificially made, as if they had been Cannon Balls; and in the River that runs at the Foot of that Hill, the Caſtle now ſtands upon, they found Stones of ſeveral Colours, ſome of them large, of pure Marble, and others of Jaſper.

CHAP. LIII.

How the Admiral returned to Iſabella, *and found that Soil was very fruitful.*

THE Admiral having given Orders for the finiſhing and Fortifying of the Caſtle, ſet out for *Iſabella*, on *Friday* the 21 of *March*, and near the Green River met the Mules going with Proviſions, and not being able himſelf to ſtay there, becauſe of the great Rains, he ſtay'd there, ſending the Proviſions to the Fort. Afterwards endeavouring to find the ford of that River, and of the Rever *del Oro*, which is bigger than *Ebro*, he ſtayed ſome days in thoſe *Indian* Towns, eating their Bread and Garlick, which they gave for a ſmall matter. *Great fruitfulneſs of Hiſpaniola.* On *Sunday* the 29th of *March*, he came to *Iſabella*, where Melons were already grown, fit to eat, tho' it was not above two Months ſince the Seed was put into the Ground. So Coucumbers came up in 20 days, and a wild Vine of that Country being prun'd, had produced Grapes, which were good and large. The next day, being the 30th of *March*, a Countryman gathered Ears of Wheat he had ſown at the latter end of *January*. There were alſo Vetches, but much bigger than thoſe they ſow'd, and all they ſow'd ſprung up above Ground in three days, and the 25th day they eat of it. The Stones of Fruit ſet in the Ground, ſprouted out in ſeven days, and the Vine-branches ſhot out in the ſame time, and in 25 days after, they gathered green Grapes. The Sugar Canes budded in ſeven days, which proceeded from the temperature of the Climate, not unlike to that of our Country, for it was rather cold than hot; beſides, That the Waters there are very cold, thin, and wholeſome. The Admiral was well enough pleaſed with the Air, the Soil and the People of the Country. On *Tueſday* the 1ſt of *April*, there came a Meſſenger from Fort St. *Thomas*, who brought News, that the *Indians* of that Country fled, and that a Cacique, whoſe Name was *Caunabo*, was preparing to come and attack the Fort. The Admiral knowing how inconſiderable the People of that Country were, made little Account of that Report, eſpecially confiding in the Horſes, by whom the *Indians* were afraid to be devoured, and therefore were ſo much afraid, that they durſt not go into any Houſe where a Horſe ſtood. However the Admiral thought fit to ſend more Men and Proviſions, conſidering that ſince he deſign'd to go to diſcover the Continent with three Caravals he had left him, it was fit all things ſhould remain quiet behind. Therefore on *Wedneſday* the 2d of *April*, he ſent 70 Men with Proviſions and Ammu-

nition to the Fort, 25 of which were to keep Guard, and the others help to make another Road, the first being very troublesome, as were the fords of the Rivers. These being gone, whilst the Ships were fitted to go upon the New Discovery, he attended to order all things necessary for the Town he was building, dividing it into Streets, with a convenient Market Place, and endeavouring to bring the River to it along a large cut Canal; for which Reason he also made a Dam that might serve the Mills, because the Town being almost a Cannon shot from the River, the People would have been troubled to fetch Water so far, especially then, when most of them were very weak and indisposed, by reason of the sharpness of the Air, which did not agree with them; so that some were sick, and had no other *Spanish* Provisions but Bisket and Wine, by reason of the ill management of the Captains of the Ships, as also because in that Country nothing keeps so well as in *Spain*. And tho' they had Plenty of the Country Provisions, yet not being used to that Food, it did not agree with them. Therefore the Admiral had resolved to leave but 300 Men in the Island, and send the rest into *Spain*, which Number, considering the Nature of the Island, and of the *Indies*, he knew was sufficient to keep that Country in Subjection to their Catholick Majesties. In the mean while, because the Bisket grew towards an end, and they had no Flour, but Wheat; he resolved to make some Mills, tho' there was no fall of Water fit for that purpose within a League of the Town, at which Work, and all others, he was forced to stand over the Workmen, they all endeavouring to save themselves from any Labour. After that, he resolved to send out all the People that were in Health, except Handicraft Men, and Artificers, to the Royal Plain, that Travelling about the Country, they might Pacify it, strike a Terror into the *Indians*, and by degrees be us'd to their Food, since they daily felt more want of that of *Spain*. *Hojeda* was sent to Command these Men, till they came to St. *Thomas*, there to deliver them to *D. Peter Margarite*, who was to lead them about the Island, and *Hojeda* himself to Command in the Fort, he having taken the Pains, the Winter before, to discover that Province of *Cibao*, which in the *Indian* Language signifies Stony. *Hojeda* set out from *Isabella* on *Wednesday* the 29th of *April*, towards St. *Thomas*, with all the aforesaid Men, being above 400, and having pass'd the River *del Oro*, apprehended the Cacique that liv'd there, and a Brother a Nephew of his, sending them in Irons to the Admiral, and cutt off the Ears of one of his Subjects, in the great place of his Town, because three Christians coming from St. *Thomas* to *Isabella*, this Cacique gave them five *Indians* to carry their Cloaths over the River at the Ford, and they being come to the middle of the River, returned to their Town with them, and the Cacique instead of Punishing them, took the Cloaths for himself, refusing to restore them. Another Cacique who dwelt beyond the River relying on the Service he had done the Christians, resolved to go with the Prisoners to *Isabella*, and intercede with the Admiral for them, who entertain'd him courteously, and ordered that the other *Indians*, with their hands bound, would be Publickly Sentenced to die in the Market-Place, which the Honest Cacique seeing, he with many Tears obtained their Lives, promising they should never be guilty of any other Offence. The Admiral having discharged them all, a Man a Horseback came from St. *Thomas's*, and gave an Account, that he had found in that same Cacique, who had been Prisoner in his Town, five Christians taken by his Subjects as they were coming for *Isabella*, and that he frightning the *Indians* with his Horse had releas'd them, above 400 Men runing away from him, of whom he wounded two in the pursuit; and that when he had pass'd the River, he saw they turn'd upon the said Christians, whereupon he made as if he would go back against them, but they for fear of his Horse, all ran away, least the Horse should fly over the River.

Columbus.

400 Men sent about the Island.

CHAP. LIV.

How the Admiral settled the Affairs of the Island, and went to discover Cuba, *supposing it to be the Continent.*

A Council to govern Hispaniola

THE Admiral being resolved to go out to discover the Continent, appointed a Council to Govern the Island in his absence, the Persons it consisted of, were, *D. James Columbus*, his Brother, with the Title of President, *F. Boyl*, and *Peter Fernandez Coronell*, Regents, *Alonso Sanchez de Carvajal* Rector of *Baeca*, and *John de Luxan* of *Madrid*, Gentlemen to their Catholick Majesties. And that there might not want Meal for support of the People, he hastned the building of the Mills, notwithstanding the

Columbus. the Rain and Flood very much obſtructed it. From theſe Rains, the Admiral ſays, proceeds the great Moiſture, and conſequently the Fruitfulneſs of the Iſland, which is ſo wonderful, that they eat Fruit of the Trees in November, when they were Bloſſoming afreſh, which ſhews that they bear twice a Year. But Herbs and Seeds grow at all times, and ſo they find on the Trees, Neſts with Eggs, and young Birds. As the fruitfulneſs of the Soil appeared extraordinary, ſo they daily received freſh Advices of the Wealth of the Country; for ſome of thoſe the Admiral had ſent out, were always returning with News of new Mines diſcovered, beſides the Relation of the *Indians* concerning the great plenty of Gold found in ſeveral Parts of the Iſland. The Admiral not ſo ſatisfied, reſolved to go out to diſcover along the Coaſt of *Cuba*, not knowing whether it was an Iſland or Continent. Therefore taking 3 Ships along with him, he ſet ſail upon *Thurſday* the 24th of *April*, after Noon, and came to an Anchor that day at *Monte Chriſto*, Weſt of *Iſabella*. On *Friday* he went to *Guacanagari*'s Port, thinking to find him there, but he ſeeing the Ships, fled for fear, tho' his Subjects falſly affirm'd he would ſoon return. But the Admiral not caring to ſtay without great Cauſe, departed on *Saturday* the 26th of *April*, and went to the Iſland *Tortuga*, which lies 6 Leagues to the Weſtward: He lay by it that Night, in a calm with his Sails abroad, the Tide running back againſt the Currents. Next day the North-Weſt Winds and Currents ſetting from the Weſt, oblig'd him to go back to an Anchor in the River of *Guadalquiver*, which is in the ſame Iſland, there to wait for a Wind that would ſtem the Current, which both then and the Year before, he found to run ſtrong there toward the Eaſt. On *Tueſday* the 29th of the ſame Month, the Wind being fair, he came to Cape St. *Nicholas*, and thence croſs'd over to the Iſland of *Cuba*, running along the South Coaſt of it, and having ſail'd a League beyond *Cabo Fuerte*, put into a large Bay which he call'd *Puerto Grande*, or Great Port, the Mouth whereof was 150 Paces over, and had much Water. Here he caſt Anchor, and took ſome Refreſhment of broil'd Fiſh and Oyſters, whereof the *Indians* had great ſtore. On the 1ſt of *May* he continued his Voyage along the Coaſt, where he found Commodious Harbours, fine Rivers and high Mountains. Upon the Sea, after he left *Tortuga*, he met abundance of the Weeds he ſaw on the Ocean, in his Voyage to and from *Spain*. He ſailing cloſe along the Shoar, abundance of People came aboard in their Canoes from the Iſland, thinking our Men were come down from Heaven, bring of their Bread, Water and Fiſh, and giving it all freely, without asking any thing for it; but the Admiral to ſend them home well pleaſed, ordered they ſhould be paid, giving them Beads, Bells, and ſuch like Baubles.

The Coaſt of Cuba.

CHAP. LV.

The Admiral diſcovers the Iſland of Jamaica.

Coaſt of Jamaica. ON *Saturday* the 3d of *May*, the Admiral reſolved to ſail over from *Cuba* to *Jamaica*, that he might not leave it behind, without knowing whether the Report of ſuch Plenty of Gold they had there, was in it, prov'd true, and the Wind being fair, and he almoſt half way over, diſcovered it on *Sunday*. Upon *Monday* he came to an Anchor, and thought it the Beautifulleſt of any he had yet ſeen in the *Indies*, and ſuch Multitudes of People in great and ſmall Canoes came aboard, that it was Aſtoniſhing. The next day he ran along the Coaſt to find out Harbours, and the Boats going to ſound the Mouths of them, there came out ſo many Canoes and Arm'd Men, to defend the Country, that they were forced to return to the Ships, not ſo much for fear, as to avoid falling to Enmity with thoſe People. But afterwards conſidering, that if they ſhow'd ſigns of fear the *Indians* would go proud upon it, they returned together to the Port, which the *Admiral* call'd *Puerto Bueno*, that is, Good Harbour. And becauſe the *Indians* came to drive them off, thoſe in Boats gave them ſuch a flight of Arrows from their Broſs-bows, that ſix or ſeven of them being wounded, they retired. The Fight ending in this manner; there came abundance of Canoes from the Neighbouring Places in peaceable manner, to ſee and Barter Proviſions, and ſeveral things they brought, and gave for the leaſt trifle that was offered them. In this Port, which is like a Horſe-ſhoe, the Admiral's Ship was repaired, it being Leaky, and that done, they ſet ſail on *Friday* the 9th of *May*, keeping ſo cloſe along the Coaſt Weſtward, that the *Indians* follow'd in their Canoes to Trade, and get ſomething of ours. The Wind being ſomewhat contrary, the Admiral could not make ſo much way as he wiſh'd, till on *Tueſday* the 14th of *May*, he reſolved to ſtand over again for *Cuba*, to keep along its Coaſt, deſigning

Columbus. deſigning not to return till he had ſail'd 5 or 600 Leagues and were ſatisfied whether it was an Iſland or Continent. That ſame day, as he was going off from *Jamaica*, a very young *Indian* came aboard, ſaying, he would come into *Spain*, and after him came ſeveral of his Kindred and other People in their Canoos, earneſtly intreating him to go back, but they could never alter his reſolution; and therefore to avoid ſeeing his Siſters cry and ſob, he went where they could not come at him. The Admiral admiring his Reſolution, gave Order that he ſhould be uſed with all Civility.

CHAP. LVI.

The Admiral from Jamaica *returns to the Coaſt of* Cuba, *ſtill thinking it to be the Continent.*

THE Admiral leaving *Jamaica*, on *Wedneſday* the 15th of *May*, came to that Point of *Cuba*, which he call'd *Cabo de Santa Cruz*, or Cape Holy Croſs, and running along the Coaſt, there happened a great ſtorm of Thunder and Lightening, which together with the Flats and Currents, put him into no ſmall danger and very to much trouble, being obliged at the ſame time to ſtruggle againſt theſe two Evils, which required contrary Remedies, for it is a proper Remedy againſt Thunder, to ſtrike the Sails, and it was requiſite to ſpread them to avoid the Flats, and had this Calamity laſted for 8 or 10 Leagues, it had been inſupportable. But the worſt of it was, that all over that Sea, both North and North-Eaſt, the further they went, the more low little Iſlands they met with, and tho' there were Trees in ſome of them, yet others were Sandy, and ſcarce appeared above the Surface of the Water, ſome a League, ſome more and ſome leſs in Compaſs. True it is, that the nearer they ſail'd to *Cuba*, the higher and Pleaſanter the little Iſlands appeared, and being a matter of difficulty, and to no purpoſe, to give every one of them a Name, the Admiral called them all in general *Jardin de la Reyna*, the Queen's Garden. But as many Iſlands as he ſaw that day, he ſaw many more and bigger the next day, than he had before, and not only to the North-Eaſt, but North-Weſt and South Weſt, inſomuch that they counted 160 Iſlands that day, all parted by deep Chanels, which the Ship ſail'd thro'. In ſome of theſe Iſlands they ſaw abundance of Cranes, in ſhape and bigneſs like thoſe of *Spain*, but that they were as red as Scarlet. In others they found abundance of Tortoiſes, and of their Eggs, not unlike a Hens, but that the ſhells are very hard. The Tortoiſes lay theſe Eggs in a hole they make in the Sand, and covering them, leave them till the heat of the Sun hatches and bring forth the Tortoiſes, which in time grow as big as a Buckler, or great Target. In theſe Iſlands they alſo ſaw Crows and Cranes like thoſe of *Spain*, and Sea-Crows, and infinite Numbers of little Birds that ſung ſweetly, and the very Air was as ſweet, as if they had been among Roſes and the fineſt Perfumes in the World, yet the danger was very great, there being ſuch abundance of Chanels, that much time was ſpent in finding the way out. In one of theſe Chanels, they ſpy'd a Canoo of *Indian* Fiſhermen, who very quietly, without the leaſt concern expected the Boat which was making towards them, and being come near, made a ſign to them in it, till they had done fiſhing. Their manner of fiſhing was ſo ſtrange and new to our Men, that they were willing to comply with them; it was thus: They had ty'd ſome ſmall fiſhes they call *Reves*, by the tail, which run themſelves againſt other fiſh, and with a certain roughneſs they have from the head to the middle of the back, they ſtick ſo faſt to next fiſh they meet, that when the *Indians* perceive it, drawing their Line, they draw them both together; and it was a Tortoiſe our Men ſaw ſo taken by thoſe Fiſhermen, that fiſh clinging about the Neck of it, where they generally faſten, being by that means ſafe from the other fiſh biting them, and have ſeen them faſten upon vaſt Sharks. When the *Indians* in the Canoo had taken their Tortoiſe, and two other fiſhes they had before, they preſently came very friendly to the Boat, to know what our Men would have, and by their Directions went along aboard the Ships, where the Admiral treated them very Courteouſly, and underſtood by them that there was an infinite Multitude of Iſlands in that Sea, and they freely gave all they had, tho' the Admiral would ſuffer nothing to be taken of them but the Fiſh, the reſt being their Nets, Hooks, and Calabaſhes full of Water to drink. Having given them ſome ſmall Trifles, they went away very well Pleaſed, and he held on his Courſe with deſign not to do ſo long, becauſe he [illegible] to want Proviſions already, which [illegible] been well ſtored, he thought [illegible] turned into *Spain*, but Eaſt about, [illegible]

Infinite ſmall Iſlands.

Birds and Tortoiſes in them.

A pretty way of fiſhing.

Columbus. was very much ſpent, not only becauſe he fed ill, but alſo becauſe he had not ſt ip or lain in a bed ever ſince he ſail'd from *Spain*, till the 19th of *May*, when he writ this, except 8 Nights, when he was much indiſpoſed. And if he had much care upon him at other times it was doubled this Voyage, by reaſon of the innumerable quantity of Iſlands, among which he was ſailing, which were ſo many, that on the 20th of *May*, he diſcovered 71, beſides many more he ſaw W. S. W. at Sun-ſetting. Which Iſlands or Sands are not only frightful by their Multitude, appearing on all ſides; but what is yet more terrible, is, That every Night there riſes off them a great Fogg Eaſtward, ſo diſmal to behold, that it ſeems as if ſome great ſhower of Hail would fall; the Thunder and Lightning are ſo violent, but when the Moon riſes, it all vaniſhes, part of it turning to Rain and Wind, which is ſo uſual and natural in that Country, that it did not only happen all thoſe Nights the Admiral was there, but I ſaw the ſame in thoſe Iſlands in the Year 1503, in my Return from the diſcovery of *Veragua*, and generally here at Night the Wind is North, coming off the Iſland *Cuba*; and afterwards when the Sun is up, it comes about Eaſt and follows the Sun till it comes to the Weſt.

CHAP. LVII.

Of the great fatigue the Admiral underwent ſailing among abundance of Iſlands.

THE Admiral ſtill holding on his Courſe Weſtward, among infinite Numbers of Iſlands, upon *Thurſday* the 22d of *May* came to an Iſland ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, which he call'd St. *Mary*, and Landing at a Town, there was in it not one *Indian* would ſtay to talk to the Chriſtians, nor did they find any thing in the Houſes but fiſh, which is all the Food thoſe People live on, and ſeveral Dogs like Maſtiffs, who eat fiſh too. Thus without talking to any body, or ſeeing any thing remarkable, he ſail'd away North-Eaſt, among abundance of Iſlands, in which there were many Cranes as red as Scarlet, Parrots, and other ſorts of Birds, Dogs like thoſe before mentioned, and abundance of thoſe Weeds he ſaw on the Ocean, when he firſt diſcovered the *Indies*. Thus ſailing among ſo many Sands and Iſlands, fatigued him very much, for ſometimes he was forced to ſtand Weſt, ſometimes North, and ſometimes South, according as the Chanels would permit; for notwithſtanding his care in Sounding, and keeping Men upon the Round-top to look out, yet the Ship often touch'd, and there was no avoiding it, there being no end of the Flatts on all hands. Sailing on in this manner, he came again to *Cuba*, to take in Water, whereof they had much need. And tho' there was no Town where they put in, becauſe the Place was Wooded, yet one of the Seamen that went aſhoar, going up among the Trees with a Croſs-bow to kill ſome Bird or Beaſt, found 30 People Arm'd with ſuch Weapons as they uſe, that is, Spears, and Staves, which they wear inſtead of Swords, and call *Macanas*. Among them he ſaid he ſaw one clad with a white Coat or Veſt, down to his Knees, and two that carry'd him had them down to their Feet, all three of them as white as the *Spaniards*, but that he had no talk with them, becauſe being afraid of ſuch a Number, he began to cry out to his Companions, and the *Indians* ran away without looking back. Tho' the Admiral the next day ſent People aſhoar to know the truth of it, they could not Travel above half a League, becauſe of the thickneſs of the Trees and Buſhes, and becauſe all that Coaſt is Boggy and Muddy, for two Leagues up the Country, where there are Hills and Mountains, ſo that they only ſaw Footſteps of Fiſhermen on the Shoar, and abundance of Cranes like thoſe in *Spain*, but bigger. Then ſailing about 10 Leagues Weſtward, they ſaw Houſes on the ſhoar, from which ſome Canoocs came with Water, and ſuch things as thoſe People eat, which they brought to the Chriſtians, who payed well for 'em; and the Admiral cauſed one of thoſe *Indians* to be ſtopp'd, telling him, and the reſt by his Interpreter, that he would let him go freely Home, as ſoon as he had directed him in his Voyage, and given ſome Account of that Country. At which the *Indian* was very much pleaſed, and aſſured the Admiral that *Cuba* was an Iſland, and that the King or Cacique of the Weſtern Part of it, never ſpoke to his Subjects but by Signs, by whom all his Orders were immediately obey'd, that all that Coaſt was very low, and full of ſmall Iſlands, which was found to be too true, that the next day, being the 11th of *June*, to paſs from one Chanel to another, the Admiral was forced to have the Ships Tow'd over a Flat, where there was not a Foot Water, and all the breadth of it was not above two Ships length. Bearing up cloſer to *Cuba* they ſaw Tortoiſes of a vaſt bigneſs, and in ſuch Numbers, that they covered the Sea. At

Indians living up on fiſh.

A pretty way of fiſhing.

Infinite Tortoiſes, Crows and Butter-flies.

Columbus. break of day they ſaw ſuch a Cloud of Sea Crows that they darkned the Sun, coming from the Seaward to the Iſland, where they all lighted; beſides them, abundance of Pigeons, and Birds of other ſorts were ſeen, and the next day there came ſuch ſwarms of Butterflies, that they darkened the Air, and laſted till Night, when the great Rain carried them away.

CHAP. LVIII.

How the Admiral returns back towards Hiſpaniola.

ON *Friday* the 13th of *June*, the Admiral perceiving that the Coaſt of *Cuba* ran far Weſt, and that it was a matter of the greateſt difficulty to ſail that way, by reaſon of the Infinite Multitude of Iſlands and Sands there were on all ſides, and that he already began to want Proviſions, for which Reaſon he could not continue his Voyage as he had intended, he reſolved to return to the Town he had began to build in *Hiſpaniola*, and to furniſh himſelf with Wood and Water, he Anchored in the Iſland *Evangeliſta*, which is 30 Leagues in Compaſs, and 700 from *Dominica*. Having provided himſelf with what he wanted, he directed his Courſe Southward, hoping to get out better that way, and ſailing thro' the Chanel, he ſaw look'd cleareſt, after ſailing a few Leagues, found it ſhut up, which did not a little trouble and terrify the Men, ſeeing themſelves as it were hemm'd in on all ſides, and deſtitute of Proviſions and all Comfort. But the Admiral, who was Wiſe and Couragious, perceiving their faint-heartedneſs, ſaid with a chearful Countenance, that he thanked God for forcing him back the ſame way he came, for as much as if they had continued their Voyage that way they intended to go, it might perhaps have happened they might have run themſelves into ſome Place whence it would be hard getting out, and at a time when they had neither Ships nor Proviſions to go back, which at preſent they could eaſily do. Thus with great ſatisfaction of all the Men, he returned to the Iſland *Evangeliſta*, where he had Watered, and on *Wedneſday* the 25 of *June*, ſailed thence North-Weſt towards ſome ſmall Iſlands that appeared 5 Leagues off. Going ſtill a little forward he came into a Sea ſo patched with green and white, that it look'd like one entire Sand, tho' there was two Fathom Water; along which he ſail'd 7 Leagues, till he met another Sea, as white as Milk, which he much Admired, the Water being very thick. This Sea dazled the Eyes of all that beheld it, and ſeem'd to be all a ſhoal without Water enough for the Ships, yet there were about 3 Fathom Water. But when he had ſailed about 4 Leagues upon that Sea, he came into another Sea, as black as Ink, and 5 Fathom deep, thro' which he held his Courſe till he came up with *Cuba*. Thence ſtanding to the Eaſtward, with ſcant Winds, thro' narrow Chanels and Shoals. On the 30th of *June* as he was writing his Journal of the Voyage, his Ship run a Ground ſo faſt, that neither Anchors nor other Inventions, being able to get it off; it pleaſed God it was drawn off a-head, tho' with ſome damage, becauſe of its beating on the Sand. However, with God's Aſſiſtance they got off at laſt, and he ſail'd on as the Wind and Shoal-water would permit, always thro' a very white Sea, and two Fathom deep, neither deeper nor ſhallower, unleſs he came too cloſe to ſome of the Sands, where there was want of Water. Beſides which trouble, every day about Sun-ſetting, he was troubled with mighty Showers, which riſe in the Mountains from the Moraſſes near the Sea, which were a great fatigue to him, till he came cloſe to *Cuba* towards the Eaſt, the way he came at firſt. Thence, as he had found before, came off a moſt fragrant ſcent, as it were of Flowers. On the 7th of *July* he Landed to hear Maſs, and there reſorted to him an old Cacique Lord of that Province, who was very Attentive at Maſs; when it was ended, by ſigns, and the beſt he could expreſs, it was very well done to give thanks to God, becauſe the Soul which was good, would go to Heaven, and the Body remain on Earth, but that the Wicked Souls muſt go to Hell. And among other things, ſaid, he had been in the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, where he knew ſome of the Chief Men; that he had been in *Jamaica*, and a great way towards the Weſt of *Cuba*, and that the Cacique of that Port, was clad like a Prieſt.

The Admiral imbay's

Notable words of an Indian.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. LIX.

The great Hunger and other Calamities the Admiral, and his Men endur'd, and how he return'd to Jamaica.

THE Admiral ſailing thence on *Wedneſday* the 16*th* of *July*, ſtill attended by terrible Rains and Winds, drew near to Cape *Cruz* in *Cuba*, where he was on a ſudden aſſaulted by ſuch a violent Rain and Storm, as bore his Ship's ſide under Water, but it pleas'd God they immediately ſtruck all their Sails, and drop'd their beſt Anchors, but they took in ſo much Water at the Deck, that the Men were not able to pump it out, eſpecially in the Condition they were, being much ſpent for want of Proviſions: For they eat nothing but a Pound of rotten Biſket a day, and about half a Pint of Wine, unleſs they hapned to catch ſome Fiſh, which yet they could not keep from one Day to the next, Proviſions in thoſe Parts being of a very ſlight Nature, and becauſe the Weather was always more inclinable to Heat than in our Countries, and this Want being common to all, the Admiral in his Journal ſpeaks thus concerning it. I my ſelf am at the ſame Allowance, God grant it may be to his Honour, and for your Highneſſes Service, for I ſhall never again for my own Benefit expoſe my ſelf to ſuch Sufferings and Dangers, never a Day paſſing, but I ſee we are all upon the Brink of Death. In this Danger and Diſtreſs he arriv'd at Cape *Cruz* the 18*th* of *July*, where he was friendly entertain'd by the *Indians*. They brought him abundance of *Cazabi* ſo they call their Bread made of Roots grated, a great deal of Fiſh, Store of Fruit and ſuch other things as they eat. The Wind being contrary to ſail for *Hiſpaniola*, he ſtood over to *Jamaica* on *Wedneſday* the 22*th* of *July*, and ſail'd along Weſtward cloſe under the Shoar, the Country all along moſt delightful and fruitful, with excellent Harbours at every League diſtance, and all the Coaſt full of Towns, the People whereof follow'd the Ships in their Canoos, bringing ſuch Proviſions as they eat and much better lik'd by the *Chriſtians*, than what they found in the other Iſlands. The Climate, Air and Weather was the ſame as the reſt, for in this Weſtern Part of *Jamaica* there gather'd every Evening a Storm of Rain, which laſted about an Hour more or leſs, which the Admiral ſaid, he attributed to the great Woods there in thoſe Countries, for that he knew this was uſual at firſt in the *Canary* Iſlands, *Madera* and the *Azores*, whereas now the Woods are cut down that ſhaded them, there are not ſo great and frequent Storms and Rains, as there were formerly. Thus the Admiral ſail'd on tho' with contrary Winds, which oblig'd him every Night to take the Shelter of the Land, which appear'd green, pleaſant, fruitful, abounding in Proviſions, and ſo populous, that he thought none excell'd it, eſpecially near a Bay which he call'd *de las Vacas*, becauſe there are 9 Iſlands cloſe to the Land which he ſaid was as high, as any he had ſeen, and believ'd reach'd above the Region where the Storms bred, yet it is all peopled, very fruitful and pleaſant. This Iſland he judg'd to be 800 Miles in Compaſs, and when fully diſcover'd, computed it to be 50 Leagues in Length and 20 in Breadth. Being much taken with its Beauty, he had a great mind to ſtay there to be fully inform'd of the Nature of it, but the great Want of Proviſions we mention'd, and the Leakineſs of the Veſſels would not permit. Therefore as ſoon as the Weather was a little fair, he ſail'd away Eaſtward, ſo that on *Tueſday* the 19*th* of *Aug.* he loſt Sight of that Iſland, ſtanding over directly for *Hiſpaniola*, and call'd the moſt Eaſtward Cape of *Jamaica* on the South Coaſt *Cabo del Farol*.

Great Dearth.

Great Beauty of Jamaica.

Notable words of an Indian.

CHAP. LX.

The Admiral diſcovers the South Side of Hiſpaniola, *till he returned Eaſt about the Town of* Iſabella.

ON *Wedneſday* the 20*th* of *Auguſt*, the Admiral had ſight of the South ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, and call'd the firſt Point Cape St. *Michael*, which was 30 Leagues diſtant from the Eaſterlyeſt Point of *Jamaica*, yet at preſent through the Ignorance of the Sailers it is call'd Cape *Tiburon*. From this Cape on *Saturday* the 23*d*. of *Auguſt*, there came aboard a Cacique, who call'd the Admiral by his Name, and had ſome other *Spaniſh* Words, by which he was convinced this was the ſame Land as *Hiſpaniola*. At the End of *Auguſt* he anchor'd

South Part of Hiſpaniola diſcover'd.

Columbus. chor'd in an Iſland, which is call'd *Alto Velo*, and having loſt ſight of the other two Ships under his Command, he cauſed ſome Men to go aſhore in that little Iſland, whence being very high they might ſee a great way round; but they diſcover'd none of their Companions. As they were going aboard they kill'd Eight Sea Wolves, that lay aſleep on the Sand, and took abundance of Pidgeons, and other Birds, for that Iſland not being inhabited, nor thoſe Creatures us'd to ſee Men, they ſtood ſtill to be kill'd with Staves. The ſame they did the two following Days, waiting for the Ships, which had been aſtray ever ſince the *Friday* before, till at the End of Six Days they came, and all three together went away to the Iſland *Beata* twelve Leagues diſtant from *Alto Velo*. Hence they paſſed on coaſting *Hiſpaniola*, in ſight of a delightful Country, which was a Plain running up a Mile from the Sea, ſo populous, that it ſeem'd to be one continu'd Town for a League in Length. In which Plain there appear'd a Lake 5 Leagues long from Eaſt to Weſt. The People therefore of the Country having ſome Knowledge of the Chriſtians, came aboard in their Canoos bringing News, that ſome *Spaniards* from *Iſabella* had happen'd to come among them, and that they were all well, which much pleas'd the Admiral, and to the End they too might hear of his Health and his Company's and of his Return, being ſomewhat more towards the Eaſt, he ſent Nine Men to croſs the Iſland, paſſing by the Forts of St. *Thomas* and the *Magdalen* to *Iſabella*, and he with his three Ships ſtill keeping along the Coaſt Eaſtward, ſent the Boats for Water to a Place, where a great Town appear'd. The *Indians* came out againſt them with Bows and poiſon'd Arrows, and with Ropes in their Hands, making Signs that they would bind the Chriſtians they ſhould take with them. But as ſoon as the Boats came to the Shoar, the *Indians* laid down their Arms, and offer'd to bring Bread and Water, and all they had, asking in their Language for the Admiral. Going hence, they ſaw in the Sea, a Fiſh as big as a Whale, which on its Neck had a great Shell, like a Tortoiſe, and boreits Head, which was as big as a Hogſhead above Water, had a Tail like a Tunny Fiſh, very long, and two large Finns on the Sides. The Admiral by this Fiſh and other Signs perceiving there would be ſome change of Weather, he ſought for ſome Harbour to ſecure himſelf. And on the 15*th* of *September* it pleaſed God to ſhow him an Iſland, being near the Eaſt part of *Hiſpaniola*, call'd by the *Indians Adamanai*, and the Weather being very ſtormy drop'd Anchor in the Channel between it and *Hiſpaniola*, cloſe to a ſmall Iſland that lies between both, where that Night he ſaw the Eclipſe of the Moon, which he ſaid vary'd 5 Hours 23 Minutes from *Cadiz*, to the Place where he was. This I ſuppoſe made the bad Weather laſt ſo long, for he was forced to lie cloſe in that very Place till the 20*th* of the Month, not without Fear for the other Ships, which could not get in, but it pleaſed God to ſave them. Being afterwards together again, on the 24*th* of *September* they ſail'd to the moſt Eaſterly Point of *Hiſpaniola*, and thence paſs'd over to a little Iſland lying between *Hiſpaniola* and *S. John de Borriquen*, call'd by the *Indians Mona*. From this Iſland the Admiral does not continue the Journal of his Voyage, nor does he ſay how he return'd to *Iſabella*, but only that going from *Mona* to *S. John*, the great Toil he had gone through, his own Weakneſs, and Want of Proviſions, caſt him into a dangerous Diſeaſe between a Peſtilential Fever and a Lethargy, which preſently depriv'd him of all his Senſes and Memory. Whereupon all the Men aboard the Ships reſolv'd to deſiſt from the Deſign he had in Hand of diſcovering all the Iſlands of the *Caribbees*, and to return to *Iſabella* where they arriv'd in 5 Days, and on the 29*th* of *September*, and there it pleaſed God to reſtore his Health, tho' his Sickneſs laſted above 5 Months, which was attributed to the great Sufferings he had gone through during that Voyage, and to his extraordinary Weakneſs, for ſometimes he had not ſlept 3 Hours in 8 Days, which ſeems almoſt impoſſible, were not he himſelf and his Men Witneſſes of the Truth of it.

A Monſtrous Fiſh.

CHAP. LXI.

How the Admiral ſubdued the Iſland Hiſpaniola, *and took ſuch Order, that they might not Revolt again.*

Bartholomew Columbus. THE Admiral returning to *Hiſpaniola* from the Diſcovery of *Cuba* and *Jamaica*, found there his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus*, who, as was ſaid before, had been ſent to Treat with the King of *England* about the Diſcovery of the *Indies*.

He

He returning to *Spain* with the Grant of his Demands, underſtood at *Paris*, by *Charles* King of *France*, that the Admiral his Brother had diſcover'd the *Indies*, and he ſupplied him with 100 Crowns to proceed on his Journey. Upon this News, he made all the haſte he could to overtake the Admiral in *Spain*, yet when he came to *Sevil*, his Brother was ſet out for the *Indies* with 17 ſail. Therefore, to fulfil the Orders he had left him at the beginning of the year 1494. he went away to their Catholick Majeſties, carrying me and my Brother D. *James Columbus*, to ſerve Prince *John* as his Pages, as had been appointed by the Queen, who was then at *Valladolid*. As ſoon as we came thither, their Majeſties ſent for *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and ſent him to *Hiſpaniola* with three Ships, where he ſerv'd ſome years, as appears by a Manuſcript I found among his Papers, in which are theſe Words. 'I ſerv'd as Captain 'from the 14th of *April* 1494. till the '12th of *March* 1496. when the Admi'ral ſet out for *Spain*, and then I began to 'Act as Governor till the 24th of *Au'guſt* 1498. when the Admiral return'd 'from the Diſcovery of *Paria*, when I 'again ſerv'd as Captain till the 11th of 'Decem. 1500. when I return'd to *Spain*. But to return to the Admiral, he returning from *Cuba*, made him Governor of the *Indies*, tho' afterwards there aroſe a Controverſie on this Account, becauſe their Catholick Majeſties ſaid they had not granted the Admiral Power to appoint any ſuch. But to decide this difference, their Highneſſes granted it a-new, and ſo for the future he was called *Adelantado*, that is, Lieutenant of the *Indies*.

The Admiral having the Aſſiſtance and Advice of his Brother, took ſome reſt, and liv'd in quiet, tho' on the other ſide he met with Trouble enough, as well from his Sickneſs, as becauſe he found almoſt all the *Indians* had revolted, through the Fault of *D. Peter Margarite*, of whom we ſpoke above. He tho' obliged to Reſpect and Honour him that at his departure for *Cuba*, had left him the Command of 360 Foot and 14 Horſe, to Travel over the Iſland, and reduce it under the Obedience of their Catholick Majeſties and the Chriſtians, and particularly the Province of *Cibao*, whence the chief Profit was expected; yet did all things ſo much to the contrary, that as ſoon as the Admiral was gone, he went with all his Men to the great Plain called *Vega Real*, ten Leagues from *Iſabella*, without ſtirring to over-run and reduce the Iſland. Hence there enſued, Diſcord and Factions at *Iſabella*; he endeavouring that thoſe of the Council inſtituted by the Admiral, *Columbus.* ſhould Obey his Orders, ſending them very inſolent Letters, till perceiving he could not ſucceed in his deſign of getting the whole Command into his Hands, rather than ſtay the coming of the Admiral, who would call him in queſtion for his Behaviour, he went aboard the firſt Ships that came from *Spain*, and return'd in them, without giving any Account of himſelf, or any ways diſpoſing of the Men left under his Command. Upon this, every one went away among the *Indians*, where he thought fit, taking away their Goods and their Women, and committing ſuch Outrages, that the *Indians* reſolv'd to be reveng'd on thoſe they found alone, or ſtragling; ſo that the *Cacique* of the *Magdalen*, whoſe Name was *Guatiguana* had kill'd ten, and privately ordered a Houſe to be fir'd, in which there were 11 ſick. But he was ſeverely puniſh'd, when the Admiral return'd; for tho' he himſelf could not be taken, yet ſome of his Subjects were made Priſoners, and ſent into *Spain* in 4 Ships, *Antony de Torres* brought on the 24th of *February* 1495. Six or ſeven more, who in other parts of the Iſland had done harm to the Chriſtians, ſuffered for it. The *Caciques* had certainly kill'd many, and would have deſtroy'd more, but that the Admiral came in time to Curb them all, who found the Iſland in ſuch Diſorder, that moſt of the Chriſtians committed a thouſand Inſolencies, for which they were mortally hated by the *Indians*, who refus'd to ſubmit to them. It was no difficult matter for them all to agree to caſt off the Spaniſh Yoke; becauſe, as has been ſaid, there were 4 principal Kings or Caciques, to whom all the others were ſubject. The Names of thoſe four, were *Cannabo*, *Guacanagari*, *Behechico*, and *Guarionex*; and each of theſe had under him 70 or 80 other little Lords; not that they paid Tribute, or gave any think, but were obliged, whenſoever called upon, to aſſiſt them in their Wars, and till the Ground; but *Guacanagari*, one of theſe, who was Lord of that part of the Iſland, where the Town of the *Nativity* had been built, continued a Friend to the Chriſtians. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the Admiral's coming, he went to viſit him, ſaying, he had no way been Aiding or Adviſing with the others, which might appear by the great Civility the Chriſtians had found in his Country, where 100 Men had been always very well us'd and furniſh'd with all things he could get to *One* Indian *King ſides with the* Spaniards.

Columbus

pleaſe them; for which reaſon, the other Kings were become his Enemies, and particularly *Behechio* had killed one of his Women, and *Caunabo* had taken another; wherefore he pray'd him to Cauſe her to be reſtored, and aſſiſt him to Revenge theſe Wrongs. The Admiral reſolved to do ſo, believing what he ſaid was true, becauſe he wept every time he called to mind thoſe that had been kill'd at the *Nativity*, as if they had been his own Children, and he was the more inclineable to it, conſidering that the Diſcord among them would make it more practicable to Conquer the Country, and puniſh the Revolt of the other *Indians*, and killing of the Chriſtians. Therefore on the 24th of *March* 1495. he ſet out from *Iſabella* to carry on the War, and the aforeſaid *Guacanagari* with him, Being very deſirous to cruſh his Enemies; tho' the undertaking ſeem'd very difficult, they having rais'd above 100000 *Indians*, whereas the Admiral had not along with him above 200 Chriſtians, 20 Horſes, and as many Dogs. The Admiral being acquainted with the Nature and Qualities of the *Indians*, when he was two days Journey from *Iſabella*, divided his Forces, giving half to his Brother the Lieutenant, that he might attack that multitude ſcattered about the Plains in two places, believing the Terrour of hearing the Noiſe in ſeveral places would put them to flight ſooner than any thing elſe, as in effect it prov'd. The Battallions of Foot on both ſides falling upon the multitude of *Indians*, and breaking them with the firſt Diſcharge of their Croſs-Bows, and Muskets, the Horſe and Dogs fell in next in moſt furious manner, that they might not Rally; whereupon thoſe faint hearted Creatures fled, ſome one way, and ſome another; and our Men purſuing and killing a great number, made ſuch havock, that in a ſhort time, through God's Aſſiſtance, they obtain'd a compleat Victory, many of the Enemies being ſlain, and others taken, among whom was *Caunabo*, the chief Cacique of them all, together with his Wives and Children. This *Caunabo*, afterwards confeſs'd he had kill'd 20 of the Chriſtians left with *Arana* in the Town of the *Nativity*, the firſt Voyage when the *Indies* were diſcovered, and that afterwards, under colour of Friendſhip, he went in great haſte to ſee the Town of *Iſabella*, to obſerve how he might beſt attack it, and do as he had done at the *Nativity*. Of all which things, the Admiral had been fully inform'd by others; and therefore to puniſh him for that Offence, and this ſecond Revolt, and gathering of Forces, he had now march'd againſt him, and having taken him and his Brother, he ſent them all Priſoners into *Spain*, for he would not without the knowledge of their Catholick Majeſties, execute ſo conſiderable a Perſon, being ſatisfied with puniſhing ſome of thoſe that were moſt in fault. The Victory obtain'd, and this Man's Impriſonment, put the Affairs of the Chriſtians into ſuch a good Poſture, that tho' at that time they were but 630. many of them ſick, and others Women and Children; yet in the ſpace of a year, the Admiral ſpent in ranging the Iſland, without being forced to draw Sword any more, he reduced it to ſuch Obedience, that they all promiſed to pay Tribute to their Catholick Majeſties every 3 months, that is, all that Inhabited the Province of *Cibao*, where the Gold Mines were, from 14 years of Age upward, to pay a large Horſe-Bell full of Gold Duſt, and all the reſt 25 Pounds of Cotton a Head. And that it might be known, who had paid this Tribute, there was a ſort of Braſs and Tin Coin ſtamp'd, one of which pieces was to be given to every one that paid, and he to wear it about his Neck, that whoſoever was found without it might be known not to have paid and puniſh'd. And doubtleſs, this Order would have proved effectual, had not not thoſe Troubles we ſhall ſpeak of afterwards hapned among the Chriſtians; for after the taking of *Caunabo*, the Country was ſo peaceable, that for the future one ſingle Chriſtian went ſafely where he pleaſed; and the *Indians* themſelves would carry him about on their Shoulders, which the Admiral attributed only to God, and the good Fortune of their Catholick Majeſties, conſidering it had been otherwiſe impoſſible for 200 Men, half Sick and Ill-Arm'd, to overthrow ſuch a multitude, which it pleas'd his Divine Majeſty not only to bring under his Command, but to ſend ſuch ſcarcity of Proviſions, and ſuch violent Diſeaſes among them, that they were reduced to one third of what they had been at firſt, to make it appear the more plain, that ſuch miraculous Victories, and the ſubduing of Nations are his Gift, and not the effect of our Power, or Conduct, or of their want of Courage, for tho' our Men had been Superiour to them, yet their multitude might make amends for any Advantage we had over them.

Indians defeated.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Some remarkable Things in the Island, as the Customs, Ceremonies, and Religion of the Indies.

THe People of the Island being brought under, and converſing more freely with our Men, many other particulars, and the Secrets of their Religion were found out, but particularly that there were Mines of Copper, Azure, and Amber; as alſo Ebony, Cedar, Frankincenſe, and other rich Gums and Spice of ſeveral ſorts, but wild, which, being cultivated, might be brought to Perfection; as for inſtance, Cinnamon of good colour, but bitter, Ginger, long Pepper, abundance of Mulberry Trees, for making of Silk, which bear Leaves all the year, and many other uſeful Trees and Plants not known in our Parts. Beſides, the [illegible] were informed of many other [illegible] Cuſtoms, which to me [illegible] in our Hiſtory. To begin with their Religion, I will here ſet down the Admirals own words, writ by himſelf, which are theſe.

I could diſcover neither Idolatry nor any other Sect among them, tho' every one of their Kings, who are very many, as well in *Hiſpaniola*, as in all the other Islands and Continent, has a Houſe apart from the Town, in which there is nothing at all but ſome Wooden Images Carv'd, by them call'd *Cemi*'s; nor is there any thing done in thoſe Houſes but what is for the Service of thoſe *Cemi*'s, they repairing to perform certain Ceremonies, and Pray there, as we do to our Churches. In theſe Houſes they have a handſome round Table, made like a Diſh, on which is ſome Powder, which they lay on the Head of the *Cemi*'s, with a certain Ceremony: then through a Cane that has two Branches, clapp'd to their Noſe, they Snuff up this Powder: The Words they ſay none of our People underſtand. This Powder puts them beſides themſelves, as if they were Drunk. They alſo give the Image a Name, and I believe it is their Fathers, or Grandfathers, or both, for they have more than one, and ſome above ten, all in Memory of their Forefathers, as I ſaid before. I have heard them commend one above another, and have obſerv'd them to have more Devotion, and ſhow more reſpect to one than another, as we do in Proceſſions, in time of need, and the People and *Caciques* boaſt among themſelves of having the beſt *Cemi*'s. When they go to theſe their *Cemi*'s, they ſhun the Chriſtians, and will not let them go into thoſe Houſes, and if they ſuſpect they will come, they take away their *Cemi*'s, and hide them in the Woods, for fear they ſhould be taken from them, and what is moſt ridiculous, they uſe to Steal one anothers *Cemi*'s. It happen'd once, that the Chriſtians on a ſudden ruſh'd into the Houſe with them, and preſently the *Cemi* cried out, ſpeaking in their Language, by which it appear'd to be artificially made, for it being hollow, they had applied a Trunk to it, which anſwer'd to a dark corner of the Houſe cover'd with Boughs and Leanes, where a Man was concealed, who ſpoke what the *Cacique* order'd him. The *Spaniards* therefore reflecting on what it might be, kick'd down the *Cemi*, and found as has been ſaid; and the *Cacique* ſeeing they had diſcovered his Practice, earneſtly begg'd of them not to ſpeak of it to his Subjects, or the other *Indians*, becauſe he kept them in Obedience by that Policy. This we may ſay has ſome reſemblance of Idolatry, at leaſt among thoſe, who are ignorant of their *Caciques* Fraud, ſince they believe it is the *Cemi* that ſpeaks, and all of them in general are impos'd upon, and only the *Cacique* and he that combines with him, abuſe their Credulity, by which means he draws what Tribute he pleaſes from his People. Moſt of the *Caciques* have 3 Stones alſo, to which they and their People ſhow a great Devotion. The one they ſay helps the Corn, and all ſorts of Grain; the ſecond, makes Women be deliver'd without Pain; and the third, procures Rain or fair Weather, according as they ſtand in need of either. I ſent your Highneſs 3 of theſe Stones by *Antony de Torres*, and have 3 more to carry along with me. When theſe *Indians* Die, they have ſeveral ways of performing their Obſequies, but the manner of Burying their *Caciques* is thus. They open and dry him at the Fire, that he may keep whole. Of others they take only the Head. Others they Bury in a Grot, or Den, and lay a Calabaſh of Water and Bread on his Head. Others they Burn in the Houſe where they Die, and when they are at the laſt Gaſp, they ſuffer them not to Die, but Strangle them, and this is done to *Caciques*. Others are turn'd out of the Houſe, and others put them into a Hamack, which is their Bed, laying Bread and Water by their Head, never

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The MANUSCRIPT of *F. Roman*, concerning the Antiquities of the *Indians*, which he, as being Skill'd in their Tongue, has carefully gather'd by Order of the Admiral.

I F. Roman, *a poor Anchourite of the order of* S. Jerome, *by Order of the most Illustrious Lord Admiral, Viceroy and Governour of the Islands and Continent of the* Indies, *write what I could hear and learn of the Belief, and Idolatry of the* Indians, *and how they serve their Gods. Every one observe some particular Way and Superstition and Worshipping Idols, which they call* Cemis. *They think there is an Immortal Being, like Heaven, Invisible, and that has a Mother, but has no Beginning, and this Being they call* Jocakuvague Maorocon, *and its Mother they call* Atabei, Iermaoguacar, Apito, *and* Zuimaco, *which are several Names. Those I here write of, are the People of the Island* Hispaniola, *for I know nothing of the others, having never been in them. They also know, whence they came, the Original of the Sun and Moon, how the Sea was made, and whither the Dead go. And they believe the Dead appear to them upon the Roads when any of them go alone, for when there are a great many together they do not appear to them. All this their Ancestors have made them believe, for they can neither read, nor tell beyond Ten.*

CHAP. I.

Whence the Indians *came, and after what manner.*

Preposterous conceits of the Indians. THere is a Province in *Hispaniola* call'd *Caonan*, in which there is a Mountain call'd *Canta*, where there are two Grots or Caverns; the one call'd *Cacibagiagua*, the other *Amaiauva*; most of the People that first Inhabited the Island came out of *Cacibagiagua*. These being in those Caverns, kept Watch by Night, and one *Marocael* had the charge of it, who coming one day too late to the door, they say the Sun took him away. Seeing therefore that the Sun had carried him away for his neglect, they shut the Door against him, and so he was turn'd into a Stone near the Door. Then they say, That others going a Fishing were taken by the Sun, and became Trees by them call'd *Jobi*, but otherwise *Mirabolans*.

The reason why *Marocael* watch'd and warded, was to observe whether he would send and distribute the People, and it appears he staid to his own harm.

CHAP. II.

How the Men parted from the Women.

IT happened, that one *Guagugiana*, bid another, whose Name was *Giadruvaba*, go and gather an Herb called *Digo*, wherewith they cleanse their Body when they go to Wash. He went out before day, the Sun took him by the way, and he became a Bird that sings in the morning, like the *Nightingale*, and is call'd *Giahuba Bagiaci*. *Guagugiana* perceiving he did not return, whom he had sent to gather *Digo*, resolv'd to go out of the aforesaid Grot *Cacibagiagua*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

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Guagugiana resolv'd to go away in a Passion, seeing they did not return whom he had sent to gather *Digo* to wash him, and said to the Women, leave your Husbands, and let us go into other Countries, and we shall get Jewels enough. Leave your Children, and let us only carry the Herbs along with us, and we will come again for them.

CHAP. IV.

Guagugiana set out with all the Women, and went to seek another Country, and came to *Matinino*, where he immediately left the Women, and went into another Country, called *Guanin*, having left the Children by a Brook. Afterwards, when Hunger began to pinch them, they say, they cry'd, and called their Mothers, that were gone; and the Fathers could not relieve the Children, who for Hunger, called their Mothers, saying *Ma Ma*, to speak, but in truth to beg of the Earth. And they thus crying and begging of the Earth, saying *Too*, *Too*, like one that very earnestly begs a thing, they were transform'd into little Creatures like Dwarfs, and call'd *Tona*, because of their begging of the Earth. And thus all the Men were left without Women.

CHAP. V.

THat there went Women again to the said Island of *Hispaniola*, formerly called *Aiti*, and so the Inhabitants of it are called, and the other Islands called them *Bouchi*: And forasmuch as they have no Letters, nor way of Writing, they can give no good Account how they understand this Story of their Ancestors, and therefore they do not agree in what they say, nor is what they relate to be put into any Order. When *Guagugiana*, who carry'd away all the Women went off, he took with him the Wives of his *Caciques*, whose Name was *Anacacugia*, deceiving them as he had done the others. Besides, a Kinsman of *Guagugiana*, who followed him, went upon the Sea, and *Guagugiana* said to his Kinsman, when he was in the Canoo, Look what a fine *Cobo* there is in the Water, which *Cobo* is the Sea-Snail, or Perwinkle; and he looking down for the *Cobo*, *Guagugiana* his Kinsman took him by the Feet and threw him into the Sea, and so took all the Women to himself, and left those at *Matinino*, where it is said there are none but Women to this day; and he went away to another Island called *Guanin*, and it was so called for what he carried to it when he went thither.

CHAP. VI.

THat *Guagugiana* return'd to the same *Canta*, whence he had carried the Women: They say that *Guagugiana* being in that Country whither he went, saw he had left a Woman in the Sea, at which he was not pleas'd, and look'd about where to Wash himself, being full of those Blotches we call the *French Pox*. The Woman put him into a *Guanara*, that is, a By-Place; and being there, was heal'd of his Sores.

Afterwards he ask'd her leave to go his way, and she gave it him. This Womans Name was *Guabonito*; and *Guagugiona* chang'd his Name, calling himself from that time forwards, *Biberoci Guahagona*. And the Woman *Guabonito*, gave *Biberoci Guahagiona* much *Guanine* and *Cibe*, that he might carry them tied to his Arms; for in those Countries, the *Coletibi* are of Stone, very like Marble, and they wear them about their Wrists and Necks; and the *Guanini*'s wear them at their Ears, making holes in them when they are little, and they sound like fine Mettle. They say, That *Guabonito*, *Albeboracl*, *Guahagiona*, and the Father of *Albeboracl*, were the first of these *Guanini*'s. *Guahagiona* staid in that Country with the Father, called *Hiauna*, his Son from his Father took the Name *Hia Guaili Guanin*, which signifies Son of *Hiauna*, and from thence forward, was called *Guanin*, and is so to this day. And they not knowing how to write, cannot give a good Account of these Fables, nor can I write them well: wherefore I believe, I mention the last first and the first last. But all I write is related by them, and so I deliver it as I had it from the People of the Country.

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CHAP. VII.

How Women came again to the aforeſaid Iſland Aiti, *now called* Hiſpaniola.

THey ſay the Men went one Day to Waſh themſelves, and when they were in the Water it Rain'd much, and they were very deſirous to have Women; and that very often, when it Rain'd, they had gone to ſeek out the Track of their Women, and could find no news of them; but they ſay, that as they were Waſhing themſelves that day, they ſaw fall down from the Trees, as it were ſliding down the Branches, the Shape of People, which were neither Men nor Women, nor had the Secrets Parts of Man or Women, which they went to catch, but they fled as ſwift as if they had been Eagles. Therefore by Order of their *Cacique*, they call'd 2 or 3 Men, ſince they themſelves could not catch them, to watch how many there were of them, and find out for each of them a Man that was *Caracaracoli*, for thoſe Men had rough Hands, and therefore would hold faſt. They told the *Cacique* they were four, and ſo they took four Men that were *Caracaracoli*, which is a Diſtemper like the Itch, that makes the Body very rough. When they had taken thoſe Creatures, they held a Council about them, how to make them Women, ſince they had neither the Privities of Man or Woman.

CHAP. VIII.

How they found the way to make Women.

Women made.

THey ſought out a Bird called *Turiri*, formerly *Turire Cahuvaial*, that is, a *Woodpecker*, that makes holes in Trees, and taking thoſe Creatures that had neither the Parts of Man nor Woman, tied them Hands and Feet, and bound the ſaid Bird to their Body, the which Bird taking them to be Trees, began to work as it uſes, Pecking and Boreing that part where Womens Privities ſhould be; and thus ſay the Antienteſt *Indians*, they came to have Women. I writing in haſt, and not having Paper enough, could not place every thing rightly, but through miſtake tranſpos'd ſome; but the miſtake is not great, for they believe all that is here writ. Let us now return to what we ſhould have ſaid firſt, that is, their Opinion concerning the Original and Beginning of the Sea.

CHAP. IX.

How they ſay the Sea was made.

THere was a Man they call *Giaia*, whoſe right Name they know not, his Son was call'd *Giaiael*, that is, *Giaia*'s Son. This *Giaiael* intending to kill his Father, he Baniſh'd him, where he remain'd an Outlaw 4 Months, after which his Father kill'd him, put his Bones into a Calabaſh, and hung it to the top of his Houſe, where it continued ſome time. It happen'd that being deſirous to ſee his Son, *Giaia* one day ſaid to his Wife, I have a mind to ſee our Son *Giaiael*, and ſhe was content. Taking down the Calabaſh, he turn'd it over to ſee his Sons Bones, and there came out of it abundance of great and ſmall Fiſhes. Perceiving that the Bones were turn'd into Fiſhes, they reſolv'd to Eat them. Now they ſay, that one day, when *Giaia* was gone to his *Conichi*, that is, his Lands, he had by Inheritance, there came 4 Sons of a certain Woman called, *Itiba Tahuvava*, all Born at one Birth; for the ſaid Woman dying in Labour, they cut her open, and took out the ſaid Sons; and the firſt they cut was *Caracaracol*, that is, *Mangy*; which *Caracaracol* had to Name..... the others had no Name.

CHAP. X.

HOw the four Sons of *Itiba Tahuvava*, who died in Labour, went to take down *Giaia*'s Calabaſh, in which was his Son *Giaiael* who had been Converted into Fiſh, and none of them durſt lay hold of it but *Diviivan Caracaracol*, who unhung it, and they all Eat their Belly full of Fiſh, but whilſt they were Eating, they perceiv'd *Giaia* was coming from his Eſtate, and going about in that hurry to hang up the Calabaſh, they did not hang it right, ſo that there ran ſo much Water from it, as overflow'd all the Country, and with it came out abundance of Fiſh, and hence they believe the Sea had its Original. Afterwards they went and met with a Man whoſe Name was *Cone*, and he was Dumb. CHAP.

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CHAP. XI.

What happened to the Four Brothers, when they fled from Giaia.

AS ſoon as they came to *Baſſamanaoo*'s Door, and found he brought *Cazzabi*, they ſaid, *Abiacavo Gearocoel*; that is, Let us be acquainted with this Grandſire of ours. So *Deminan Caracaracol*, ſeeing his Brother's before him, went in to try whether he could get ſome *Cazzabi*, which is the Bread they Eat there. *Caracaracol* going into the Houſe of *Aiamavaco*, ask'd ſome *Cazzabi* of him, which, as has been ſaid, is Bread. He clapt his Hand on his Noſe, and threw on him a *Guanguaio*, full of *Cogioba*, which he had made that day, and is a ſort of Powder they take ſometimes to Purge them, and for other Purpoſes you ſhall know hereafter. This they take through a Cane half a Cubit long, one end whereof they put to their Noſe, and the other to the Powder, and ſo Snuff it up, which Purges them very much. So he gave him that *Guanguaio* inſtead of Bread, and leaving what he was about, went away very angry becauſe they ask'd it of him —— After this, *Caracaracol* return'd to his Brothers, and told them what had happen'd to him with *Baiamanicoel*, and the ſtroke he gave him on the Shoulder with the *Guanguaio*, and that it pain'd him very much. His Brothers look'd upon his Shoulder, and perceiv'd it was much Swollen, which ſwelling increas'd ſo much, that he was like to Die. Therefore they endeavoured to cut it open, and could not, but taking an Inſtrument of Stone, they opened it, and out came a live Female Tortoiſe; ſo they built their Houſe, and bred up the Tortoiſe. I underſtood no more of this matter, and what we have writ ſignifies but little. They ſay further, That the Sun and Moon came out of a Grotto, that is in the Country of *Cacique*, whoſe Name is *Maucia Tiuvel*, and the Grotto is called *Giovovava*; and they pay a great Veneration to it, and have Painted it all after their Faſhion, without any Figure, but Leaves, and the like. In the ſaid Grotto, there were two little Stone-*Cemi*'s, about a quarter of a yard long, their Hands bound, and they look'd as if they Sweated. Theſe *Cemi*'s they honour'd very much; and when they wanted Rain, they ſay they uſed to go Viſit them, and they preſently had it. One of the *Cemi*'s is by them called *Boinaiel*, the other *Maroio*.

CHAP. XII.

What their Opinion is concerning the Wandring of the Dead, after what manner they are, and what they do.

of the Dead.

THey hold, there is a Place to which the Dead go, called *Coaibai*, and lying in a part of the Iſland known by the Name of *Soraia*. The firſt that was in *Coaibai*, they ſay, Was one *Machetaurie Guaiava*, who was Lord of the ſaid *Coaibai*, the Habitation and Dwelling-Place of the Dead.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Figure they aſſign the Dead.

THey ſay they are ſhut up in the Day, and walk abroad in the Night; that they Feed on a certain Fruit, called *Guabazza*, which taſtes like a ——, that in the Day-time they are ——, and at Night were Converted into Fruit, and that they Feaſt, and go about with the Living; and thus it is they know them: They feel their Belly, and if they cannot find their Navel, they ſay they are Dead; for they ſay the Dead have no Navel; and therefore they are ſometimes deceiv'd, when they do not obſerve this, and Lie with ſome of the Women of *Coaibai*, whom when they think they have in their Arms, they have none, becauſe they vaniſh on a ſuddain. This they ſtill believe as to this Affair.

Columbus. Whilſt a Man is Living, they call the Soul *Gociz*, and when Dead *Opia*, which *Goeiz* they ſay, often appears to them, as well in the ſhape of a Man as of a Woman; and they ſay, there have been Men that would fight with it, and when they came to cloſe it, vaniſh'd, and the Man clapp'd his Arms elſewhere about ſome Tree, to which he clung faſt. This they believe all in general, great and ſmall, and that it appears to them in the ſhape of their Father, Mother, Brother, Kindred, or any other. The Fruit they ſay the Dead feed on, is about the bigneſs of a Quince. The Dead do not appear to them in the Day-time, but always at Night; and therefore if any one ventures to go abroad at Night, it is with great fear.

CHAP. XIV.

Whence they have this, and who makes them hold ſuch an Opinion.

THere is a ſort of Men among them, called *Bohuti*'s, who have many jugling Tricks, as we ſhall ſay hereafter, to make them believe, they Talk with the Dead, that they know all their Actions and Secrets, and when they are Sick, Cure them. Thus they impoſe upon them, which I have ſeen with my own Eyes, tho' as to other particulars I relate only what I have heard from many of them, eſpecially the principal Men, with whom I convers'd more than with others, for theſe believe ſuch Fables more firmly than the others, for they have all their Superſtitions reduced into old Songs, and are directed by them, as the *Moors* are by the *Alcoran*. When they Sing theſe Songs, they play upon an Inſtrument, called *Maiohavan*, made of Wood, hollow, ſtrong, yet very thin, and as long as a Man's Arm; that part where they play on it is made like a Smith's Tongs, and the other end like a Club, ſo that it looks like a Calabaſh with a long Neck. This Inſtrument they play on, and is ſo loud, that it is heard a League and half off; and to that Muſick they ſing thoſe Songs they have got by heart. The chief Men play on it, who learn it from their Infancy, and ſo ſing to it according to their Cuſtom. Let us now proceed to ſpeak of many other Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of theſe *Gentiles*.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Obſervations of the Indian Buhuitihu's, *How they profeſs Phyſick, Teach the People, and are often Deceiv'd in their Cures.*

ALl or moſt of the People of the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola* have abundance of *Cemi*'s, of ſeveral ſorts: Some have their Father, Mother, Kindred and Predeceſſors: Some Figures cut in Stone and Wood, and many of both ſorts, ſome that Speak, others that cauſe Things to grow, ſome that Eat, and others that cauſe Rain, and others that make the Wind blow; which Things thoſe ignorant People believe the Idols perform, or rather thoſe Devils. They having no Knowledge of our Holy Faith. When any one is ſick, they bring him the *Buhuitihu*, that is, as was ſaid above, the Phyſician. The Doctor is obliged to be Dieted as the ſick Man is, and to look like him, which is done thus. He is to Purge himſelf as the ſick Man does, which is done by Snuffing a certain Powder, called *Cohoba*, up his Noſe, which makes him ſo Drunk, that he knows not what he does, and ſo ſays many extravagant Things, which they affirm is Talking with the *Cemi*'s, and that they tell them how the Sickneſs came.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. XVI.

What theſe Buhuitihu's *do.*

Cure of the Sick.

WHen they go to viſit any ſick Body, before they ſet out from their Houſe, they take the Soot off a Pot, or Pounded Charcoal, and black all their Face, to make the ſick Man believe what they pleaſe concerning his Diſtemper. Then they take ſome ſmall Bones, and a little Fleſh, and wrapping them all up in ſomething that they may not drop, put them in their Mouth, the ſick Man being before Purg'd with the Powder aforeſaid. When the Phyſician is come into the ſick Man's Houſe, he ſits down, and all Perſons are ſilent; and if there are any Children they put them out, that they may not hinder the *Buhuitihu* in performing his Office; nor does there remain in the Houſe any but one or two of the chief Perſons: Being thus by themſelves, they take ſome of the Herb *Gioia*—— broad, and another Herb, wrapp'd up in the web of an Onion half a quarter long; one of the *Gioia*'s, and the other they hold, and drawing it in their Hands they bruiſe it into a Paſte, and then put it in their Mouths to Vomit what they have Eaten, that it may not hurt them, then preſently begin their Song, and lighting a Torch, take the Juice. This done, having ſtaid a little, the *Buhuitihu* riſes up, and goes towards the ſick Man, who ſits all alone in the middle of the Houſe, as has been ſaid, and turns him twice about, as he thinks fit; then ſtands before him, takes him by the Legs, and feels his Thigs, deſcending by degrees to his Feet, then draws hard, as if he would pull ſomething off; then he goes to the Door, ſhuts it, and ſays, Be gone to the Mountain, or to the Sea, or whither thou wilt; and giving a Blaſt, as if he blow'd ſomething away, turns about, claps his Hands together, ſhuts his Mouth, his Hands quake as if he were a Cold, he blows on his Hands, and then draws in his Blaſt as if Sucking the Marrow of a Bone, ſucks the ſick Man's Neck, Stomach, Shoulders, Jaws, Breaſt, Belly, and ſeveral other Parts of his Body. This done, they begin to Cough, and make Faces, as if they had Eaten ſome Bitter thing, and the Doctor pulls out that we ſaid he put into his Mouth at home, or by the way, whether Stone, Fleſh, or Bone, as above. If it is any thing Eatable, he ſays to the ſick Man, Take notice you have Eaten ſomething that has caus'd this Diſtemper; ſee how I have taken it out of your Body, for your *Cemi* had put it into you becauſe you did not Pray to him, or Build him ſome Temple, or give him ſome of your Goods. If it be a Stone, he ſays, Keep it ſafe. Sometimes they take it for certain, that thoſe Stones are good, and help Women in Labour; wherefore they keep them very carefully, wrapp'd up in Cotton, putting them into little Baskets, giving them ſuch as they have themſelves to Eat, and the ſame they do to the *Cemi*'s they have in their Houſes. Upon any Solemn Day, when they provide much to Eat, whither Fiſh, Fleſh, or any other thing, they put it all into the Houſe of the *Cemi*'s, that the Idol may Feed on it. The next Day they carry all home, after the *Cemi* has Eaten And ſo God help them, as the *Cemi* Eats of that, or any other Thing, they being inanimate Stocks or Stones.

CHAP. XVII.

How the aforeſaid Phyſicians have been ſometimes Deceiv'd.

WHen they have done as has been ſaid, and yet the Patient dies, if the Dead Man has many Friends, or was Lord of a Territory, and can oppoſe the ſaid *Buhuitihu*, that is, Phyſician, for mean People dare not contend with them; he that would do him harm, does it thus. When they would know whether the Patient Died through the Phyſician's Fault, or whether he did not obſerve what was preſcrib'd; they take an Herb, called *Gueio*, whoſe Leaves are like *Baſil*, thick and broad, being called by another name, *Zachon*: They take the Juice of this Leaf, pair the Dead Man's Nails, and cut off the Hair on his Forehead, which they powder between two Stones, and mix with the aforeſaid Juice of the Herb,

Columbus. Herb, and pour it down the Dead Man's Throat, or Noſtrils, and ſo doing, ask him, Whether the Phyſician was the occaſion of his Death? and whether he obſerved Order? This they ask ſeveral times, till he ſpeaks as plain, as if he were alive; ſo that he anſwers to all they ask of him, ſaying, The *Buhuitihu* did not obſerve Order, or was the Cauſe of his Death; and they ſay, the Phyſician asks him, Whether he is alive, and how he comes to talk ſo plain; and he anſwers he is dead. When they have known what they deſire of him, they return him to his Grave, whence they took him to make this Enquiry. They uſe another Method to know what they deſire: They take the Dead Body and make a great Fire, like that us'd for making of Charcoal; and when the Wood is turn'd into a live Coal, they throw the Body into that violent Fire, and cover it with Earth, as the Collier's do the Coals, where they let it lie as long as they think fit, and there ask Queſtions, as was ſaid before; who anſwers, He knows nothing. This they ask ten times, and then he ſpeaks no more. They ask, Whether he is Dead? But he ſpeaks only thoſe ten times.

CHAP. XVIII.

How the Kindred of the Party departed Revenge themſelves, when they have got an Anſwer by means of the Drench.

Phyſicians puniſh'd. THE Dead Man's Kindred get together upon a Day appointed, wait for the aforeſaid *Buhuitihu*, and Baſtinado him, till they break his Legs, Arms and Head, ſo that he is all batter'd, and ſo they leave him for Dead. At Night, they ſay, there come abundance of Snakes of ſeveral ſorts, white, black, green, and of ſeveral other Colours, which lick the ſaid Phyſician's Face, and all his Body, ſo left, as has been ſaid, and remains in that manner two or three days. Whilſt he is thus, they ſay the Bones of his Legs and Arms knit together again, he gets up, and walks fair and ſoftly towards his Houſe, and they that ſaw him, ask the queſtion of him, Were not you Dead? He anſwers, The *Cemi*'s came to his aſſiſtance in the ſhape of Snakes. The Dead Man's Kindred, in a Rage, becauſe they thought they had Reveng'd their Relations Death, ſeeing him alive, grow deſperate, and endeavour to lay hold of him to put him to Death; and if they can catch him again, they put out his Eyes, and bruiſe his Teſticles; for they ſay none of theſe Phyſicians can Die, tho' never ſo much Baſtinadoed, if they do not cut out his Teſticles.

How they know what they Deſire of him they Burn, and how they take their Revenge.

When they uncover the Fire, the Smoke that comes from it, riſes till they loſe ſight of it, and makes a noiſe, as it breaks out. Then it turns down again, and goes into the Houſe of the *Buhuitihu* or Phyſician; and that very moment, he that did not obſerve Order, falls Sick, is cover'd with Sores, and all the Skin of his Body fleas off; and this they take for a ſign, that he did not do his Duty, and therefore the Patient died; for which reaſon they endeavour to kill him, as was ſaid in the other Caſe. Theſe are the Sorceries they uſe.

CHAP. XIX.

How they make and keep their Wooden and Stone Cemi's.

The Cemi's or Idols. THoſe of Wood are made thus: When any one is Travelling, he ſays, He ſees ſome Tree that ſhakes its Root; the Man in a great fright, ſtops, and asks, Who he is? It anſwers, My Name is, *Buhuitihu*, and he will inform you who I am: The Man repairing to the ſaid Phyſician, tells him what he has ſeen. The Wizard, or Conjurer, runs immediately to ſee the Tree the other has told him of, ſits down by it, and makes it *Cogioba*, as was ſaid above in the Story of the Four Brothers. The *Cogioba* being made, he ſtands up, gives it all its Titles, as if it were ſome great Lord; and asks of it, Tell me who you are, what

Columbus. what you do here, what you will have with me, and why you ſent for me? Tell me, Whether you will have me cut you, whether you will go along with me, and how you will have me carry you, and I will build you a Houſe and Endow it? Immediately, that Tree, or *Cemi*, becomes an Idol, or Devil, anſwers, telling how he will have him do it. He cuts it into ſuch a ſhape as he is directed, builds his Houſe, and Endows it; and makes *Cogioba* for it ſeveral times in the year; which *Cogioba* is to pray to it, to pleaſe it, to ask and know of the ſaid *Cemi*, what Good or Evil is to happen, and to beg Wealth of it. When they would know whether they ſhall be Victorious over their Enemies, they go into a Houſe, whither none but the chief Men are admitted. The Lord of them is the firſt that begins to make the *Cogioba*, and to make a noiſe; whilſt he does it, none of the Company ſpeaking till he has done. His Prayer being ended, he ſtands a while with his Head turn'd about, and his Arms on his Knees; Then he lifts up his Head, and looks towards Heaven, and ſpeaks. Then they all anſwer him with a loud Voice, and when they have all ſpoke, giving thanks, he tells the Viſion he ſaw, being made Drunk with the *Cogioba*, he Snuff'd up his Noſe, which flies into his Head; and ſays, He has Talk'd with the *Cemi*, and ſhall obtain Victory, or that his Enemies ſhall fly, or that there ſhall be a great Mortality, or War, or Famine, or ſome ſuch thing, as occurs to him in his drunken fit. Conſider, what a Condition their Brains are in; for they ſay, the Houſes ſeem to them to be turned topſie turvy, and that the Men go upon their Heads. This *Cogioba* they make for Stone and Wooden *Cemi*'s, as well as for the Dead Bodies, as has been ſaid above. The Stone *Cemi*'s are of ſeveral ſorts: Some there are, which they ſay, the Phyſicians take out of the Body of the Sick, and thoſe they look upon as the beſt to help Women in Labour. Others there are that Speak, which are ſhaped like a long Turnip, with the Leaves long, and extended, like the Shrub bearing Capers. Thoſe Leaves for the moſt part are like thoſe of the Elm. Others have three Points, and they think they cauſe the *Giuca* to thrive. Their Roots are like a Radiſh. The Leaves of the *Giuca* have at leaſt ſix or ſeven Points; nor do I know what to compare them to, for I have ſeen nothing like it in *Spain*, or elſewhere. The Stem of the *Giuca* is as high as a Man. Let us now ſpeak of their Opinions concerning the Idols and *Cemi*'s, and how they are deceiv'd by them.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Cemi, Bugid *and* Aiba.

Barbarous Opinions. THey ſay, in the time of the Wars, he was burnt, and afterwards being waſh'd with the Juice of *Giuca*, his Arms grew out again, his Body ſpread, and he recovered his Eyes. The *Giuca* was ſmall, and they waſh'd it with the above-mentioned Water and Juice, to make it grow bigger; and they affirm it made thoſe Sick who had made the ſaid *Cemi*, becauſe they had not brought it *Giuca* to Eat. This *Cemi* was called *Baidrama*, and when any one fell ſick, they called the *Bukuitihu*, and ask'd him, Whence the Diſtemper proceeded? He anſwered, *Baidrama* had ſent it, becauſe they had not ſent him to Eat by thoſe that had Charge of his Houſe. This the *Bukuitihu* ſaid the *Cemi*, *Baidrama*, had told him.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Guamorete's Cemi.

THey ſay, that when they built the the Houſe of *Guamorete*, who was a Man of Note, they put into it a *Cemi*, that was on the top of his other Houſe, which *Cemi* was called *Corocoſe*; and when they had Wars among themſelves, *Guamorete*'s Enemies burnt the Houſe in which this *Cemi Corocoſe* was. They ſay he preſently got up, and went a Bow-ſhot from that Place, near to a Water.

Columbus. They further say, That when he was on the top of the House, he would come down and lie with the Women. That afterwards *Camorese* died, and the *Cemi* fell into the Hands of another *Cacique*, and still continued to lie with the Women; and moreover, That he had two Crowns grew on his Head; for which reason they said, Since such a one has two Crowns, he is certainly *Corocose*'s Son; and this they look'd upon as most certain. This *Cemi* came afterwards to another *Cacique*, called *Guatabanex*, and his Country is called *Giacoba*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of another Cemi, *called* Opigielguoviran, *which belonged to a great Man, whose Name was* Cavavaniovava, *who had many Subjects.*

THis *Cemi Opigielguoviran*, they say, has four Feet, like a Dogs, and is made of Wood, and that he would often at Night go out of the House into the Woods; whither they went to seek him out, and when brought home again, they bound him with Cords, yet he would go away to the Woods. They say that when the Christians came to the Island *Hispaniola*, he broke lose, and went into a Moras, whither they followed him by the Track, but never saw him since, nor know any thing of him. As I receiv'd this, so I deliver it.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of another Cemi, *called* Guabancex.

THis *Cemi Guabancex* was in the Country of a great *Cacique*, whose Name was *Aumatex*; and they say, it is a Woman *Cemi*, and has two others with it; one a Crier, the other, Gatherer, or Governor of the Waters. When *Guabancex* is Angry, they say, It raises the Winds and Waters, overthrows Houses, and shakes the Trees. This *Cemi* they say, is a Female, and made of Stones of that Country. The other two *Cemi*'s that are with it, are called, one of them *Guatauva*, and is a Cryer, that by order of *Guabancex*, makes Proclamation for all the other *Cemi*'s of that Province to help to raise a high Wind, and cause much Rain: The other is, *Coatrischie*, who they say, Gathers the Waters in the Vallies among the Mountains, and then lets them lose to Destroy the Country. This they believe as most certain.

CHAP. XXIV.

Their Belief of another Cemi, *called* Faraguvaol.

THis *Cemi* belongs to a principal *Cacique* of the Island *Hispaniola*, is an Idol, has several Names, and was found as you shall now hear. They say, That on a certain day in past times, before the Island was discovered, they know not how long since, being abroad a Hunting, they found a certain Creature: they ran back, and that got into a Ditch; looking into it, they saw a Beam, which look'd like a thing that had life in it. The Huntsman seeing it, ran to his Lord, who was a *Cacique*, and Father to *Guaraionel*, telling him what he had seen. They went thither, and found the thing as the Huntsman had given Information, and taking that Log, they built a House to it. They say it went out of that House several times, and return'd to the Place whence they brought it, not exactly to the same spot, but near it; for the aforesaid Lord, and his Son *Guaraionel*, ordering it to be sought out, found it hid; and that another time, they Bound and put it in a Sack, and yet Bound as it was, it went away as before. Those ignorant People look upon this as undoubted Truth.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. XXV.

Of thoſe Things they affirm were reported by two principal Caciques *of the Iſland* Hiſpaniola; *one of them called* Cazziva, *Father to the aforeſaid* Guaraionel; *the other*, Gamanacoei.

THat great Lord, who they ſay, Is in Heaven, at the beginning of the Book, is this *Cazziva*, who kept a ſort of Abſtinence here, which all of them generally perform, for they ſhut themſelves up ſix or ſeven days, without taking any Suſtenance but the Juice of Herbs, with which they alſo waſh themſelves. After this time they begin to Eat ſomething that is Nouriſhing. During the time they have been without Eating, Weakneſs makes them ſay, They have ſeen ſomething they earneſtly deſir'd, for they all perform that Abſtinence in Honour of the *Cemis*, to know whether they ſhall obtain Victory over their Enemies, or to acquire Wealth, or any other thing they deſire. They ſay, this *Cacique* affirm'd, He had ſpoke with *Giocauvaghama*, who told him, That whoſoever Surviv'd him, would not long enjoy his Power, becauſe they ſhould ſee a People clad in their Country, who would Rule over, and Kill them, and they ſhould Die for Hunger. They thought at firſt, theſe ſhould be the *Canibals*, but afterwards conſidering, that they only plunder'd and fled; they believ'd it was ſome other People the *Cemi* ſpoke of; and now they believe it is the Admiral and thoſe that came with him. Now I will give an Account of what I ſaw and knew, when *F. Roman*, a poor Anchorite, went to the Province *Madalena*, to a Fort built by *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, Admiral, Viceroy, and Governor of the Iſlands and Continent of the *Indies*, for their Majeſties King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Iſabel*, I being in that Fort, with *Arriaga*, appointed Governor of it by the aforeſaid Viceroy *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, it pleaſed God to give the Light of his Faith to a whole Family of ill principle'd People of that Province of *Madalena*, which Province was called *Maoris*, and the Lord of it *Guavaouvienel*, that is, Son of *Guavaenechin*. In the ſaid Houſe are his Servants, and Retainers, whoſe Surname is *Giahuvavarn*, and were in all 16 Perſons, all Relations, and among them five Brothers. Of theſe one Died, and the other four were Baptiz'd; and I believe, they died Martyrs, for ſo it appear'd by the manner of their Death and their Conſtancy. The firſt that receiv'd Baptiſm was an *Indian* called *Guaticava*, afterwards *John*. This was the firſt Chriſtian that ſuffer'd a cruel Death, and to me he ſeems to have died a Martyr; for I have heard from ſome that were by when he died, that he ſaid, *Dio Aboridacha*, *Dio Aboridacha*, that is, I am God's Servant. So died his Brother *Anthony*, and another with him, ſaying the ſame Words. All the People of this Houſe attended me, to do whatſoever I pleaſed. Such as are left alive at this day, are now Chriſtians by means of *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*, Viceroy and Governour of the *Indies*, and by the Grace of God they are very numerous at preſent.

Let us now ſay what happened in the Province of *Madalena*. When I was there, the aforeſaid Lord Admiral came to the Aſſiſtance of *Arriaga*, and ſome Chriſtians, beſieged by the Subjects of a principal *Cacique*, called *Caovalto*. The Admiral told me, That the Language of the Province *Madalena Maoris* was different from the reſt, and not underſtood in all Parts of the Country; and therefore bid me go and Reſide with another principal *Cacique*, called *Guarionex*, Lord of many Subjects, whoſe Language was underſtood all over the Iſland. In Obedience to his Orders, I went to Reſide with the ſaid *Guarionex*. True it is, I ſaid to *D. Chriſtopher Columbus*. My Lord, Why will you have me go to live with *Guarionex*, when I know no Language but that of *Maoris*? Be pleas'd to give leave that one of thoſe *Nohuiri*'s, (who were afterwards Chriſtians, and knew both the Languages) may go along with me; which he granted, and bid me carry who I pleas'd; and it pleaſed God to give me for a Companion, the beſt of the *Indians*, and who was beſt inſtructed in the Catholick Faith; and afterwards took him from me, God be praiſed who gave and took him away; for indeed, I look'd upon him as a good Child and Brother; and it was that *Guaicavann*, who was afterwards a Chriſtian, and called *John*. What happened to us there I ſhall not relate, and how I and *Guaicavann* went

to

Columbus. to *Isabella*, where we waited for the Admiral, till he return'd from the relief of *Madalena*. As soon as he came, we went where he had ordered, with one *John de Aguada*, who had the Command of a Fort, which *D. Christopher Columbus* had built, half a League from the Place where we were to Reside. The Admiral Commanded the said *John de Aguada* to allow us such Provisions as there were in the Fort, which is called the *Conception*. We continued with that *Cacique*, *Guarionex*, almost two years, instructing him in our Faith, and the Manners of Christians. At first he appear'd well-inclin'd, and gave some hopes of complying and becoming a Christian, bidding us teach him the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and all other Christian Prayers, which many in his House learnt; and he said his Prayers every Morning, and caus'd all his Family to do so twice a day: yet afterwards he fell off from his good purpose, through the fault of some of the principal Men of that Country, who blam'd him for submitting to the Law of Christ, since the Christians were ill Men, and drove them out of their Country by force. Therefore they advised him never to mind any thing that belong'd to the Christians; but that he should joyn and conspire with them, for their Destruction, because they could not satisfie them, and were resolv'd to submit no longer. Thus he fell off from his good beginning, and we perceiving he neglected what he had learnt, resolv'd to depart thence, and go where we might be more successful in instructing the *Indians* in the Faith. We therefore went away to another principal *Cacique*, who show'd a favourable Inclination, saying, He would be a Christian: his Name was *Maviatue*.

Accordingly we set out to go to the said *Maviatue*'s Country; I *F. Roman Pane*, poor Anchorite, and *F. John Borgognon* of the Order of St. *Francis*, and *John Mathew* the first that was Baptized in *Hispaniola*.

The second day after we set out from the Town and Habitation of *Guarionex*, to go to the other *Cacique*, called *Maviatue*, we found *Guarionex*'s People Building a House near the House of Prayer, where we left some Pictures for the *Catechumen*'s, to Kneel and Pray before them. These were the Mother, Brothers, and Kindred, of the aforesaid *John Mathew*, the first Christian; afterwards seven more joyn'd them, and at last all the Family became Christians, and persever'd in the Faith; so that all the aforesaid Family was left to keep that House of Prayer, and some Lands I had caused to be Till'd. They being so left to keep the House, two days after we were gone towards the aforesaid *Maviatue*, six Men went to the aforesaid House of Prayer, left in the Custody of the seven *Catechumen*'s, and by Order of *Guarionex*, told them, they should take those Pictures, left by *F. Roman*, and Destroy them, since he and his Companion were gone, and they knew not what was become of them. These six Servants of *Guarionex* found six Children keeping the House of Prayer, who being so instructed, said, They should not come in; but they went in by force, took the Pictures, and carried them away.

CHAP. XXVI.

What became of the Pictures, and a Miracle God wrought to show his Power.

THese Men being gone out of the House, threw the Pictures down, cover'd them with Earth, and Pis'd upon them, saying, Now you will yield much Fruit. This they said, because they Buried them in a Field that was Sown, saying, What grew there would be good, but this they did in Scorn. The Children that were keeping the House by order of the *Catechumen*'s, seeing this, They ran to their Friends who were upon their Lands, and told them, That *Guarionex*'s Men had abus'd and scorn'd the Pictures; which they understanding, left what they were about, and ran crying out to give an Account of it to *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, who was then Governor, his Brother being gone into *Spain*. He as Lieutenant to the Viceroy, proceeded against the Offenders, and having Convicted them publickly, burnt them. This did not deter *Guarionex* and his Subjects, from their design of Murdering all the Christians on the

Day

Columbus.

Day when they were to bring in their Tribute; but the Conſpiracy was diſcovered, and they apprehended on the ſame day they were to put it in Execution. Still they held on their Reſolution, and accordingly killed four *Spaniards*, beſides *John Matthew*, and his Brother *Anthony*, who had been Baptiz'd; and running where they had hid the Pictures, tore them in pieces. Some days after, the Owner of that Field went to dig up his *Agi*'s, which are certain Roots like Turnips, and ſome like Radiſhes; And in the Place where the Pictures had been Buried, two or three *Agi*'s were grown in the ſhape of a Croſs, as if they had been ſtuck one through another; nor could any Man find this Croſs, but only the Mother of *Guarionex*, who was the worſt Woman I knew in thoſe Parts, who look'd upon this as a great Miracle, and ſaid to the Commander of the Fort of the *Conception*, this Miracle has been ſhown by God, where the Images were found: God knows to what end.

Let us now give an Account, how they were Converted that firſt became Chriſtians, and how much will be requiſite to Convert them all. To ſay the truth, That Iſland ſtands in much need of People to puniſh the Lords, when they will not ſuffer their People to be inſtructed in the Faith; for they have nothing to ſay againſt it, which I can with truth maintain, becauſe it has Coſt me much Labour to know it; as I am ſatisfied may be gathered by what has been ſaid hitherto; and a word to the Wiſe is enough.

The firſt Chriſtians were thoſe we have before-mentioned in the Iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, that is, *Gianauvarin*, in whoſe Houſe there were Seventeen Perſons; who all became Chriſtians, only giving them to underſtand, That there is One God, who has made all Things, and Created Heaven and Earth, without any further Arguments or Controverſie, for they were eaſie of Belief. With others there muſt be Force and Ingenuity uſed, for all of them are not alike; for as much, as if thoſe had a good beginning and a better end, they were none of thoſe others that begin well, and then fall off from what has been Taught them; and therefore there is need of Force and Puniſhment.

The firſt that receiv'd Baptiſm in the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, was *John Matthew*, who was Baptiz'd on the Feaſt of St. *Matthew* the Evangeliſt, in the year 1496. and after him all his Family; where were many Chriſtians, and a greater Progreſs had been made, had they been inſtructed in the Faith, and the *Spaniards* been in a Condition to keep them under. And if any one ſhould ask, Why I make this ſo eaſie a Matter? I ſay, it is, Becauſe I know it by Experience, eſpecially in the Perſon of a Principal *Cacique*, called, *Mahuviatiwire*, who has continued now for three years in his good purpoſe, ſaying, He will be a Chriſtian, and have but one Wife, for they uſe to have two or three, and the great Men, twenty five or thirty. This is what I could learn and find out as to the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola*, with all the Pains I have taken; wherein I expect no Spiritual, nor Temporal Advantage. May it pleaſe our Lord, if this turns to his Honour and Service, to give me his Grace to perſevere; and if it muſt fall out otherwiſe, may he deprive me of my Underſtanding.

The End of the Work of the Poor Anchorite Roman Pane.

Columbus.

CHAP. LXIII.

How the Admiral return'd to Spain *to give their Majeſties an Account of the Condition he left the Iſland in.*

TO return to the main Subject of our Hiſtory; I ſay, The Admiral having brought the Iſland into a peaceable Condition, and built the Town of *Iſabella*, beſides three Forts about the Country, he reſolv'd to return into *Spain*, to acquaint their Catholick Majeſties with ſeveral Matters he thought convenient for their Service; but particularly, becauſe of many malicious Slanderers, who through Envy, ceas'd not to give the King a falſe Information of the Affairs of the *Indies*, to the great Prejudice and Diſhonour of the Admiral and his Brothers. For theſe Reaſons he went on Board on Thurſday the 10th of *March*, 1496. with 225 *Spaniards* and 30 *Indians*, ſailed from *Iſabella* about break of day, and turn'd it along the Coaſt with two Caravals, one called *Santa Cruz*, the other *Nina*, the ſame he went in to diſcover the Iſland of *Cuba*. On Tueſday the 22th of *March*, he loſt ſight of the Eaſt-point of *Hiſpaniola*, holding on his Courſe Eaſtward as the Wind would permit. But the Wind for the moſt part continuing at Eaſt, on the 6th of *April*, finding his Proviſions fell ſhort, and his Men were weary and diſcouraged, he fell off towards the South to the *Caribbe* Iſlands, and came up with them in three days, Anchoring at *Marigalante* on Saturday the 9th of *April*. The next day, tho' it was not his Cuſtom to weigh Anchor on a Sunday, when in any Port, he ſet Sail, becauſe his Men mutter'd, ſaying, When they were to ſeek their Bread, they needed not ſo ſtrictly obſerve days. So he Anchor'd at the Iſland *Guadalupe*, and ſending the Boats well-mann'd aſhore, before they came to Land, abundance of Women came out of a Wood, with Bows and Arrows, and Feathers, as if they would defend their Iſland. For this reaſon, and becauſe the Sea ran ſomewhat high, thoſe in the Boats kept aloof, and ſent two *Indian* Women, they brought from *Hiſpaniola*, aſhore, ſwiming, of whom thoſe other Women particularly enquir'd concerning the Chriſtians; and underſtanding they only deſired Proviſions in Exchange for ſuch things as they had, bid them go with their Ships to the North-ſide, were their Husbands were, who would furniſh them with what they wanted. The Ships ſailing cloſe under the Shore, ſaw abundance of People come down to the ſhore with Bows and Arrows, who let fly upon our Men with great Cries, tho' in vain, for their Arrows fell ſhort. But perceiving the Boats full of Men were going aſhore, the *Indians* went back into an Ambuſh, and when our Men drew near, came out to hinder their Landing, till being frighted with the Cannon fir'd at them from the Ships, they fled to the Wood, leaving their Houſes and Goods, where the Chriſtians took and deſtroy'd all they found. Being acquainted with the way of making Bread, they fell to work, and made enough to ſupply their want. Among other things they found in the Houſes, there were great Parrots, Honey, Wax, and Iron, whereof they had Hatchets to cut, and Looms like thoſe for Tapiſtry-work, in which they Weave their Tents. Their Houſes were ſquare, and not round, as is uſual in the other Iſlands. In one of them was found the Arm of a Man roaſting upon a Spit. Whilſt the Bread was making, the Admiral ſent 40 Men up the Country, to learn ſomething of it; who the next day return'd with 10 Women, and three Boys; the reſt of the People being fled. Among theſe Women, was the Wife of a *Cacique*, whom a *Canary* Man, that was very nimble, had much difficulty to overtake; and ſhe had got from him, but that ſeeing him alone, ſhe thought to take him; and cloſing, ſhe got him down, and had ſtifled him, but that others came in to his aſſiſtance. Theſe Womens Legs are Swathed with Cotton from the Ancle to the Knee, that they may look thick; which Ornament they call *Coiro*, and look upon it as very genteel; and they gird ſo hard, that if it happens to ſlip off the Leg, that part appears very thin. The ſame, both Men and Women uſe in *Jamaica*, who ſwath their Arms up to the Arm-Pits, that is, about the ſmalleſt Parts, like the old faſhion Sleeves us'd among us. Theſe Women are alſo exceſſive Fat, and there were ſome thicker than a Man could graſp; as ſoon as Children can ſtand upon their Legs and Walk, they give them a Bow, that they may learn to ſhoot; and they all wear their Hair long, and looſe upon their

Women like Amazons.

their Shoulders, nor do they cover any part of the Body. That Lady they took, ſaid, The Iſland was only Inhabited by Women, and that thoſe who would have hindred the Men landing were Women, except only four Men, who were there accidentally from another Iſland; for at a certain time in the year they come to Sport, and Lie with them. The ſame was obſerv'd by the Women of another Iſland, called *Matrimonio*, of whom ſhe gave the ſame Account we read of the *Amazons*; and the Admiral believ'd it by what he ſaw among thoſe Women, and becauſe of the Courage and Strength that appear'd in them. They alſo ſay, Thoſe Women ſeem to be Endew'd with clearer Underſtandings than thoſe of the other Iſlands; for in other Places they only reckon the Day by the Sun, and the Night by the Moon; whereas theſe Women reckoned by other Stars, ſaying, When the *Charles Wain* riſes, or ſuch a Star is North, then it is time to do ſo and ſo.

CHAP. LXIV.

The Admiral Sails from the Iſland Guadalupe *for* Spain.

WHen they had made Proviſion of Bread for 20 Days, beſides what they had aboard, the Admiral reſolv'd to continue his Voyage towards *Spain*; but perceiving that Iſland was an Inlet to the others, he thought fit firſt to ſatisfie thoſe Women with ſome Gifts, in ſatisfaction for the loſs they had ſuſtain'd, and therefore ſent them all aſhore, except the chief Lady, who choſe to go into *Spain* with her Daughter, among the other *Indians* of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, one of whom was *Cuonabo*, who it has been ſaid, was the chief Man in all the Iſland, and that becauſe he was not a Native of it, but of the *Caribbes*; and therefore that Lady was content to go into *Spain* with the Admiral. He having furniſh'd himſelf with Bread, Wood, and Water, ſet Sail on Wedneſday the 20th of *April*, from *Guadalupe*, with the Wind very ſcant, keeping near the Latitude of 22 Degrees; for at that time they had not found out the method of running away North to meet the South-Weſt Winds.

Having made but little way, and the Ships being full of People, on the 20th of *May*, they all begun to be much afflicted for want of Proviſions, which was ſo great, that they had but ſix Ounces of Bread a day for each, and leſs than a Pint of Water, without any thing elſe. And though there were 8 or 9 Pilots in thoſe two Ships, yet none of them knew where they were, but the Admiral was confident they were but a little Weſt of the *Azores*, whereof he gives an Account in his Journal thus.

This Morning the Dutch Compaſſes varied as they us'd to do, a Point; and thoſe of *Genoua*, that us'd to agree with them, varied but a very little; but afterwards ſailing Eaſt, vary more; which is a ſign we are 100 Leagues, or ſomewhat more, Weſt of the *Azores*; for when we were juſt 100, there were but a few ſcatter'd Weeds in the Sea; and the *Dutch* Needles varied a Point, thoſe of *Genoua* cutting the North-Point; and when we are ſomewhat further E. N. E. they will alter again; which was verified on Sunday following being the 22th of *May*: by which, and the exactneſs of his Account, he found he was 100 Leagues from the Iſlands *Azores*, which he was ſurpriz'd at, and aſſign'd this difference to the ſeveral ſorts of Load-Stones the Needles are made by; for till they come juſt to that Longitude, they all varied a Point, and there ſome held it; and thoſe of *Genoua* exactly cut the North-Star. The ſame was yet further demonſtrated the next day being the 24th of *May*. Thus continuing their Voyage, though all the Pilots went like Blind Men, on Wedneſday the 8th of *June*, they came in ſight of *Odemira*, between *Liſbon* and Cape St. *Vincent*, all the Pilots for ſeveral days having ſtill made for the Land, except the Admiral, who the Night before ſlack'd his Sails for fear of Land, ſaying, He did ſo becauſe they were near Cape St. *Vincent*, which all laugh'd at; ſome of them affirming they were in the *Engliſh* Channel, and thoſe that Err'd leaſt, ſaid, They were on the Coaſt of *Galicia*; and therefore ought not to take in any Sail, it being better to Die aſhore than Starve miſerably at Sea, the ſcarcity being ſo great, that there were many, who like the *Cannibals*, were for Eating the *Indians* they had aboard; and others, to ſave the little

Columbus. tle Provision there was left, were for throwing them over-board, which they would have done, had not the Admiral used all his Authority to prevent it, considering they were human Creatures, and therefore ought not to be worse us'd than the rest, and so it pleased God to reward him with the sight of Land next morning, as he had promis'd them all; for which reason he was afterwards look'd upon by the Seamen as most Expert, and almost Prophetical in Sea Affairs.

CHAP. LXV.

How the Admiral went to Court, and their Catholick Majesties set him out again for the Indies.

THe Admiral being landed in *Spain*, began to prepare for his Journey to *Burgos*, where he was favourably received by their Catholick Majesties, who were there Celebrating the Nuptials of Prince *John* their Son, who Married *Margaret* of *Austria*, Daughter to *Maximilian* the Emperor, who was conducted into *Spain*, and receiv'd by most of the Nobility, and the greatest appearance of Persons of Quality that had ever been seen together in *Spain*: But tho' I was present as Page to Prince *John*, I shall not mention the Particulars of this Solemnity, as well because it does not belong to our History, as because their Highnesses Historiographers have doubtless taken care to do it. Therefore to return to what concerns the Admiral, I say, That being come to *Burgos*, he presented their Majesties with several things he brought, as Samples, from the *Indies*; as well Birds, and Beasts, as Trees, Plants, Instruments, and other Things the *Indians* use for their Service and Diversion; also several Girdles and Masks, with Eyes and Ears of Plates of Gold; besides much Gold Sand, gross and small, as Nature produced it: Some Grains as big as Vetches, some as Beans, and some as Pigeons Eggs. This was not afterwards so much valued, because in progress of time, there were pieces of Gold found that weigh'd above 30 Pounds. Yet at this time what he brought was much valued, in hopes of what was hop'd for, and accordingly their Majesties receiv'd it in good part. When the Admiral had given them an Account of all that related to the Improving and Peopling the *Indies*; he was desirous to return with speed, for fear some Disaster should happen in his absence, especially because he had left the People there in great want of all Necessaries. Tho' he press'd hard on this Account, yet the Affairs of that Court being subject to Delays, he could not be so soon dispatch'd, but that 10 or 12 Months Elaps'd before he obtain'd two Ships, which were sent before with Succours under the Command of *Peter Fernandez Coronel*. These set out in *February* 1498. and the Admiral stay'd to Negotiate the obtaining such a Fleet as was requisite for him to return to the *Indies*. But he was forced to stay above a year at *Burgos* and at *Medina del Campo*; where in the year 1499. their Catholick Majesties granted him many Favours, and gave the necessary Orders for his Affairs, and for the Government, and settling of the *Indies*. Whereof I here make mention, that it may appear how ready their Catholick Majesties were as yet to Reward his Merits and Service, and how much they afterwards alter'd through the false Informations of Malicious and Envious Persons, insomuch as to suffer the Wrongs to be done him, which we shall give an account of hereafter. But to return to his departure from Court to *Sevil*, there the fitting out of the Fleet was retarded much longer than was convenient, through the Negligence and Ill-Management of the King's Officers, and particularly of *D. John de Fonseca*, Arch-Deacon of *Sevil*. Whence it proceeded, that the said *D. John*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Burgos*, ever was an utter Enemy to the Admiral and his Affairs, and was chief of those that brought him into Disgrace with their Catholick Majesties. And to the end, That *D. James* my Brother, and I, who had served as Pages to Prince *John*, who was now Dead, might not suffer by his Delays, nor be absent from Court, till the time of his Departure; he sent us on the 2d of *November* 1497. from *Sevil*, to serve still, as Pages to her Majesty Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* of Glorious Memory.

Presents to the King and Queen.

Delays in the Admirals Business.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. LXVI.

The Admiral sets out from Spain *to discover the Continent of* Paria.

THe Admiral forwarding his Expedition with all possible Care, on the 30th of *May* 1498. set Sail from the Bay of St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, with six Ships loaded with Provisions, and other Necessaries, for the Relief of the Planters in *Hispaniola*, and Peopling of that Island.

On the 7th of *June*, he arrived at the Island of *Puerto Santo*, where he heard Mass, and staid to take in Wood and Water, and what else he stood in need of; yet that same Night sailed away towards *Madera*, whither he came on Sunday the 9th of *June*, and there at the Town of *Fonchal*, was courteously receiv'd and treated by the Governor of that Island, with whom he staid to provide himself further till Saturday in the Afternoon, when he Sail'd, and on Wednesday the 19th of *June*, arrived at *Gomera*, where there was a *French* Ship that had taken three *Spaniards*; who, seeing the Admiral's Squadron, weigh'd, and stood to Sea with them. The Admiral supposing they had been Merchant Ships, and fled, believing him to be a *French* Man, took no care to pursue, till when they were at a great distance, he was inform'd what they were, and sent after them three of his Ships; for fear of which, the *French* left one of the Ships they had taken, and fled with the other two, so that the Admiral could not fetch them up. They might have carried the other off too, had they not forsaken it; for when the Admiral appeared in the Port, in the Consternation they were in, they had not time to man it; so that there being but four *French* Men aboard, and six *Spaniards* of those that had been taken in it; these seeing the Assistance coming to them, clapt the *French* under Hatches and return'd to the Port, where the Ship was restor'd to its Master; And the *French* had suffered, but that *D. Alvaro de Lugo* the Governor, and all the Island interceeded for them, who begg'd them to Exchange for six of their Men the *French* had carried away, which the Admiral granted. Still hasting on his way, he sailed for the Island *Ferro* on Thursday the 21th of *June*. There he resolv'd to send away three of his six Ships to *Hispaniola*, and to Sail away with the rest towards the Islands of *Cabo Verde*; thence to Sail directly over, and discover the Continent. He therefore appointed a Captain over each Ship, of those he sent to *Hispaniola*; one of which was *Peter de Arana*, Cousin to that *Arana* who died in *Hispaniola*; the 2d, *Alonso Sancher de Carvagal*; and the third, one *John Antony Columbus* his own Kinsman, to whom he gave particular Instruction, that each of them should Command a Week in his turn. This done, he set out for the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, and those Captains for *Hispaniola*. But that Climate he was then entring upon being unhealthy at that time, he had a terrible Fit of the Gout in one Leg, and four days after he fell into a violent Fever; yet notwithstanding his Sickness, he was still himself, and diligently observ'd the way the Ship made, the Alterations of the Weather that happened, as he had done since his first Voyage.

The Admiral recovers a Spanish Ship.

[illegible] Verde.

On Wednesday the 25th of *June*, he discovered the island *de Sal*, one of those of *Cabo Verde*, passing by it, he came to another, called *Boa Vista*, a Name remote from the Truth, for it, signifies, a good Sight, and the Place is dull and wretched. Here he cast Anchor in a Channel near a small Island on the West-side of it, near to where there are 6 or 7 Houses of the Inhabitants for Persons troubled with the Leprosie, who came thither to be Cur'd. And as Sailors rejoyce when they discover Land, so do these Wretches much more, when they see any Ships. Therefore they presently ran down to the shore, to speak to those the Admiral sent ashore in the Boats to take in Water and Salt, there being also abundance of Goats there. Understanding they were *Spaniards*, the *Portuguese*, who had Charge of the Island for the Owner, went aboard to speak to the Admiral, and offer him all he demanded; for which the Admiral thank'd him, order'd him to be well treated, and some Provision given him, because by reason of the Barrenness of the Island, they always live miserably. The Admiral being desirous to know what Method they us'd to Cure the Lepers; that Man told him, That the Temperature of the Air was one main Cause of it; and the next was their Diet, because there came thither a vast number of Tortoises, on which the sick Feed, and anoint themselves with their Blood,

Boa Vista, where Lepers are Cur'd, and how.

Columbus. Blood, and continuing it a short time they recover; but that those who are Born infected with this Distemper are longer a Curing. That the reason of having so many *Tortoises*, was the Shores being all Sandy, whither the Tortoises, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *August*, came over from the Shore of *Africk*, most of them as big as an ordinary Target, and that every Night they came up to Sleep and lay their Eggs on the Sand; That the People went along the Shore in the Night, with Lanthorns, or other Light, seeking the track the Tortoise leaves on the Sand, which they follow till they find the Fish; which being tir'd with coming so far, sleeps so sound, that it hears not its Enemy. He having found and turn'd his Belly up, without doing it any more harm, goes on to seek more; for when turn'd, they cannot stir from the Place, or recover their Feet. Having got as many as they think fit, they come again in the Morning to chose those they like best; and letting go the least, carry away the others to Eat. So wretchedly do the Sick live, without any other Employment or Sustenance, the Island being very dry and barren, without Trees or Springs; so that they Drink of certain Wells whose Water is thick and brackish. Those who had Charge of the Island, which were only that Man and four more, had no other Employment but only to kill Goats and Salt them to send into *Portugal*. He said, There were such multitudes of these Goats on the Mountains, that some years they kill'd to the value of 3 or 4000 Ducats, and that they all came from eight Goats, carried thither by the Proprietor of the Island, whose Name was *Roderick Alfonso*, the King of *Portugal*'s Secretary of the Customs. That very often the Hunters are four or five Months without Bread, or any other thing to Eat, except Goats Flesh and Fish; for which reason he made great Account of the Provision he had given him. That Man and his Companions, with some of the Admiral's Men, went out a Goat-Hunting; but perceiving it requir'd much time to kill all he had need of, he would stay no longer being in great haste.

Tortoises how caught.

On Saturday the 30th of *June*, he sailed for the Island of *Santiago*, the chief of *Cabo Verde*, where he arriv'd the next day in the Evening, and Anchor'd near a Church, sending ashore to Buy some Cows and Bulls to carry alive to *Hispaniola*: Yet observing it was a difficult matter to furnish himself so soon as he desir'd, and how prejudicial Delays were to him, he resolved to stay no longer; and the more for fear his Men should sicken, that Country being unhealthy. He says, That all the while he was at that Island, he never saw the Sky nor any Star, but there was always a thick hot Fog, insomuch that three parts of the Inhabitants were sick, and they all of them had a base colour.

Santiago Island.

CHAP. LXVII.

How the Admiral Sailed from the Islands of Cabo Verde, *to discover the Continent; Of the violent Heat he Endur'd, and great Brightness of the* North-Star.

ON Thursday the 5th of *July*, the Admiral left the Island of *Santiago*, sailing South West, with a Resolution to hold that Course till he was under the Equinoctial, and then to Steer Due-West, that he might find some other Land, or cross over to *Hispaniola*. But the Currents among those Islands setting violently towards the North and North West, he could not Sail as he design'd; so that he says, On Saturday the 7th of *July*, he was still in sight of the Island of *Fogo*, which is one of those of *Cabo Verde*; which he says, is very high Land on the South-side; and at a distance, looks like a great Church, with a Steeple at the East end, which is a vast high Rock; whence before the East Winds blow, there usually breaks out much Fire; as is seen at *Teneriff*, *Vesuvius* and Mount *Ætna*. From this last Country of Christians he held on his course South West, till he came into only 5 degrees of North Latitude, where he was becalm'd, having till then been continually attended by the Fog we mentioned above. The Calm lasted eight days, with such violent Heat, that it almost burnt the Ships; and there was no Man could abide under Deck, and had it not Rain'd sometimes, and the Sun been clouded, he thought they would have been burnt alive together with the Ships; for the first day of the Calm, which was fair, the Heat was so

Fogo Island.

Columbus. so violent, that nothing could withſtand it, had not God miraculouſly reliev'd them with the aforeſaid Rain and Fog. Having therefore got off a little to the Northward, into ſeven Degrees of Latitude, he reſolved not to make any more to the South, but ſail Due-Weſt, at leaſt till he ſaw how the Weather ſettled, becauſe he had loſt many Cask with the great Heat, the Hoops flew, and the Corn and all Proviſions were ſcorch'd up. About the middle of *July*, he ſays, He very carefully took the Latitude, and found a wonderful Difference between that and the Parallel of the *Azores*. For there, when the *Charles's Wain* was on the right, that is, Eaſt, then the *North-Star* was loweſt, and from that time began to riſe; ſo that when the *Charles's Wain* was over head, then the *North-Star* was two Degrees and an half higher, and being once paſs'd that, began again to deſcend the ſame five Degrees it aſcended. This, he ſays, he obſerv'd ſeveral times very carefully, the Weather being very fit for that purpoſe. But that where he was at this time in the Torrid Zone, it happened quite contrary; for when the *Charles's Wain* was in its greateſt Elevation, he found the *North-Star* ſix Degrees high, and when the *Charles's Wain* came to the Weſt, in ſix hours ſpace he found the *North-Star* 11 Degrees high; and then in the morning, when the *Charles's Wain* was quite depreſs'd, though it could not be ſeen becauſe of the Inclination of the Pole, the *North-Star* was ſix Degrees high, ſo that the Difference was ten Degrees, and it made a Circle, whoſe Diameter was 10 Degrees, whereas in the other place it made but five, lowering the Poſition, for there it is loweſt when the other is Weſt, and here when in its Elevation. The reaſon of it he thought very difficult to comprehend, and not being compleatly Maſter of it, without further Reflection on it, he ſays, he is of Opinion, that in what relates to the Circumference of the Stars Orb, it may be ſaid, that at the Equinoctial the full appears, and the nearer a Man goes to the Pole it ſeems the leſs, becauſe the Heaven is more Oblique. As for the Variation, I believe the Star has the quality of all the four Quarters, as has the Needle, which if touch'd to the Eaſt-ſide points to the Eaſt, and ſo of the Weſt, North, and South; and therefore he that makes the Compaſs, covers the Load-Stone with a Cloth, all but the North part of it, *viz.* That which has the Virtue to make the Steel point North.

Maritime Observations.

CHAP. LXVIII.

How the Admiral diſcovered the Iſland of the Trinity, *and ſaw the Continent.*

ON Tueſday the laſt day of *July*, 1498. the Admiral having ſailed many days Weſt, inſomuch, that in his Judgment, the *Caribbe* Iſlands were North of him, he reſolv'd not to hold that Courſe any longer, but to make for *Hiſpaniola*, not only becauſe he was in great want of Water, but alſo becauſe all his Proviſions periſhed, and he was afraid leaſt during his abſence ſome Mutiny or Diſorder had happened among the People he left there, as in effect there had, as we ſhall ſhow hereafter. Therefore altering his Courſe from the Weſt, he ſtood North, thinking to light on ſome of the *Caribbe* Iſlands, there to refreſh his Men, and take in Wood and Water, whereof he had great want.

As he was thus Sailing, one Day about Noon, *Alonzo Perez Nirando*, a Sailor of the Town of *Gullva*, going up to the Round-Top, ſaw Land to the Weſtward at about 15 Leagues diſtance, and there appeared three Mountains all at the ſame time, but not long after they perceiv'd the ſame Land ſtretch'd out towards the North Eaſt, as far as the Eye could reach, and that did not ſeem to be the end. Having given thanks to God, ſaid the *Salve Regina*, and other Prayers, the Seamen uſe in time of Diſtreſs or Joy. The Admiral called that Land the Iſland of the *Trinity*, as well becauſe he had before Thoughts of giving that Name to the firſt Land he found, as in return, becauſe it had pleas'd God to ſhow him three Mountains all together, as has been ſaid. He ſailed Due-Weſt, to make a Cape that appear'd to the South of him, and making for the South-ſide of the Iſland, till he came to an Anchor, five Leagues beyond a Point, which he call'd *de la Galera*, or, of the Galley, becauſe of a Rock that lay near the Point, and at a diſtance look'd like a Galley under ſail. Having now but one Cask of Water for all

Columbus. all his Ships Crue, and the other Ships being in the same Condition, there being no conveniency here to take in any, on Wednesday following in the Morning he continued his Course still West, and cast Anchor at another Point, which he called *de la Plaga*, or, of the Strand, where the People landed, and took Water in a delicate Brook, without seeing any Town or People there, tho' along the Coast they left behind they had seen many Houses and Towns. True it is, they found the Tokens of Fishermen, who had fled, leaving behind them some of their Fishing Tackle. They also saw the Prints of the Feet of Beasts, and seem'd to be of Goats, and saw the Bones of one, but the Head being without Horns, they thought it might be of some Catamountain, or Monkey, as they afterwards found it to be, seeing abundance of those Cats in *Paria*. This same day, being the first of *August*, sailing between Cape *Galera* and that of *la Plaga* Southwards, they discover'd the Continent, about 25 Leagues distance, as they guess'd, but they thinking it to be another Island, called it, *Isla Santa*, or *Holy Island*. The Land they saw of the *Trinity*, between the two Points, was 30 Leagues in length East and West, without any Harbour, but all the Country very pleasant with Trees down to the Sea, and abundance of Towns. This space they ran in a very short time, because the Current of the Sea set so very violent Westward, that it look'd like a rapid River both Day and Night, and at all Hours, notwithstanding the Tide Flow'd and Ebb'd along the Shore above 40 Paces, as happens at St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, when there are Floods, for though the Water rise and fall never so much, yet it never ceases running towards the Sea.

CHAP. LXIX.

How the Admiral sailed to the Cape, called, Puntal del Arenal, *and a Canoo came out to talk to him.*

PErceiving they could have no Account of the People of the Country at this Cape, and that there was no conveniency of taking Water, without excessive Labour, and there was no conveniency of Careening the Ships and getting Provisions, the next being the 2d of *August*, the Admiral went on to another Point of Land, which seem'd to be most Westerly in that Island, and called it, *del Arenal*, where he came to an Anchor, thinking the Easterly Winds which reign there would not be so troublesome to the Boats in going backwards and forwards. On the way before they came to this Point, a Canoo began to follow them with 25 Men in it, and stopp'd at about a Cannon-shot distance, calling out and talking very loud. Nothing could be understood, though it was supposed they inquir'd who our Men where, and whence they came, as the other *Indians* used to do at first: There being no possibility of persuading them with any Words to come aboard, they began to show them several Things, that they might Covet to have them, such as little Brass Basons, Looking-glasses, and other Things, the rest of the *Indians* used to make great Account of. But tho' this drew them a little, yet they soon stopp'd again; and therefore the more to Allure them, the Admiral ordered one to get upon the Poop with a Tabor and Pipe, and some young Fellows to Dance. As soon as the *Indians* saw it, they put themselves into a posture of Defence, laying hold of their Targets, and shooting their Arrows at those that Danced, who by the Admirals Command, that those People might not go unpunished, or Contemn the Christians, leaving their Dance began to shoot with their Cross Bows, so that they were glad to draw off, and made to another Caraval, clapping close to its side without any Apprehension. The Pilot of the Ship went over into the Canoo and gave them some things they were very well pleas'd with, and said, if they had been ashore they would have brought him Bread from their Houses, and so they went towards Land, nor would they in the Ship stop ere a one, for fear of displeasing the Admiral. The Account they gave of them, was, That they were well shap'd People, and whiter than those of the other Islands, and that they wear their Hair long, like Women, bound with small Strings, and cover'd their Privities with little Clouts.

Indians of the Trinity.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. LXX.

Of the Danger the Ships were in, Entring the Mouth of the Channel, they called, Boca del Drago, *or, The* Dragon's Mouth; *and how* Paria *was diſcover'd, being the firſt Diſcovery on the Continent.*

AS ſoon as the Ships had Ankor'd at *Punta del Arenal*, the Admiral ſent the Boats aſhore for Water, and to get ſome Information of the *Indians*, but they could do neither, that Country being very low, and unpeopled. He therefore ordered them the next day to dig Trenches on the Iſland, and by good luck they found them ready made and full of excellent Water, and it was thought the Fiſhermen had made them. Having taken what they wanted, the Admiral reſolved to proceed on to another Mouth or Channel which appear'd towards the North Weſt, which he afterwards call'd *Boca del Drago*, or, the *Dragon's Mouth*, to diſtinguiſh it from that where he was, to which he had given the Name of *Boca de la Sierpe*, or, the *Serpent's Mouth*. Theſe two Mouths or Channels, like the *Dardanels*, were made by the two Weſtermoſt Points of the *Trinity* Iſland, and two others of the Continent, and lay almoſt North and South of one another. In the midſt of that, where the Admiral Anchor'd, was another Rock, which he called *El Gallo*, that is, the *Cock*. Through this Mouth, he called *Boca de Sierpe*, the Water continually ran ſo furiouſly Northward, as if it had been the Mouth of ſome great River, which was the reaſon of giving it that Name, becauſe of the fright it put them into. For as they lay very ſecurely at Anchor, there came a ſtronger ſtream of Water than uſual, with a hideous noiſe, running through that Mouth Northward. And another Current running out of the Gulph now called *Paria*, oppoſite to that before-mentioned, they met with hideous Roaring, and caus'd the Sea to Swell up like a high Mountain, or ridge of Hills along that Channel, which Mountain ſoon came towards the Ships to the great Terrour of all Men fearing they ſhould over-ſet. But it pleaſed God it paſs'd under, or rather lifted them up without doing any harm, though it drew the Anchor of one of them, carrying the Veſſel away, but by the help of their Sails they eſcap'd the Danger, not without mortal fear of being loſt. That furious Current being paſs'd, the Admiral conſidering the Danger he was in there, ſtood for the *Dragon's Mouth*, which was between the North-Point of the *Trinity* Iſland, and the Eaſt-Point of *Paria*; yet went not through it at that time, but ſailed along the South-Coaſt of *Paria* Weſtward, believing it to be an Iſland, and hoping to find a way out Northwards towards *Hiſpariola*. And though there were many Ports along that Coaſt of *Paria*, he would put into none, all the Sea being a Harbour lock'd in with the Continent.

The Gulph of Paria.

A wonderful Smelling of Water.

CHAP. LXXI.

How there was ſome Gold and Pearls found in Paria, *and a People of good Converſation.*

THE Admiral being at an Anchor on the 5th of *Auguſt*, and it being his particular Devotion never to weigh on a Sunday, he ſent the Boats aſhore, where they found abundance of Fruit of the ſame ſort they had ſeen in the other Iſlands; great numbers of Trees, and ſigns of People that had fled for fear of the Chriſtians. But being unwilling to loſe time, he ſailed down the Coaſt 15 Leagues further, without going into any Harbour, for fear he ſhould miſs of Wind to bring him out. Being at an Anchor on the Coaſt, at the end of theſe 15 Leagues, there came out a Canoo to the Caraval, called *El Borreo*, with three Men in it; and the Pilot knowing how much the Admiral coveted to receive ſome Information from thoſe People, he pretended to talk to them, and let himſelf fall into the Canoo, and the *Spaniards* in the Boat took thoſe three Men, and carried them to the Admiral, who made very much of them, and ſent them aſhore with many Gifts, where there appear'd abundance of *Indians*. Theſe hearing the good Account the three gave them, came all in their Canoo's to Barter, for ſuch Things as they had, which were much the ſame, as had been ſeen in the Iſlands

Indians go aboard.

Columbus. before diſcovered, only that here they had no Targets, nor Poiſon'd Arrows, which theſe People do not uſe, but only the *Canibals*. Their Drink was a ſort of Liquor as white as Milk, and another ſomewhat blackiſh, taſting like green Wine made of Grapes not quite ripe, but they could not learn what Fruit it was made of. They wore Cotton Cloths well Wove, of ſeveral Colours, about the bigneſs of a Handkerchief, ſome bigger and ſome leſs; and what they moſt valued of our Things, was Braſs, and eſpecially Bells. The People ſeem to be more Civiliz'd and Tractable than thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*. They cover their Nakedneſs with one of thoſe Cloths above-mentioned, and have another wrapp'd about their Head. The Women cover nothing, not even their Privities; the ſame they do in the *Trinity* Iſland. They ſaw nothing of value here, except ſome little Plates of Gold they hung about their Necks; for which reaſon, and becauſe the Admiral could not ſtay to Dive into the Secrets of the Country, he ordered ſix of thoſe *Indians* to be taken, and continued his Voyage Weſtward, believing that Land of *Paria*, which he called the *Holy Iſland*, was no Continent. Soon after another Iſland appear'd towards the South, and another no leſs than that towards the Weſt, all high Land, Sowed and well Peopled; and the *Indians* had more Plates of Gold about their Necks than the others, and abundance of *Guanini*'s, which is very low Gold. They ſaid that was produced in other Weſtern Iſlands inhabited by People that Eat Men. The Women had Strings of Beads about their Arms, and among them very fine large and ſmall Pearls ſtrung, ſome whereof were got in Exchange to ſend their Catholick Majeſties as a Sample. Being ask'd where they found thoſe Things, they made ſigns to ſhow that in the Oiſter-ſhels which were taken Weſtward of that Land of *Paria*, and beyond it towards the North. Upon this, the Admiral ſtaid there to know more of that good Diſcovery, and ſent the Boats aſhore, where all the People of the Country that had flock'd together, appeared ſo Tractable and Friendly, that they importun'd the Chriſtians to go along with them to a Houſe not far off, where they gave them to Eat, and a great deal of that Wine of theirs. Then from that Houſe, which it's likely was the King's Palace, they carried them to another, which was his Sons, and ſhew'd them the ſame kindneſs. They were all in general whiter than any they had ſeen in the *Indies*, and of better Aſpects and Shapes, with their Hair cut ſhort by their Ears, after the *Spaniſh* Faſhion. From them they underſtood that Land was called *Paria*, and that they would be glad to be in Amity with the Chriſtians. Thus they departed from them, and return'd to the Ships.

The firſt Pearls in the Weſt-Indies.

A courteous and obliging People.

CHAP. LXXII.

How the Admiral paſs'd through Boca del Drago, *and the Danger he was in there.*

THe Admiral holding on his Voyage Weſtward, they ſtill found leſs and leſs Water, inſomuch that being come through four or five Fathom, they found but two and a half at Ebb, for the Tide differed from that at the *Trinity* Iſland; for at the *Trinity*, the Water ſwell'd three Fathom, and here being 45 Leagues to the Weſtward, it roſe but one; and there always, whether Ebb or Flood, the Currant ran Weſt; and here upon the Ebb, they ran Eaſt, and upon the Flood Weſt; there the Water was but brackiſh, here it was like River Water. The Admiral perceiving this difference, and how little Water he found, durſt proceed no further in his Ship, which required three Fathom Water, being of 100 Tun, and therefore came to an Anchor on that Coaſt, which was very ſafe, being a Port like a Horſe-Shooe, lock'd with that Land on all ſides. However, he ſent the little Caraval, called *El Borreo*, or the Poſt, to diſcover whether there was any Paſs Weſtward among thoſe Iſlands. She having gone but a little way, return'd the next day, being the 11th of *Auguſt*, ſaying, That at the Weſtermoſt Point of that Sea, there was a Mouth, or Opening, two Leagues over from North to South, and within it a round Bay, with four other little Bays, one towards each quarter of Heaven, that from each of them flow'd a River, whoſe Water made that Sea ſo ſweet, which was yet much ſweeter further in, adding, that all that Land which ſeem'd to be Iſlands, was one and the ſame Continent,

Account of the Gulph of Paria.

Columbus.

tinent; that they had every where four or five Fathom Water, and ſuch abundance of thoſe Weeds they ſaw in the Ocean, that they hindred their Sailing. The Admiral therefore being certain he could not get out Weſtward, that ſame day ſtood back to the Eaſtward, deſigning to paſs the Streight, which he ſaw between the Land the *Indians* call *Paria*, and the *Trinity*. In this Streight there are four little Iſlands Eaſt next the Point of the *Trinity*, which he called Cape *Boca*, becauſe it was blunt, Weſt upon the Point of the Continent, which he called Cape *Lapa*, and in the middle. The reaſon why he called this the *Dragon's Mouth*, was, becauſe it is very dangerous, by reaſon of the abundance of freſh Water that ſtruggles to get out there into the Sea, and made three boiſterous Channels, extending from Eaſt to Weſt the width of the Streight. And becauſe as he was Sailing through, the Wind fail'd him, and he was in danger of being drove on ſome Sand or Rock; therefore he with reaſon gave it a Name anſwerable to that of the other Mouth, where he was in no leſs danger as was ſaid above. But it pleaſed God, that what they moſt dreaded ſhould be their greateſt Safety, the ſtrength of the Current carrying them off. Therefore on Monday the 17th of *Auguſt*, he began to Sail Weſtward along the Coaſt of *Paria*, in order to ſtand over afterwards for *Hiſpaniola*, giving Thanks to God, who delivered him from ſo many Troubles and Dangers, ſtill ſhowing him new Countries full of peaceable People and great Wealth, eſpecially that, which he certainly concluded to be the Continent, becauſe of the great Extent of that Gulph of Pearls, of the Rivers that ran from it, of the Sea, which was all ſweet Water; and by the Authority of *Eſdras*, in the 8th Chapter of the 4th Book; where he ſays, That dividing the Globe into Seven Parts only, one of them is covered with Water; for all the *Indians* of the *Caribbee* Iſlands had told him, there was a vaſt Land Southward.

Boca del Drago.

CHAP. LXXIII.

How the Admiral ſtood over from the Continent to Hiſpaniola.

THe Admiral ſailing along Weſtward on the Coaſt of *Paria*, ſtill fell farther off from it towards the North Weſt, the Currents in being Calm driving him that way; ſo that on Wedneſday the 15th of *Auguſt*, he left the Cape, he called, *de las Conchas*, or of Shells, South of him, and the Iſland *Margarita* Weſt, which Name he gave this Iſland, perhaps by Divine Inſpiration, becauſe cloſe by it lies that of *Cubagua*, where an infinite quantity of Pearls has been found; and in *Hiſpaniola* and *Jamaica* at his return he called ſome Mountains of Gold, where afterwards was found the greateſt quantity and largeſt pieces that ever were carried from thence into *Spain*. But to return to his Voyage, he held on his Courſe by ſix Iſlands, which he called, *las Guardas*, or the Guards, and three others more to the North, *los Teſtigos*, or the Witneſſes. And though they ſtill diſcover'd much Land of *Paria* Weſtward, yet the Admiral ſays, he could not from this time give ſuch an account of it as he would wiſh, becauſe through overmuch watching, his Eyes where inflam'd, and therefore was forced to take moſt of his Obſervations from the Sailors and Pilots. He alſo ſays, That this ſame Night, being Thurſday the 16th of *Auguſt*, the Compaſſes which till now had not varied, did at this time, at leaſt a Point and a half, and ſome of them two Points, wherein there could be no miſtake, becauſe ſeveral Perſons had always watch'd to obſerve it. Admiring at this, and griev'd that he had not the opportunity of following the Coaſt of Continent, he held on North-Weſt, till on Monday the 20th of *Auguſt* he came to an Anchor between *Beaca* and *Hiſpaniola*; whence he ſent a Letter by ſome *Indians*, to his Brother the *Adelantodo*, acquainting him with his ſafe Arrival and Succeſs. He was ſurpriz'd to find himſelf ſo far Weſtward, for though he knew the force of the Currents fail'd, yet he did not think it had been ſo much. Therefore to the end his Proviſions might not fail him in time of need, he ſtood to the Eaſtward for *S. Domingo*, into which Harbour he ſail'd on the 30th of *Auguſt*, for here the Lieutenant his Brother had appointed the City to be built on the Eaſt-ſide of the River, where it ſtands at preſent, and was called *Santo Domingo* in Memory of his Father, whoſe Name was *Dominick*.

Cape Conchas.

Margarita Iſland.

S. Domingo *in* Hiſpaniola.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. LXXIV.

The Rebellion and Troubles the Admiral met with in Hiſpaniola, *rais'd by the Wickedneſs of one* Francis Roldan, *whom he had left as Alcalde Mayor, or Chief Juſtice.*

THE Admiral being come to *S. Domingo*, almoſt Blind with over-watching, he hoped there to reſt himſelf after his Voyage, and find Peace among his People, but found all quite contrary, for all the People in the Iſland were in Diſorder and Rebellion; for abundance of thoſe he had left were Dead, and of thoſe that remain'd, above 160 were ſick of the *French* Pox, and beſides that many were in Rebellion with *Roldan*, he found not the three Ships, we ſaid he ſent before him from the *Canary* Iſlands. Of theſe Things it is requiſite we ſpeak orderly, beginning from the time the Admiral ſet out for *Spain*, which as we ſaid, was in *March* 1496. 30 Months before his return: The firſt part of which time the People continued pretty quiet in hopes of his return, and of being ſpeedily relieved: But the firſt year being paſs'd, the Spaniſh Proviſions failing, and Sickneſs and Sufferings increaſing, they began to be diſſatisfied with what was, and to Deſpair of any better; ſo that the Complaints of many diſcontented Perſons were heard, who never want ſome Body to ſtir them up, deſiring to be Head of a Party, as was now done by one *Francis Roldan*, born at *Torre de D. Ximeno*, whom the Admiral had left in ſuch Power among both *Chriſtians* and *Indians*, by making him Chief Juſtice, that he was as much Obey'd as himſelf. For this reaſon it is to be ſuppos'd there was not that good Underſtanding between him and the Admiral's Lieutenant, as ought to have been for the publick Good, as Time and Experience made it appear. For the Admiral, neither returning himſelf, nor ſending any Supplies, this *Roldan* began to think of poſſeſſing himſelf of the Iſland, deſigning for this purpoſe to Murther the Admirals Brothers, as thoſe that could beſt oppoſe his Rebellion, and waited an opportunity to put this in Execution. It happened that the Lieutenant of the Iſland one of the Admiral's Brothers, went to a Province in the Weſt, called *Xaragua*, 80 Leagues from *Iſabella*, where the ſaid *Roldan* remained in his Employ, but Subordinate to *D. James*, ſecond Brother to the Admiral. This *Roldan*, was ſo offended at, that whilſt the Lieutenant was taking order how the Kings of the Iſland ſhould pay Tribute to their Catholick Majeſties, as the Admiral had rated all the *Indians*, *Orlando* began underhand to draw ſome of them over to his Party. But that it might not prove fatal to Riſe on a ſudden, and without ſome pretence: that which *Roldan* laid hold of was, That there was a Caraval aſhore at *Iſabella*, built by the Lieutenant of the Iſland, to ſend to *Spain* in caſe of Neceſſity, and there being no Launching of it for want of Tackle and other Neceſſaries, *Roldan* feign'd and gave out there was ſome other Reaſon for it, and that it behov'd the publick, that Caraval ſhould be fitted out, that ſome of them might go to *Spain* in it, to give an Account of their Sufferings. Thus upon pretence of the publick Good, he preſs'd that it might be Launch'd, and *D. James Columbus* not conſenting to it for want of Tackle, as has been ſaid, *Roldan* began more boldly to treat with ſome about Launching the Caraval in Deſpight of him; telling thoſe, he thought to agree with him, that if the Lieutenant, and *D. James* were diſpleas'd at it, the reaſon was becauſe they would ſecure to themſelves the Dominion of the Country, and keep them in Subjection, without any Ship that might carry the News of their Revolt to their Catholick Majeſties. And ſince they were ſatisfied and convinced of the Cruelty and Ill-Nature of the Lieutenant, and what a reſtleſs life he led them, building Towns and Forts, and that they had no hopes of the Admiral's coming with Supplies, it was fit they ſhould take that Caraval and procure their Liberty, and not ſuffer themſelves under pretence of Pay, which they never receiv'd, to be kept under by a Foreigner, whereas it was in their Power to live at Eaſe and in Plenty; for that whatſoever could be had in the Iſland would be equally divided among them, and they would be ſerv'd by the *Indians* to their own Content, without being ſo much in Subjection, that they could not take to Wife any *Indian* Woman they pleaſed. That the Lieutenant made them keep the Three Vows of Religious Men; and beſides that, they wanted not for Faſts and Diſciplines, as alſo Impriſonment, and other

Rebellion among the Spaniards.

Columbus. other Punishments, which they endured for the least fault. Therefore, since he had the Rod of Justice and Regal Authority, which secured them against any thing that might befal them on this Account, he advised them to do what he directed, wherein they could not do amiss. With these and the like Words, proceeding from the Hatred he bore the Lieutenant, he drew so many over to his Party, that one day when the Lieutenant was come back from *Xaragua* to *Isabella*, some of them resolv'd to Stab him, looking upon it as so easie a matter, that they had provided a Halter to hang him up after he was Dead. What at present the more incens'd them, was the Imprisoning of one *Barahona*, a Friend to the Conspirators, against whom, if God had not put it into the Heart of the Lieutenant not to proceed to Execution of Justice at that time, they had then certainly Murdered him.

CHAP. LXXV.

How Francis Roldan *endeavour'd to make the Town of* Conception *Mutiny, and plundered* Isabella.

FRancis *Roldan*, perceiving he had miss'd of the Murther of the Lieutenant, and his Conspiracy was discovered, he resolved to possess himself of the Town and Fort of the *Conception*, thinking from thence he might easily subdue the Island. It fell out conveniently for his Design, that he was near the said Town; for whilst the Lieutenant was abroad, he had been sent with 40 Men about that Province, to reduce the *Indians* that had Revolted, with the same design of making themselves Masters of that Town, and destroying the *Christians*. So that *Roldan*, under pretence of putting a stop to this Evil, and punishing the *Indians*, gather'd his Men at the Residence of one of their *Caciques*, call'd *Marche*, designing to put his Project in Execution upon the first opportunity. But *Ballester* the Commander of the Fort, having some Jealousie of him, he stood upon his Guard, and acquainted the Lieutenant of the Island with the danger he was in, who with all speed, and what Men he could gather, threw himself into the Fort. Thither *Roldan* came upon a Safe-Conduct, now his Conspiracy was discovered, rather to observe by the Lieutenant what might do him harm, than through any desire of coming to an Accommodation, and with more Boldness and Impudence than became him, required the Lieutenant to cause the Caraval to be launched, or give him leave to launch it, which he and his Friends would do. The Lieutenant incensed at these Words, answered, That neither he nor his Friends were Seamen, or knew what was proper to be done in that case; and that though they had known how to Launch it, yet they could not Sail in her for want of Rigging, and other Necessaries, and therefore it would be only exposing the Men and the Caraval. And, for as much as the Lieutenant understood that Affair, as a Seaman, and they not being such, knew nothing of it, therefore they varied in their Judgments. These and other displeasing Words having pass'd between them, *Roldan* went away in a Passion, refusing to quit his Rod of Justice, or stand Trial, as the Lieutenant ordered, saying, he would do both, when their Majesties, whose the Island was, commanded him; knowing he could expect no Justice from him, because of the Hatred he bore him, but that right or or wrong he would find means to put him to Death with shame: That in the mean while, not to exceed the Bounds of reason, he would go and Reside where he should bid him. But he at present appointing him the Residence of the *Cacique*, *James Columbus*, he refused it, saying, There were not Provisions there for his Men, and that he would find a more convenient place. He set out towards *Isabella*, and having gathered 65 Men, perceiving he could not Launch the Caraval, he plunder'd the Magazines, he and his Followers, taking away what Arms, Stuffs, and Provisions they thought fit, *D. James Columb.* who was there, not being able to oppose him, but would have been in Danger, had he not retired to the Fort with some Friends and Servants. Yet in the Process afterwards drawn up on this Subject, there were some that depos'd, That *Roldan* promis'd to submit to him, provided he would take his part against his own Brother: Which he refusing, and *Roldan* not being able to do him any further harm; as also fearing the Succours that were coming

Further progress of the Rebels.

Columbus. coming from the Lieutenant, he went out of Town with all the Mutineers, and falling on the Cattle that Graz'd thereabouts, they kill'd such as they lik'd to Eat, and took the Beasts of Burthen to serve them in their Journey, resolving to go into the Province of *Xaragua*, whence the Lieutenant was lately come, designing to Settle there, that being the pleasanteſt and most plentiful part of the Island, the People here being more civiliz'd and wiser than the rest of the Natives of *Hispaniola*; but above all, because the Women were the handsomeſt, and of the most pleasing Conversation of any others, which most Invited them to go thither. But that they might not go without making trial of their Strength, before the Lieutenant could encrease his Power, and punish them as they deserv'd, they resolved to take the Town of the *Conception* in their way, to Surprize it, and kill the Lieutenant, and in case this did not succeed, to Besiege him. The Lieutenant having Intelligence of their Design, stood upon his Guard, encouraging his Men with good Words, and promising them many Gifts, and each of them two Slaves. And for as much as he understood, that most of those that were with him, lik'd the life *Roldan* and his Men led so well, that many of them gave Ear to his Messages; therefore *Roldan* having conceiv'd hopes that they would all go over to him, had the boldness to undertake that Enterprize, which did not succeed as he expected. For the Lieutenant, having provided [illegible] been said, being himself a Man of [illegible]solution, and having the best M[illegible] on his side, was resolv'd to do that by force of Arms, which he could not compass by fair Means and Arguments. Having therefore gathered his Men together, he march'd out of Town to attack the Rebels on the Road.

CHAP. LXXVI.

How Francis Roldan *incens'd the* Indians *against the Lieutenant, and went away with his Men to* Xaragua.

FRancis *Roldan*, perceiving he was so disappointed, and that not one of the Lieutenants Men came over to him, as he had expected, resolved to retire in time, and go away to *Xaragua* as he design'd at first, not daring to meet him, yet presum'd to talk contemptibly of him, and to stir up the *Indians*, wherever he went, to Rebel against him, telling them, the cause of his forsaking him was his being a Man naturally Revengeful and Morose, as well towards the *Christians*, as *Indians*; and abominably Covetous, imposing great Burdens and Tributes on them; which if they bore with, he would increase every year, tho' against their Catholick Majesties will; who requir'd nothing of their Subjects but Obedience, maintaining them in Justice, Liberty and Peace; which, if they fear'd they should not be able to maintain, he with his Friends and Followers, would assist them to assert, and would declare himself their Protector and Deliverer. After which, they resolv'd to forbid paying the Tribute, we said had been impos'd on them, by which means it could not be gathered of those that dwelt far from the Lieutenant, nor durst he exact it of those near about him for fear of provoking them to joyn with the Rebels. Yet this Condescention towards them, had not so good an effect, but that as soon as the Lieutenant was gone from the *Conception*, *Guarinoex*, who was the principal *Cacique* of that [illegible]rince, with the assistance of *Roldan*, [illegible]'d to Besiege the Fort, and Destro[illegible] *Christians* that kept it. The better to effect it, He drew together all the *Caciques* of his Party, and agreed with them privately, that every one should kill those that were within his Precinct, because the Territories in *Hispaniola* being too small, for any of them to maintain a great number of People, the *Christians* had been obliged to divide themselves into small Parcels of 8 or 9 in each Liberty. This gave the *Indians* hopes, that surprizing them all at the same time, they might have it in their Power to suffer none to escape. But they having no other way of fixing a time, or ordering any thing else that requires counting, but only by their Fingers, they resolv'd, that every one should be ready to destroy the *Christians* at the next Full Moon. *Guarinoex* having thus dispos'd his *Caciques* to put this in Execution, the chiefest of them being desirous to gain Honour, and looking upon the matter as very easie, and being no good Astronomers, to know when the Full Moon was, fell on before the time appointed, and were force[illegible]

Conspiracy of the Indians to destroy the Spaniards.

forced to fly after many Blows. He thinking to find Assistance in *Guarionex* found his own Ruin; for he put him to Death, as he had deserv'd, for having caused the Conspiracy to be discovered, and the *Christians* to be upon their guard. The Rebels were not a little concern'd at this Miscarriage; for as was reported, it had been contriv'd with their Consent, and therefore they waited to see, whether *Guarionex* brought Affairs to such Terms, that joyning with him they might destroy the Lieutenant: But perceiving this did not succeed, they thought not themselves secure in the Province where they were, but went away to *Xaragua*, still proclaiming themselves Protectors of the *Indians*, whereas they were Thieves in their Actions and Inclinations, having no regard to God or the World, but following their inordinate Appetites, for every one Stole what he could, and *Roldan* their Leader more than all of them, persuading and commanding every *Cacique* to entertain him that could and would defend the *Indians* and Rebels from paying the Tribute the Lieutenant demanded of them, tho' at the same time he under this pretence took much more from them; for from only one *Cacique*, whose Name was *Manicaotex*, he received every three Months, a Calabash, containing three Marks of pure Gold, that is, a Pound and a half, and to be the more sure of him, kept his Son and Nephew as Hostages. He that reads this, must not wonder that we reduce the Marks of Gold to the Measure of a Calabash, which we do to show, that the *Indians* in these Cases dealt by Measure, because they never had any Weights.

Columbus.

CHAP. LXXVII.

How the Ships came from Spain *with Provisions and Supplies.*

THe *Christians* being thus divided, as has been said, and no Ships yet coming from *Spain* with Supplies, neither the Lieutenant, nor his Brother *D. James*, could keep the People quiet, that had remain'd with them; for most of them being mean Persons, and desirous to lead that easie life *Roldan* promis'd them, they durst not punish the guilty, for fear of being forsaken; which made them so insolent, that it was impossible to keep them in order, and therefore they were forced to bear with the Affronts of the Rebels. But it being God's Will to afford them some Comfort, it pleased him to order that the two Ships should arrive, which, as was said before, had been sent a year after the Admiral's departure from the *Indies*, not without great Application us'd by him at Court for fitting them out; for he, considering the Nature of the Country, the Dispositions of the People he left behind, and the great danger that might accrue from his long absence, press'd for and obtain'd of their Catholick Majesties, that those two Ships might be sent before, of 18 he had been ordered to fit out. The Arrival of these, the Supplies they brought of Men and Provisions, and the Assurance that the Admiral was safe arrived in *Spain*, encouraged those that were with the Lieutenant to serve him more faithfully, and made those that followed *Roldan*, apprehensive of being punish'd. These being desirous to hear News, and furnish themselves with what they wanted, resolved to repair to *S. Domingo*, where the Ships had put in, hoping to draw some of the Men over to their Party. But the Lieutenant having Intelligence of their march, and being nearer that Harbour, he mov'd towards them to hinder their passage; and having left Guards on the Passes, went to the Port to see the Ships, and order the Affairs of that Place. And being desirous the Admiral should find the Island in a peaceable Condition, and all Troubles ended, he again made new Overtures to *Roldan*, who was 6 Leagues off with his Men, sending to him for this purpose the Commander of the two Ships lately arriv'd, whose Name was *Peter Fernandez Coronel*; as well because he was a Man of Worth and in Authority, as because he hop'd his Words would prove more effectual, since he as an Eye-witness, could certifie him of the Admirals arrival in *Spain*, the good Reception he had found, and the willingness their Majesties express'd to make him still greater. But the chief Men among them, fearing the Impression this Messenger might make upon their Followers, would not suffer him to speak in publick; so that they received him with their Bows and Arrows on the Road, and he could only speak some few Words to those that were appointed to hear him. Thus having

The Rebels refuse to submit.

Columbus. having done nothing, he returned to the Town, and the Rebels to their Quarters in *Xaragua*, not without Apprehenſions, leaſt *Roldan* and ſome of the principal Men of his Gang ſhould write to their Friends that were with the Lieutenant, deſiring them when the Admiral came, to intercede for them, ſince all their Complaints were againſt the Lieutenant, and not againſt the Admiral himſelf, for which reaſon they deſired to be reſtored to his Favour.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

How the Three Ships the Admiral ſent from the Canary *Iſlands arrived where the Rebels were.*

HAving ſpoke of the arrival of the two Ships the Admiral ſent from *Spain* to *Hiſpaniola*, it is fit we give an Account of the three that parted from him at the *Canary* Iſlands, which proceeded on their Voyage with fair Winds till they came to the *Caribbee* Iſlands, which are the firſt that Sailors meet with in their way to the Port of *S. Domingo*. The Pilots then not being ſo well acquainted with that Voyage, as they have been ſince, it happened they knew not how to hit that Port, and were carried away by the Currents ſo far to Weſtward, that they arrived in the Province of *Xaragua*, where the Rebels were, who as ſoon as they underſtood that thoſe Ships were out of their way, and knew nothing of their Revolt, ſome of them went peaceably aboard, pretending they were there by the Lieutenant's Orders, the better to be ſupplied with Proviſions, and keep that Country under. But it being very eaſie for a Secret, that is among many, to be diſcovered, *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, who was the skilfulleſt of the Captains of thoſe Ships, being aware of the Rebellion and Diſcord, began immediately to make Overtures of Peace to *Francis Roldan*, thinking to bring him to ſubmit to the Lieutenant. But the familiar Converſation the Rebels had before entertain'd aboard the Ships, was the Cauſe that his Perſuaſions had not the deſired effect; for *Roldan* had privately obtain'd Promiſes from many of thoſe that came freſh out of *Spain*, that they would ſtay with him, and by that Acceſſion he hoped to become ſtill greater. *Carvajal* therefore finding Things were not in ſuch a poſture, that he might hope for a ſpeedy Concluſion of what he had in hand, thought it convenient, with the Advice of the other two Captains, that the People they brought under Pay to Work in the Mines, and other Employments, ſhould go by Land to *S. Domingo*, becauſe the Winds and Currents being ſet there againſt that Voyage, it was poſſible they might not perform it in two or three Months; ſo that they would not only conſume the Proviſions, but the Men might fall ſick, and the time be loſt, which ought to have been employed in the Service they came for. Having agreed upon this, it fell to *John Anthony Columbus* his Lot to march with the Men, which were 40, to *Arana* to Sail about with the Ships, and to *Caravajal* to ſtay and endeavour to bring the Rebels to an Accommodation. *John Anthony Columbus* ſetting forward the 2d day after they landed, thoſe Labourers and Vagabonds ſent over to Work, went away to the Rebels, leaving their Captain with only ſix or ſeven Men that ſtuck to him. He ſeeing their baſe Infidelity, without apprehending any Danger, went to *Roldan*, and told him, That ſince he pretended to promote the Service of their Catholick Majeſties, it was not reaſonable he ſhould ſuffer thoſe Men, that were come to People and Cultivate the Country, and to follow their Callings with Wages in hand, to ſtay there and looſe their time, without doing any thing of that they were obliged to; and that if he had turn'd them away, it had been a token that his Words and his Actions agreed; that his ſtaying there cauſed the Diviſion and Diſorder with the Lieutenant, and not any Inclination in him to obſtruct the King's Service. But that which had happened turning to the Account of *Roldan* and his Followers, as well for the carrying on their Deſign, as becauſe the Crime committed by many is generally ſooneſt Conniv'd at; he excus'd himſelf as to that Point, ſaying, He could not uſe Violence towards them, and that his was a Religious Order, which refuſed no Man. *John Anthony* knowing it was not the part of a diſcreet Man to expoſe himſelf to the danger of preſſing further without hopes of Succeſs, reſolved to go aboard again with thoſe few that follow'd him; and therefore that they might not be

Freſh Men Deſert to the Rebels.

Ignorance of the Pilots carries the Ships to the Weſt of Hiſpaniola.

be serv'd so by those that were left, they two Captains sail'd immediately with their two Ships towards *S. Domingo*, with the Wind as contrary as they had fear'd; for they spent many days, spoil'd their Provisions, and *Caravajal*'s Ship was much damaged upon certain Sands, where she lost her Rudder, and sprung a Leak, so that they had much to do to bring her in.

CHAP. LXXIX.

How the Captains of the Ships that came from Xaragua, *found the Admiral at* S. Domingo.

THe Captains with their Ships, arriving at *S. Domingo*, in their return from *Xaragua*, found the Admiral there, after his Discovery of the Continent. He being fully inform'd of the Condition of the Rebels, and having seen the Process his Lieutenant had made against them, tho' the Crime was plainly made out to Deserve severe Punishment, yet he thought fit to form a new Process, and give their Majesties an Account of it, resolving at the same time to use all the Moderation he could in this matter, and endeavouring to reduce them by fair means. For which reason, and that neither they nor any others, might have cause to complain of him, or say, he kept them there by force, he made Proclamation on the 12th of *September*, giving leave to all that would return to *Spain*, and promising them free Passage and Provisions. And being inform'd on the other hand, That *Roldan* was coming towards *S. Domingo* with some of his Men, he ordered *Michael Ballester*, Commander of the *Conception*, to secure his Town and Fort; and in case *Roldan* came that way, he should tell him from the Admiral, that he was much concerned at his Sufferings, and all that was past, and would have no more said of it, granting a general Pardon to all, and desiring him to come away immediately to the Admiral, without fearing any thing, that by his Advice things might be ordered, as was for their Majesties Service; and if he required any Safe Conduct, he would send it him in such Form as he required. *Ballester* return'd Answer on the 14th of *February*, That he had received certain Information, That *Riquelme* was the day before come to the Town of *Bonao*, and that *Adrian* and *Roldan*, who were the Ringleaders, would meet there in seven or eight days, at which time he might there apprehend them, as he did. For having discours'd them according to the Instructions given him, he found them obstinate and unmannerly, *Roldan* telling him, They were not come to Treat, nor did they Desire, or Care for Peace, for he had the Admiral and his Authority at his beck, either to Support, or Suppress it, as he pleased; and that they must not talk to him of any Accommodation, till they had sent him all the *Indians* taken at the Siege of the *Conception*, since they had met together to serve the King, and upon his Promise of Security. Other things he added, by which it appeared, he would make no Agreement, but what was much to his Advantage. To this purpose he demanded, That the Admiral should send *Caravajal* to him, because he would Treat with no other but him, he being a Man that would hear Reason, and had Discretion, as he had found by Experience, when the three Ships, as has been said, were at *Xaragua*. This Answer made the Admiral suspect *Caravajal*, and not without much Cause

The Admiral endeavours to reduce the Rebels.

First, Because before *Caravajal* was at *Xaragua*, where these Rebels then were, they had often Writ and sent Messages to their Friends that were with the Lieutenant, telling them, They would come and deliver themselves up to the Admiral as soon as he arrived, and therefore they desired them to intercede for them, and appease him.

Caravajal suspected, yet trusted.

Secondly, Because, since they did this as soon as they heard there were two Ships come to the Assistance of the Lieutenant, they had much more Cause to perform it, knowing the Admiral was not come, had not the long Conference *Caravajal* had with them prevented it.

Thirdly, Because if he would have done his Duty, he might have kept *Roldan*, and the chief Men of his gang Prisoners, aboard his Caraval, they having been two days aboard without any Security given.

Fourthly, Because knowing as he did, that they were in Rebellion, he ought not to suffer them to Buy aboard the Ships, as they did, 56 Swords, and 60 Cross-Bows.

Columbus. Fifthly, Becauſe there being ſome Proofs that the Men who were to Land with *John Anthony* to go to *S Domingo*, would joyn the Rebels, he ought not to ſuffer them to Land, or at leaſt when they were gone over to them, he ought to have been more Induſtrious to endeavour to recover them.

Sixthly, Becauſe he gave out that he came to the *Indies* as Companion to the Admiral, that nothing might be done without him, for fear the Admiral ſhould commit ſome Offence.

Seventhly, Becauſe *Roldan* had Writ to the Admiral by *Caravajal* himſelf, acquainting him, that he was drawing near to *S. Domingo* with his Men, by the Advice of *Caravajal*, to be the nearer to Treat of an Accommodation, when the Admiral arrived in *Hiſpaniola*, and now he was come, his Actions not Suiting with his Letter, it appeared he had rather invited him to come thither, to the end that if the Admiral had been long coming, or had not come at all, he as the Admiral's Aſſociate, and *Roldan* as Chief Juſtice, might govern the Iſland in deſpight of the Lieutenant.

Eightly, Becauſe at the ſame time that the other Captains came with the three Caravals to *S. Domingo*, he came by Land attended by a guard of the Rebels, and one of the Chief of them, called *Gamir*, who had been two days and two nights with him aboard his Ship.

Ninthly, Becauſe he Writ to the Rebels when they came to *Bonao*, and ſent them Preſents and Proviſions.

Tenthly, and Laſtly, Becauſe, beſides that the ſaid Rebels would not Treat with any Body but him, they all unanimouſly ſaid, if there had been occaſion, they would have taken him for their Captain.

Yet the Admiral on the other ſide, conſidering that *Caravajal* was a diſcreet prudent Perſon, and a Gentleman, and that every one of thoſe Arguments might be anſwered, and perhaps what he had been told was not true, and looking upon him, as one that would not do any thing contrary to his Duty, having a great deſire to put out that fire, he reſolv'd to conſult with all the Chief Men he had about him, about *Roldan*'s Anſwer, and reſolve upon what was to be done on this occaſion. All agreeing upon it, He ſent *Caravajal*, with *Balleſter*, to Treat, who had no other Anſwer from *Roldan*, but that ſince they had not brought the *Indians* he demanded, they ſhould not without them talk of any Accommodation. *Caravajal* diſcreetly anſwering to theſe Words, made ſo taking a Diſcourſe, that he mov'd *Roldan* and three or four of the chief Men to go wait upon the Admiral and Agree with him; but the others diſliking of it, as *Roldan* and the others were mounting their Horſes to go with *Caravajal* to the Admiral, they fell upon them, ſaying, They would not allow them to go, and that if any Agreement was to be made, it ſhould be drawn up in Writing, that they might all know what was doing. So that after ſome days paſs'd upon this Reſolution, on the 20th of *October*, *Roldan* by the Conſent of all his Men, writ a Letter to the Admiral, laying the Blame of their Separation on the Lieutenant; and telling the Admiral, that ſince he had not in Writing ſent them Security to come and give an account of themſelves, they had reſolved to ſend him their Demands in Writing, which were the Reward of what they had hitherto done, as ſhall appear hereafter. Though their Propoſals were extravagant and inſolent, yet the Commander *Balleſter*, the next day writ to the Admiral, extolling *Caravajal*'s moving Diſcourſe, and ſaying, That ſince it was not of force to remove thoſe People from their wicked Deſign, nothing leſs then granting them what they demanded would prevail, for he found them ſo reſolute, that he looked upon it as moſt certain, that moſt of the People that were with his Lordſhip would go over to the Rebels. And tho' he might rely on his Servants and Men of Honour, yet they would not be able to withſtand ſuch a number, many daily reſorting to them, which the Admiral already knew by Experience; for when *Roldan* was near *S. Domingo*, he muſter'd all that were fit to bear Arms, if it were requiſite, and obſerv'd, that ſome feigning themſelves ſick, and ſome Lame, he had not found above 70 Men, of which there were not 40 that he could Confide in. For which reaſon, the next day, being the 17th of *October* 1498. the aforeſaid *Roldan*, and the Chief of his Followers, who would have gone to the Admiral, ſent him a Letter Subſcribed by them, telling him, they had withdrawn from the Lieutenant to ſave their Lives, he having a deſign to deſtroy them; and that they being his Lordſhips Servants, whoſe coming they had expected, as of one, that would look upon what they had done complying with their Duty, as good Service, they had hindred their People from

The Rebels reject the Admirals offers.

Columbus.

from doing harm to any that belong'd to his Lordſhip, as they might eaſily have done. But that ſince he was come, and was ſo far from thinking, that he inſiſted upon taking Revenge, and doing them harm, that they might with Honour do what they had undertaken, and be at liberty to do it, they took leave of him and his Service. Before this Letter was delivered to the Admiral, he had ſent *Roldan* an Anſwer. *Caravajal*, whom he ſent to him, telling him what Confidence he always repos'd in him, and what a good account he had given his Catholick Majeſty of them, adding, that he did not write to him for fear of ſome inconveniency, if his Letter ſhould be ſeen by the common ſort, which might redound to his Diſadvantage, and therefore inſtead of Hand and Seal, he had ſent that Perſon to him, in whom he knew how much he Confided, and might regard what he ſaid, as if it were under his Seal, which was the Commander *Balleſter*, and therefore he might conſider what was proper to be done, and he ſhould find him moſt ready to comply. On the 18th of *October*, he ordered five Ships to depart from *Spain*, ſending their Catholick Majeſties by them, a moſt particular Account of Affairs, and ſaying, he had kept thoſe Ships till then, believing that *Roldan* and his Men would have gone away in them, as they had given out at firſt; and that the other three he kept with him, were fitting out for his Brother to go in them to purſue the diſcovery of the Continent of *Paria*, and take Order about the Fiſhery and Trade for Pearls, a Sample whereof he ſent them by *Arogial*.

CHAP. LXXX.

How Francis Roldan *went to Treat with the Admiral, but came to no Agreement with him.*

Roldan having received the Admiral's Letter, anſwered the third day, ſeeming to incline to do all he order'd him, but his Men not allowing him to go to Treat without a Safe-Conduct, he deſir'd him to ſend one, drawn up according to thoſe Heads he ſent under his Hand, and ſign'd by the Chief Men about him. This Safe-Conduct was immediately ſent him by the Admiral on the 26th of *October*, and *Roldan* having received it, ſoon came, but rather with a Deſign to draw ſome Body over to him, than to conclude any thing, as appeared by his impudent Propoſals. Thus he return'd without concluding any thing, ſaying, He would give his Company an Account of Matters, and write word what they reſolv'd on. And that there might be ſome Body from the Admiral to Treat and Sign what was agreed on, the Admiral's Steward went with him, his Name was *Salamanca*. After much talk, *Roldan* ſent Articles of Agreement for the Admiral to ſubſcribe, telling him, That was all he could obtain of his People, and if his Lordſhip thought fit to grant it, he ſhould ſend his Aſſent to the *Conception*; for at *Bonao* they had no longer Proviſions to ſubſiſt on, and they would expect his Anſwer till the next Monday. The Admiral having read their Anſwer and Propoſals, and conſidering what diſhonourable Things they demanded, would not grant them, leaſt he ſhould bring himſelf, his Brothers, and Juſtice it ſelf into Contempt. But that they might have no Cauſe to complain, or ſay he was too ſtiff in this Affair, he ordered a general Pardon to be Proclaim'd, and to be 30 Days upon the Gates of the Fort, the purport whereof was as follows:

A general Pardon.

'THat for as much as during his Abſence in *Spain*, ſome Difference 'had happened between the Lieutenant, and the Chief Juſtice *Roldan*, 'and other Perſons, who had fled with 'him, notwithſtanding any thing that 'had hapned, they might all in general, 'and every one in particular, ſafely 'come to ſerve their Catholick Majeſties, as if no Difference had ever 'been, and that whoſoever would go 'into *Spain* ſhould have his Paſſage, and 'an Order to receive his Pay, as was 'uſual with others, provided they preſented themſelves before the Admiral 'within 30 days, to receive the benefit 'of this Pardon, proteſting that in caſe 'they did not appear within the time 'limited, they ſhould be proceeded a-'gainſt according to Courſe of Law.

This Pardon, ſubſcrib'd by himſelf, he ſent to *Roldan* by *Caravajal*, giving him in Writing, the Reaſons why he could

Columbus. neither could nor ought to grant the Articles sent by him, and putting him in mind what they ought to do, if they aim'd at their Majesties Service. *Caravajal* went to the Rebels at the *Conception*, where they were very haughty and proud, laughing at the Admirals Pardon, and saying, He should soon have occasion to ask one of them. All this hapned in the space of three Weeks, during which time, under colour of apprehending a Man *Rildan* would Execute, they kept the Commander *Ballester* besieged in the Fort, and cut off his Water, believing the want of it would oblige him to Surrender; but upon *Caravajal*'s arrival, they rais'd the Siege, and after many Alterations made on both sides, came to the following Conclusion.

CHAP. LXXXI.

The Agreement made between the Admiral, and Roldan *with his Rebels.*

THe Articles Sign'd and Agreed to by *Francis Roldan*, and his Company, in order to their return to *Spain*, are as follows:

Articles of Agreement.

'I. THat the Lord Admiral give him two good Ships, and in good Order, according to the Judgment of able Seamen, to be delivered to him at the Port of *Xaragua*, because most of his Followers were there; and because there is no other Port more commodious to provide and prepare Victualling and other Necessaries, where the said *Roldan* and his Company shall Embark, and Sail for *Spain*, if so God please.

II. 'That his Lordship shall give an Order for the Payment of the Salaries due to them all till that day, and Letters of Recommendation to their Catholick Majesties, that they may cause them to be paid.

III. 'That he shall give them Slaves for the Service they have done in the Island, and their Sufferings, and certifie the said Gift: And because some of them have Women Big with Child, or Deliver'd; if they carry them away, they shall pass instead of such Slaves they were to have; and the Children shall be free, and they may take them along with them.

IV. 'His Lordship shall put into the aforesaid Ships all the Provisions requisite for that Voyage, as has been given to others before; and because he could not furnish them with Bread, the Judge and his Company have leave to provide in the Country, and that they have 30 Hundred weight of Bisket allow'd them, or for want of it 30 Sacks of Corn; to the end, that if the *Carabi*, or *Indian* Bread should spoil, as might easily happen, they may subsist upon the aforesaid Bisket or Corn.

V. 'That his Lordship shall give a Safe-Conduct for such Persons as shall come to receive the Orders for their Pay.

VI. 'For as much, as some Goods, belonging to several Persons, who are with *Roldan*, have been seiz'd, his Lordship shall order Restitution to be made.

VII. 'That his Lordship shall write a Letter to their Catholick Majesties, acquainting them, That the said *Roldan*'s Swine remain in the Island, for the Inhabitants Provision, being 120 great ones and 230 small, praying their Highness to allow him the Price for them they would have bore in the Island; the which Swine were taken from him in *February* 1498.

VIII. 'That his Lordship shall give the said *Roldan* full Authority to Sell some Goods he has, which he must part with to go away, or to do with them as he pleases, or leave them for his own use with whom he thinks fit to make the best of them.

IX. 'That his Lordship will order the Judges to give speedy judgment concerning the Horse.

X. 'That if his Lordships shall find the Demands of *Salamanca* to be just, he shall write to the said Judge to cause him to be paid.

XI. 'That his Lordship shall be Discours'd concerning the Captains Slaves.

XII. 'That for as much as the said *Roldan* and his Company mistrust, That his Lordship, or some other Person by his Order, may offer them some Violence with the other Ships that are in the Island, he shall therefore grant them a Pass or Safe-Conduct, promising in their Majesties Name, and upon his own Faith, and the Word of a Gentleman, as is us'd in *Spain*, that neither his Lordship, nor any other Person shall offend them, or obstruct their Voyage.

Having

Columbus

Having Examin'd this Agreement made by *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal* and *James de Salamanca*, with *Francis Roldan* and his Company, this day being Wedneſday the 21th of *November* 1498. I am content it be fully Obſerv'd, upon Condition, That the ſaid *Francis Roldan*, nor any of his Followers, in whoſe Name he Subſcribed and Ratified the Articles by him delivered to the aforeſaid *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal* and *James de Salamanca*, ſhall not receive into their Company any other Chriſtian of the Iſland, of any State or Condition whatſoever.

I *Francis Roldan*, Judge, Do Promiſe and Engage my Faith and Word for my Self, and all thoſe with me, That the Articles above-mentioned ſhall be obſerv'd and fulfill'd, without any Fraud, but faithfully, as is here ſet down, his Lordſhip performing all that has been agreed on between *Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *James de Salamanca*, and my ſelf, as is in the written Articles.

I. 'THat from the Day of the Date 'hereof, till the Anſwer be 'brought, for which Ten Days ſhall be 'allow'd, I will admit no Perſon what-'ſoever of thoſe that are with the Lord 'Admiral.

II. 'That within 50 days after the 'ſaid Anſwer ſhall be delivered to me 'here in the *Conception*, ſign'd and ſeal'd 'by his Lordſhip, which ſhall be with-'in the Ten Days before-mentioned, we 'will Embark and ſet Sail for *Spain*.

III. 'That none of the Slaves freely 'granted us, ſhall be carried away by 'force.

IV. 'That whereas the Admiral will 'not be at the Port where we are to 'Embark, the Perſon, or Perſons his 'Lordſhip ſhall ſend thither, be ho-'nour'd and reſpected as their Majeſties 'and his Lordſhips Officers, to whom 'ſhall be given an Account of all we 'put aboard the Ships, that they may 'enter it, and do as his Lordſhip ſhall 'think fit; as alſo to deliver to them 'ſuch things as we have in our Hands 'belonging to their Majeſties. All the 'aforeſaid Articles are to be Subſcrib'd 'and perform'd by his Lordſhip, as '*Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal*, and *James* 'de Salamanca, have them in Writing; 'the Anſwer whereof I expect here at 'the *Conception* for eight days to come; 'and if it be not then brought, I ſhall 'not be obliged to any thing here men-'tion'd.

In Teſtimony whereof, and that I and my Company may Obſerve and Perform what I have ſaid, I have Subſcribed this Writing, given at the *Conception*, on the 16th of *November* 1498.

CHAP. LXXXII.

How after the Agreement concluded, the Rebels went away to Xaragua, *ſaying, They would Embark on the Two Ships ſent them by the Admiral.*

THings being adjuſted as above, *Carvajal* and *Salamanca* return'd to *S. Domingo* to the Admiral, and at their Requeſt, on the 21th of *November*, he Subſcribed the aforeſaid Articles brought by them, and granted a new Safe-Conduct or Leave to all thoſe that would not go to *Spain* with *Roldan*, promiſing them Pay, or the Liberty of Planters, as they liked beſt, and for others to come freely to manage their Affairs. Theſe, the Caſtellan *Balleſter* delivered to *Roldan* and his Company at the *Conception* on the 24th of *November*, and they having receiv'd them, went away toward *Xaragua*, to prepare for their departure, as was afterwards known. And tho' the Admiral was ſenſible of their Villany, and much concern'd that the good Service his Brother might have done in continuing the Diſcovery of the Continent of *Paria*, and ſettling the Pearl Fiſhery and Trade, was obſtructed by giving them thoſe Ships, yet he would not give the Rebels occaſion to blame him, ſaying, He had refus'd them their Paſſage. He began therefore preſently to fit out the Ships as had been agreed, tho' the Equipment was ſomewhat retarded for want of Neceſſaries. To Supply which defect, and that no time might be loſt, he order'd *Carvajal*, to go over by Land to provide and diſpoſe all things for the departure of the Rebels, whilſt the Ships came about, giving him ample Commiſſion for it, reſolving himſelf to go ſoon to *Iſabella*, to ſettle Affairs there, leaving his Brother *James* at *S. Domingo*, to look to that Place. After his departure, about the end of *January*, the two Caravals, furniſh'd with all Neceſſaries for the Voyage, ſet out to take up the Rebels

Columbus. Rebels, but a great Storm rising by the way, they were forced to put into another Port till the end of *March*; and because the Caraval *Ninna*, one of the two, was in the worst Condition, and requir'd most Repairs, the Admiral sent Orders to *Peter de Arana* and *Francis de Garai*, to repair to *Xaragua* with another, called *Santa Cruz*, or the *Holy Cross*, aboard which *Carvajal* went, and not by Land. He was 11 days by the way, and found the other Caraval waiting for him.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

How the Rebels altered their Resolution of going to Spain, *and came to a new Agreement with the Admiral.*

IN the mean while, the Caravals not coming, and most of *Roldan*'s Men having no Mind to Embark, they took that delay for a pretence to stay, blameing the Admiral, as if he had not dispatch'd them as soon as he might; whereof he being inform'd, writ to *Roldan* and *Adrian*, persuading them in Friendly manner to perform the Agreement, and not fall into Disobedience. Besides *Carvajal*, who was with them at *Xaragua*, on the 20th of *April*, enter'd his Protestation before a Notary, called *Francis de Garai*, afterwards Governor of *Panuco*, and of *Jamaica*, requiring them, since the Admiral had sent the Ships, to accept of them, and Embark according to Articles. And because they would not, on the 25th of *April*, he ordered the Ships to return to *S. Domingo*, because they were destroyed by the Worms, and the Men suffered much for want of Provisions. The Rebels were no way concern'd, but rather rejoyc'd and grew haughty, seeing such account was made of them, and were so far from acknowledging the Admiral's Civility, that they laid it to his Charge in Writing, that it was through his Fault they staid, saying, He had a Mind to be reveng'd on them, and had therefore delayed the sending of the Caravals, which were in such ill case, that it was impossible they should go in them to *Spain*, and that tho' they had been never so good, their Provisions were spent expecting them, and they could not get more under a long while; for which reason they had resolved to expect redress from their Majesties. *Carvajal* returned with this Answer by Land to *S. Domingo*, to whom at the time of his departure, *Roldan* said, He would willingly go wait on the Admiral, to endeavour for such an Accommodation, as might please all Parties, provided he would send him his Safe-Conduct. *Carvajal* sent the Admiral Word of it from *S. Domingo*, on the 15th of *May*, who answered on the 21th, commending him for the Pains he took, and sent the Safe-Conduct he requir'd, with a short Letter to *Roldan*, tho' very pithy, persuading him to Peace, Submission, and their Majesties Service; which he afterwards repeated at *S. Domingo* more at large on the 29th of *June*; And on the 3d of *August*, six or seven of the Chief Men about the Admiral, sent *Roldan* another Safe-Conduct, that he might come to Treat with his Lordship. But the distance being great, and the Admiral having occasion to visit the Country, he resolved to go with two Caravals to the Port of *Azua* in the same Island *Hispaniola*, West of *S. Domingo*, to be the nearer the Province where the Rebels were, many of whom came to the said Port; and the Admiral arriving there about the end of *August* with his Ships, conferr'd with the Chief of them, exhorting them to desist from their ill Course, and promising them all possible Favour and Kindness, which they promised to do, provided the Admiral granted them Four Things: *viz.*

The Rebels refuse to go to Spain.

I. 'That he should send fifteen of 'them to *Spain* in the first Ships that 'went.

II. 'That to those that remain'd, he 'should give Land and Houses for their 'Pay.

III. 'That Proclamation should be 'made, that all what had happened was 'caus'd by false Suggestions, and through 'the Fault of ill Men.

IV. 'That the Admiral shall a-new 'appoint *Roldan* perpetual Judge.

New Articles agreed on.

This being concluded among them, *Roldan* return'd ashore from the Admiral's Caraval, and sent his Companions the Articles, which were so much to their Mind, and so unreasonable, that they concluded, saying, In case the Admiral fail'd in any part, it should be Lawful for them by force, or any other means, to oblige him to Performance.

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Columbus. The Admiral being eager to conclude this difficult matter, which had laſted above two years; and conſidering his Adverſaries continued more obſtinate than ever, and that many of thoſe, who were with him, had a mind to joyn Companies, and Conſpire together to go to other Parts of the Iſland, as *Roldan* had done; he reſolv'd to ſign the Articles whatſoever they were, *viz.* To grant *Roldan* a Patent for perpetual Judge, and the other Three above-mentioned Particulars, beſides all they had ſent in Writing, a Copy whereof was inſerted above. On Tueſday following, being the 5th of *November*, *Roldan* to Exerciſe his Office, and accordingly, it being a part of his Grant, he conſtituted *Peter Riquelme* Judge of *Bonao*, with Power to Impriſon Offenders in Criminal Caſes, but that he ſhould ſend Criminals upon Life and Death, to be Tried by him at the Fort of the *Conception*. The Subſtitute being no Honeſter than his Maſter, he preſently went about to build a ſtrong Houſe at *Bonao*, had not *Peter de Arana*, forbid him, becauſe he plainly perceiv'd it was contrary to the reſpect due to the Admiral.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

How Ojeda *returning from his Diſcovery, Excited new Troubles in* Hiſpaniola.

TO return to the Courſe of our Hiſtory, the Admiral having adjuſted Matters with *Roldan*, appointed a Captain with ſome Men to march about the Iſland to pacifie it, and reduce the *Indians* to Pay the Tribute, and be always in a readineſs, that upon the leaſt Mutiny among the Chriſtians, and Sign of Rebellion among the *Indians*, he might Suppreſs and Puniſh them, which he did with a Deſign to go himſelf over to *Spain*, and carry with him his Brother the Lieutenant, becauſe it would be difficult if he were left behind, to forget old Grudges. As he was preparing for his Voyage, *Alonſo de Ojeda*, who had been Diſcovering with four Ships, arriv'd in the Iſland. And for as much, as this ſort of Men Sail about to make their Fortune, on the fifth of *September* he put into the Port the Chriſtians called *Braſil*, and the *Indians*, *Yaquimo*, deſigning to take what he could from the *Indians*, and load with Wood and Slaves. Whilſt he was thus employ'd, he did all the harm he could, and to ſhow he was a Limb of the Biſhop we have mention'd, endeavoured to raiſe another Mutiny, gave out, that Queen *Iſabel*, or *Elizabeth*, was ready to Die; and as ſoon as ſhe was Dead, there would be no Body left to ſupport the Admiral, and that he as a faithful Servant to the ſaid Biſhop, might do what he pleas'd againſt the Admiral, becauſe of the Enmity there was between them. Upon theſe Grounds he began to write to ſome that were not very ſound, after the late Troubles, and to hold Correſpondence with them. But *Roldan* being inform'd of his Proceedings and Deſigns, by the Admirals Order, went againſt him with 21 Men, to prevent him doing the harm he intended: Being come within a League and a half of him on the 29th of *September*, he underſtood he was with 15 Men at a *Caciques*, whoſe Name was *Haniguaaba*, making Bread and Bisket, and therefore he travelled that Night to Surprize him. *Ojeda* underſtanding that *Roldan* was coming upon him, and being too weak to oppoſe him, to make the beſt of a bad Caſe, went to meet him, ſaying, Want of Proviſions had brought him thither, to ſupply himſelf in the King his Maſter's Dominions, without deſigning any harm. And giving him an Account of his Voyage, ſaid, He had been Diſcovering 600 Leagues Weſtward along the Coaſt of *Paria*, where he found People that fought the Chriſtians even hand, and had wounded 20 of his Men, for which reaſon he could make no Advantage of the Wealth of the Country, where he ſaid he had ſeen Deer and Rabbets, and Tygers Skins and Paws, and *Gaanini*'s, all which he ſhow'd *Roldan* aboard the Caravals, ſaying, He would ſoon repair to *S. Domingo* to give the Admiral an Account of all. He at this time was much troubled, becauſe *Peter de Arana* had ſignified to him, That *Riquelme*, Judge of *Bonao*, for *Roldan*, under colour of Building a Houſe for his Herds, had made choice of a ſtrong Rock, that he might from thence, with a few Men, do all the harm he thought fit; that he had forbid him: Whereupon *Riquelme* had drawn up a Proceſs, atteſted by Witneſſes againſt him, and ſent it to the Admiral, complaining that *Arana* uſed Violence towards him, and praying relief, that no diſ-

New Articles agreed on.

Roldan riſes againſt Ojeda.

diſorder might happen among them. Hereupon, tho' the Admiral knew that Man was not of a quiet Diſpoſition, yet he thought fit to conceal his Jealouſie, yet ſo as to be on his Guard, being of Opinion it was enough to provide againſt *Ojeda*'s open Intruſion, without taking notice of that which might tolerably be conniv'd at. *Ojeda* holding his wicked purpoſe, and taking leave of *Roldan* in *February* 1500. went away with his Ships to *Xaragua*, where a great many of thoſe lived, who had before Rebell'd with *Roldan*. And becauſe Avarice is the moſt beneficial and ready way to promote any Miſchief, he began to give out among thoſe People, that their Catholick Majeſties had appointed him and *Carvajal* the Admiral's Councellors, that they might not ſuffer him to do any thing, which they did not think was for their Majeſties Service; and that among many other things they had ordered him to do, one was, That he ſhould immediately pay in ready Money, all thoſe that were in the Iſland in their Service; and ſince the Admiral was not ſo juſt as to do it, he was ready to go along with them to *S. Domingo*, to oblige him to Pay them out of hand; and that done, if they thought fit to turn him out of the Iſland, dead or alive; for they ought not to rely on the Agreement made, or the Word he had given them, for he would keep it no longer than neceſſity oblig'd him to it. Upon theſe Promiſes, many reſolv'd to follow him, and therefore being aſſiſted by them, he one Night fell upon others who oppos'd him, and there were ſome killed and wounded on both ſides. And being ſatisfied, That *Roldan*, who was return'd to the Admiral's Service, would not joyn with them, they reſolv'd to Surprize and make him Priſoner; but he being inform'd of their Deſign, went well attended where *Ojeda* was, to put a ſtop to his Diſorders, or Puniſh him, as he ſhould find Expedient. *Ojeda* for fear of him, retir'd to his Ships, and *Roldan* continuing aſhore, they treated about a Conference, each of them fearing to put himſelf into the Power of the other. *Roldan* perceiving that *Ojeda* was unwilling to come aſhore, he offered to go Treat with him aboard; to which purpoſe he ſent to ask his Boat, which he ſent him well mann'd, and having taken in *Roldan* with ſix or ſeven of his Followers, when they leaſt ſuſpected it, *Roldan* and his People on a ſudden fell upon *Ojeda*'s Men, with their naked Swords, and killing ſome, and wounding others, made themſelves Maſters of the Boat, returning with it to Land, *Ojeda* having only a ſmall Skiff left him, in which he reſolv'd to come peaceably to Treat with *Roldan*. Having made ſome Excuſe for his Offences, he agreed to reſtore ſome Men he had taken by force, that his Boat and Men might be return'd him, alledging, if it were not reſtor'd, it would be the Ruin of them all and their Ships, becauſe he had no other fit to ſerve them. *Roldan* readily granted it, that he might have no cauſe to complain, or ſay, he was loſt through his Means; yet making him Promiſe, and give Security that he would depart the Iſland by a time appointed, as he was obliged to do, by the good Guard *Roldan* kept aſhore. But as it is a hard matter to root out Cockle ſo that it may not Sprout up again, ſo is it no leſs difficult for People that have got a habit of doing ill to forbear relapſing into their Crimes, as happened to ſome of the Rebels a few days after *Ojeda* was gone. For one *D. Ferdinand de Guevara*, being in Diſgrace with the Admiral, as a Seditious Perſon, and having taken part with *Ojeda*, in Hatred to *Roldan*, becauſe he would not permit him to take to Wife the Daughter of *Canua*, the principal Queen of *Xaragua*, began to gather many Conſpirators to ſecure *Roldan*, and ſucceed him in the ill things he had done. Particularly he gain'd to his Party, one *Adrian de Moxica*, a chief Man among the late Rebels, and to other wicked Men, who about the middle of *July* 1500. had contriv'd to ſecure, or Murder *Roldan*. He having Intelligence of the Deſign, ſtood upon his Guard, and ordered his Buſineſs ſo well, that he ſeiz'd the aforeſaid *D. Ferdinand*, *Adrian*, and the chief Men of their Party, and ſending the Admiral an Account of what had happen'd, ask'd, What his Pleaſure was he ſhould do with them? The Anſwer was, That ſince they had endeavour'd without any Provocation to diſturb the Country, (and if they were not puniſh'd every thing muſt run to ruin) he ſhould puniſh them according to their Demerits, and as the Law directed. The Judge did it accordingly, and proceeding legally againſt them, hang'd *Adrian* as chief Author of the Conſpiracy, Baniſh'd others, and kept *D. Ferdinand* in Priſon, till on the 13th of *June*, he delivered him, with other Priſoners, to *Gonſalo Blanco*, to carry them to *la Vega*, that is, *the Plain*, where the Admiral then was. This Example quieted the Country, and the *Indians*

Ojeda ſtirs up the People to Rebellion.

Ojeda forced away.

Another Rebellion ſuppreſs'd.

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dians again ſubmitted themſelves to the Chriſtians. Such rich Gold Mines were diſcovered, that every Man left the King's Pay, and went away to live upon his own Account, applying himſelf to dig Gold at his own Expence, allowing the King the third part of all they found. This proſpered ſo well, That a Man has gathered five Marks, (a Mark is eight Ounces) of Gold in a Day, and a Grain of pure Gold has been taken up worth above 196 Ducats; and the *Indians* were Submiſſive, dreading the Admiral, and ſo deſirous to pleaſe him, that they readily became Chriſtians only to oblige him. When any of the Chief of them was to appear before him, he endeavour'd to be Clad; and therefore to ſettle all things the better, the Admiral reſolv'd to take a progreſs through the Iſland; and accordingly, he and his Brother, and Lieutenant, ſet out on Wedneſday the 20th of *February* 1499. and came to *Iſabella* on the 19th of *March*. From *Iſabella* they ſet out the 5th of *April* for the *Conception*, and came thither the Tueſday following. The Lieutenant went thence for *Xaragua* upon Friday the 7th of *June*. On *Chriſtmas* Day following, which was in the year 1499. being forſaken by all the World, the *Indians* and Rebel Chriſtians fell upon me, and I was reduced to ſuch Diſtreſs, that to avoid Death, leaving all behind me, I put to Sea in a little Caraval. But our Lord preſently reliev'd me, ſaying, Thou Man of little Faith, fear not, I am with you: And ſo he diſperſed my Enemies, and ſhow'd how he could fulfil my Promiſes: Unhappy Sinner that I am, who placed all my Hopes on the World. From the *Conception*, the Admiral deſign'd to go to *S. Domingo* on the 3d of *February* in order to make ready to return into *Spain* to give their Catholick Majeſties an Account of all Things.

CHAP. LXXXV.

How their Catholick Majeſties, upon falſe Informations, and malicious Complaints of ſome Perſons, ſent a Judge to take Cognizance of Affairs.

Complaints againſt the Admiral.

WHilſt theſe Diſorders hapned as has been ſaid, many of the Rebels by Letters ſent from *Hiſpaniola*, and others that were return'd into *Spain*, did not ceaſe to give in falſe Informations to the King, and his Council, againſt the Admiral and his Brothers, ſaying, They were Cruel, and unfit for that Government, as well becauſe they were Strangers and Aliens, as becauſe they had not formerly been in a Condition to learn by Experience, how to govern People of Condition, affirming, That if their Highneſſes did not apply ſome Remedy, thoſe Countries would be utterly deſtroy'd; and in caſe they were not quite ruin'd by their ill Government, the Admiral would Revolt, and joyn in League with ſome Prince to ſupport him, he pretending that all was his own, as having been Diſcovered by his Induſtry and Labour; and that the better to compaſs his Deſign, he concealed the Wealth of the Country, and would not have the *Indians* ſerve the Chriſtians, nor be Converted to the Faith, becauſe by making much of them he hoped they would be of his ſide, to do what he pleas'd againſt their Highneſſes. They proceeding in theſe and ſuch like Slanders, importun'd their Catholick Majeſties, ever talking ill of the Admiral, and complaining there were ſeveral years Pay due to the Men, gave occaſion to all that were at Court to rail. So that when I was at *Granada*, at the time the moſt Serene Prince *Michael* hapned to Die, above 50 of them, like ſhameleſs Wretches, brought a Load of Grapes, and ſate down in the Court of *Alhambra*, (a Caſtle and Palace) crying out, That their Highneſſes and the Admiral made them live ſo miſerably by not paying them, with many other ſcandalous Expreſſions. And their Impudence was ſo great, that if the Catholick King went abroad, they all got about him, crying, Pay, Pay. And if it hapned that my Brother, or I, who were Pages to her Majeſty, paſs'd by where they were, they cried out in a hideous manner, making the Sign of the Croſs, and ſaying, There are the Admiral of the *Moſquito*'s Sons; he that has found out falſe and deceitful Countries, to be the Ruin and Burial Place of the *Spaniſh* Gentry; adding many more ſuch Inſolencies, which made us cautious of appearing before them, their Complaints running ſo high, and their conſtant importunity with the King's Favourites, it was reſolv'd to ſend a Judge to *Hiſpaniola*, to enquire into all theſe Affairs, ordering

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dering him in case he found the Admiral guilty of what was alledg'd, to send him to *Spain*, and stay there himself as Governor. The Person their Majesties made choice of for this purpose, was one *Francis de Bovadilla*, a poor Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*; who, on the 21th of *May* 1499. had full and ample Commission given him at *Madrid*, and Blank Letters, Subscrib'd by their Majesties, to such Persons as he should think fit in *Hispaniola*, commanding them to be Aiding and Assisting to him. Thus furnished, he arrived at *S. Domingo* at the latter end of *August* 1500. at such time as the Admiral was at the *Conception*, setling the Affairs of that Province, where his Brother had been assaulted by the Rebels, and where there were more *Indians*, and those, more Understanding People than in the rest of the Island. So that *Bovadilla* at his arrival finding no Body to keep him in Awe, the first thing he did was to take up his Quarters in the Admiral's Palace, and Seize, and make use of all he found there, as if it had fallen to him by Inheritance; and gathering together all he could find that had been in Rebellion, and many others that Hated the Admiral and his Brothers, he presently declar'd himself Governor. And to gain the Affections of the People, he caus'd a general Freedom to be proclaim'd for 20 years to come; requiring the Admiral to repair to him without any delay, because it was convenient for his Majesties Service he should do so. And to back his Summons on the 7th of *September*, sent him the King's Letter by *F. John de la Sera*, which was to this effect.

Bovadilla the Judge in Hispaniola.

To D. Christopher Columbus, *our Admiral of the Ocean.*

WE *have Ordered the Commendary* Francis de Bovadilla, *the Bearer, to acquaint you with some Things from us: Therefore we Desire you to give him entire Credit, and to Obey him.* Given at *Madrid*, the 21th of *May* 1499.

By Command of I the King.
their Highnesses, I the Queen.
Mich. Perez de Almazan.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

How the Admiral was Apprehended and sent to Spain *in Irons, together with his Brothers.*

THe Admiral having seen their Majesties Letter, came away presently to *S. Domingo*, where the aforesaid Judge was, who being eager to remain Governor there, at the beginning of *October* 1500. without any delay, or legal Information, sent him Prisoner aboard a Ship, together with his Brother *James*, putting them in Irons, and a good Guard over them, and ordered upon severe Penalties, that none should dare to speak for them. After this, (by *Abington* Law) he began to draw up a Process against them, admitting the Rebels his Enemies as witnesses, and publickly favouring all that came to speak ill of them, who in their Depositions gave in such Villanies and Incoherencies, that he must have been Blind that had not plainly perceiv'd, they were False and Malicious. For which reason, their Catholick Majesties would not admit of them, and cleared the Admiral, repenting that they had sent such a Man in that Employment; and not without good cause, for this *Bovadilla* ruin'd the Island, and squander'd the King's Revenues, that all Men might be his Friends, saying, Their Majesties would have nothing but the Honour of the Dominion, and that the Profit should be for their Subjects. Yet he neglected not his own Share, but siding with the richest and powerfullest Men, gave them *Indians* to serve them, upon Condition they should share with him all they got by their means, and sold by Auction the Possessions and Rights the Admiral had acquir'd for their Majesties, saying, They were no Labourers, nor did not desire to make a Profit of those Lands, but only kept them for the Benefit of their Subjects. He thus Selling all things under this colour, endeavoured on the other side that they should be Bought by some of his own Companions, for one third of the value. Besides all this, He made no other use of his Judicial Power but to Enrich himself, and gain the Affections of the People, being still afraid least the Lieutenant, who was not yet come from *Xaragua*, should put a stop to his Proceedings, and endeavour to set the Admiral at liberty by force of Arms; in which particular, the Brothers behav'd themselves very prudently, for the

The Practices of Bovadilla.

Admiral

Columbus. Admiral ſent them word immediately, that they ſhould come peaceably to him, the Kings Service ſo requiring, that the Iſland might not be put into an uproar; for when they were in *Spain* they ſhould more eaſily obtain the Puniſhment of ſuch a ſenſeleſs Perſon, and Satisfaction for the wrong done them. Yet this did not divert *Bovadilla* from putting him and his Brothers into Irons, allowing the baſer ſort to Rail at them publickly, blowing Horns about the Port where they were Ship'd, beſides many ſcandalous Libels ſet up at corners of Streets againſt them; ſo that tho' he was inform'd that one *James Ortiz*, Governor of the Hoſpital, had writ a Libel and read it publickly in the Market-Place, he was ſo far from puniſhing of him, that he ſeem'd to be very well pleas'd, which made every one endeavour to ſhow himſelf in this ſort. And perhaps for fear the Admiral ſhould Swim back, he took Care when they were to Sail, to deſire *Andrew Martin* the Maſter of the Ship, to look to him, and to deliver him in Irons as he was, to the Biſhop *D. John de Fonſeca*, by whoſe Advice and Direction it was concluded he did all theſe Things; tho' when they were at Sea, the Maſter being ſenſible of *Bovadilla*'s Unworthineſs, would have knock'd off the Admiral's Irons, which he would never permit, ſaying, That ſince their Catholick Majeſties, by their Letter directed him to perform whatſoever *Bovadilla* did in their Name Command him to do, in Virtue of which Authority and Commiſſion he had put him into Irons, he would have none but their Highneſſes themſelves to do their Pleaſure herein; and he was reſolv'd to keep thoſe Fetters as Relicks, and a Memorial of the Reward of his many Services, as accordingly he did; for I always ſaw thoſe Irons in his Room, which he ordered to be Buried with his Body; notwithſtanding, that he having on the 20th of *November* 1500. writ to their Majeſties acquainting them with his arrival at *Cadiz*, they underſtanding the Condition he came in, immediately gave Orders that he ſhould be releas'd, and ſent him very gracious Letters, ſaying, They were very ſorry for his Sufferings, and the unmannerly Behaviour of *Bovadilla* towards him, ordering him to go to Court, where Care ſhould be taken about his Affairs, and he ſhould be ſhortly diſpatch'd with full Reſtitution of his Honour. Nevertheleſs, I cannot but blame their Catholick Majeſties, who choſe for that Imployment a baſe and ignorant Man; for had he been a Man, who knew the Duty of his Office, the Admiral himſelf would have been glad of his coming; ſince he by Letter had deſired that one might be ſent, to take true Information of the Perverſeneſs of thoſe People, and of the Crimes they committed, that they might be puniſh'd by another hand, he being unwilling to uſe that Severity which an impartial Perſon would have done, becauſe the original of thoſe Tumults had been againſt his Brother. And tho' it may be urg'd, That tho' their Majeſties had ſuch bad Accounts of the Admiral, yet they ought not to ſend *Bovadilla* with ſo many Letters, and ſuch Power, without limitting the Commiſſion they gave him. It may be anſwer'd in their behalf, That it was no wonder they did ſo, becauſe the Complaints againſt the Admiral were very many, as has been ſaid above.

The Admiral diſcharg'd.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

How the Admiral went to Court to give their Catholick Majeſties an Account of himſelf.

AS ſoon as their Majeſties heard of the Admiral's coming, and being in Irons, they ſent Orders on the 12th of *December* for him to be ſet at liberty, and writ to him to repair to *Granada*, where he was received by their Highneſſes with a favourable Aſpect, and kind Words, telling him, His Impriſonment had not been by their Deſire or Command, and therefore they were much offended at it, and they would take Care thoſe that were in fault ſhould be puniſh'd, and full Satisfaction given him. Having ſpoke theſe and ſuch like gracious Words, they ordered his Buſineſs ſhould be immediately gone upon, the Reſult whereof was, That a Governour ſhould be ſent to *Hiſpaniola*, who was to right the Admiral and his Brothers, and *Bovadilla* ſhould be oblig'd to reſtore all he had taken from them; and that the Admiral ſhould be allow'd all that belong'd to him, according to the Articles their Highneſſes had granted him; and that the

The Admiral well receiv'd at Court.

Columbus. the Rebels ſhould be proceeded againſt and puniſh'd according to their Offences. *Nicholas de Obando*, Commandary of Laws, was ſent with this Power; he was a wiſe and judicious Man, but as afterwards, appear'd Partial, craftily concealing his Paſſions, giving Credit to his own Surmiſes, and malicious Perſons; and therefore acting cruelly and revengefully, as appears by the Death of the 80 Kings we have ſpoke of before. But to return to the Admiral; as their Majeſties were pleas'd to ſend *Obando* to *Hiſpaniola*, ſo they thought it proper to ſend the Admiral upon ſome Voyage that might turn to his Advantage, and keep him employ'd till the ſaid *Obando* could pacifie and reduce the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, becauſe they did not like to keep him ſo long out of his right, without any juſt occaſion, the Information ſent by *Bovadilla*, plainly appearing to be full of Malice, and not containing any thing whereby he might forfeit his Right. But there being ſome delay in the Execution of this Deſign, it being now the month of *October* 1500. and Ill Men endeavoured to prevail that a new Information might be expected, the Admiral reſolved to ſpeak to their Majeſties, and beg of them that they would defend him againſt all Dangers, which he afterwards repeated by Letter. This they promiſ'd him by Letter, when the Admiral was ready to ſet out upon his Voyage; the Words of it are to this effect:

'And be aſſured that your Impriſonment was very diſpleaſing to 'us, which you were ſenſible of, and all 'Men plainly ſaw, becauſe as ſoon as we 'heard of it, we applied the proper 'Remedies. And you know with how 'much Honour and Reſpect we have always ordered you to be treated, which 'we now direct ſhould be done, and that 'you receive all worthy and noble Uſage, 'promiſing that the Privileges and Prerogatives by us granted you ſhall be 'preſerv'd in ample manner, according to the Tenor of our Letters Patents, which you and your Children 'ſhall Enjoy without any Contradiction, 'as is due in reaſon: And if it be requiſite to Ratifie them a-new, we will 'do it, and will Order that your Son 'be put into Poſſeſſion of all, for we deſire to Honour and Favour you in 'greater Matters than theſe. And be 'ſatisfied we will take the due Care of 'your Sons and Brothers, which ſhall 'be done when you are departed; for 'the Employment ſhall be given to your 'Son, as has been ſaid. We therefore 'pray you not to delay your departure. *Given at* Valentia de la Torre, *on the 14th of* March 1502.

This their Majeſties writ, becauſe the Admiral had reſolv'd not to trouble himſelf any more with the Affairs of the *Indies*, but to Eaſe himſelf upon my Brother, wherein he was in the Right; for he ſaid, that, if the Services he had already done, were not ſufficient to deſerve to have thoſe villainous People puniſh'd, all he could do for the future would never obtain it, ſince he had already perform'd the main thing he undertook before he diſcover'd the *Indies*, which was to ſhow that there was a Continent and Iſlands Weſtward, that the way was eaſie and navigable, the advantage viſible, and the People gentle and unarm'd. All which, ſince he had verified himſelf in Perſon, there now remained nothing but for their Highneſſes to purſue what was begun, ſending People to diſcover the Secrets of thoſe Countries, for now the Gate was open'd, any one might follow the Coaſt, as ſome did already, who improperly call themſelves Diſcoverers; not conſidering they have not Diſcovered any new Country, but that for the future they purſue the firſt Diſcovery, the Admiral having ſhown them the Iſlands and Province of *Paria*, which was the firſt Land of the Continent diſcover'd. Yet the Admiral having always had a great Inclination to ſerve their Catholick Majeſties, and particularly the Queen, he was content to return to his Ships, and undertake the Voyage we ſhall ſpeak of; for he was convinced there would daily be found out great Wealth, as he writ to their Highneſſes the year 1499. ſpeaking of the Diſcovery in this manner. It is not to be diſcontinued, for to ſay the truth, becauſe one time or other ſomething material will be found. A has ſince appeared by *New* [illegible] *Peru*, though at that time, [illegible] uſually happens to moſt Men, no [illegible] gave Credit to what he ſaid, and yet he ſaid nothing but what proved true, as their Catholick Majeſties teſtifie in a Letter of theirs writ at *Barcelona* on the 5th of *September* 1498.

CHAP.

Columbus

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

How the Admiral went from Granada *to* Seville, *to fit out a Fleet for another Diſcovery.*

THE Admiral having been well diſpatch'd by their Catholick Majeſties, ſet out from *Granada* for *Seville* in the year 1501. and being there ſo earneſtly ſolicited the fitting out his Squadron, that in a ſmall time he had Rigg'd and provided four Ships, the biggeſt of 70. the leaſt of 50 Tun Burthen, and 140 Men and Boys, of which number I was one.

The Admiral ſets out.

We ſet Sail from *Cadiz* on the 9th of *May* 1502. and ſailed to *S. Catharine*'s, whence we parted on Wedneſday the 11th of the ſame month, and went to *Arzilla* to relieve the *Portugueſes*, who were reported to be in great Diſtreſs, but when we came thither, the *Moores* had raiſed the Siege. The Admiral therefore ſent his Brother, *D. Bartholomew Columbus*, and me, with the Captains of the Ships aſhore, to viſit the Governor of *Arzilla*, who had been wounded by the *Moores* in an Aſſault. He return'd the Admiral Thanks for the Viſit and his Offers, and to this purpoſe ſent ſome Gentlemen to him, among whom ſome were Relations to *Donna Philippa Moniz*, the Admiral's Wife in *Portugal*. The ſame day we ſet Sail, and arriving at *Gran Canaria*, on the 20th of *May*, caſt Anchor among the little Iſlands; and on the 24th, went over to *Maſpalomas* in the ſame Iſland, there to take in Wood and Water for our Voyage. The next Night we ſet out for the *Indies*, and it pleas'd God the Wind was ſo fair, that without handing the Sails, on Wedneſday the 15th of *June*, we arrived at the Iſland *Matinino* with a rough Sea and Wind. There, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe that Sail from *Spain* to the *Indies*, the Admiral took in freſh Wood and Water, and made the Men waſh their Linen, ſtaying till Saturday; when we ſtood to the Weſtward and came to *Dominica*, ten Leagues from the other. So running along among the *Caribbee* Iſlands, we came to *Santa Cruz*; and on the 24th of the ſame month, ran along the South-ſide of the Iſland of *S. John*. Thence we took the way for *S. Domingo*, the Admiral having a mind to Exchange one of his Ships for another, becauſe it was a bad Sailor; and beſides, could carry no Sail, but the ſide would lie almoſt under Water, which was a hindrance to his Voyage, becauſe his deſign was to have gone directly upon the Coaſt of *Paria*, and keep along that ſhore, till he came upon the Streight, which he certainly concluded was about *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*. But ſeeing the Fault of the Ship, he was forced to repair to *S. Domingo* to change it for a better.

He foreſees a great Storm & is refus'd Admittance in Hiſpaniola.

And to the end, the Commendary *Lores* ſent by their Majeſties to call *Bovadilla* to an Account for his Male-Adminiſtration, might not be ſurpriz'd at our unexpected arrival, upon Wedneſday the 29th of *June*, being near the Port, the Admiral ſent *Peter de Terreros*, Captain of one of the Ships to him, to ſignifie what occaſion he had to change that Ship; for which reaſon, as alſo becauſe he apprehended a great Storm was coming, he deſired to ſecure himſelf in that Port, adviſing him not to let the Fleet Sail out of the Port for eight days to come; for if he did it would be in great danger. But the aforeſaid Governor would not admit the Admiral to come into the Harbour, nor did he hinder the going out of the Fleet that was bound for *Spain*, which conſiſted of 18 Sail, and was to carry *Bovadilla*, who had Impriſon'd the Admiral and his Brothers, *Francis Roldan*, and all the reſt, who had been in Rebellion againſt them, and done them ſo much harm, all whom it pleaſed God to infatuate, that they might not admit of the Admiral's good Advice. And I am ſatisfied it was the hand of God; for had they arriv'd in *Spain*, they had never been puniſh'd as their Crimes deſerv'd; but rather been favoured and preferred, as being the Biſhop's Friends. This was prevented by their ſetting out of that Port for *Spain*; for no ſooner were they come to the Eaſt Point of the Iſland *Hiſpaniola*, but there aroſe ſo terrible a Storm, that the Admiral of the Fleet ſunk, in which was *Bovadilla*, with moſt of the Rebels, and made ſuch havock among the reſt, that of 18 Ships, only three or four were ſaved. This hapned upon Thurſday the laſt of *June*, when the Admiral having foreſeen the Storm, and being refuſed admittance into the Port, for his Security drew up as cloſe to the Land as he could, thus ſheltering himſelf, not without much diſſa-

Columbus.

dissatisfaction among his Men, who for being with him were denied that Reception, which had been allow'd to Strangers, much more to them that were of the same Nation, for they fear'd they might be so serv'd, if any Misfortune should befal them for the future. And tho' the Admiral was concern'd on the same Account, yet it more vex'd him to behold the Baseness and Ingratitude us'd towards him in that Country he had given to the Honour and Benefit of *Spain*, being refused to shelter his life in it. Yet his Prudence and Judgment secured his Ships, till the next day the Tempest increasing, and the Night coming on very dark, three Ships broke from him every one its own way: The Men aboard each of them, tho' all of them in great danger, concluded the others were lost; but they that suffered most were those aboard the Ship, called *Santo*, who to save their Boat, which had been ashore with the Captain *Terreros*, dragg'd it a-stern, where it over-set, and were at last forced to let it go to save themselves. But the Caraval *Bermuda* was in much more danger, which running out to Sea, was almost covered with it, by which it appeared the Admiral had reason to endeavour to change it, and all Men concluded, that under God, the Admiral's Brother was the saving of her, by his Wisdom and Resolution; for as has been said above, there was not at that time a more expert Sailor than he. So that after they had all suffered very much, except the Admiral, it pleased God they met again upon Sunday following in the Port of *Azua* on the South-side of *Hispaniola*, where every one giving an Account of his Misfortunes, it appeared that *Bartholomew Columbus* had weather'd so great a Storm, by flying from Land like an able Sailor; and that the Admiral was out of Danger by lying close to the Shore like a cunning Astrologer, who knew whence the Danger must come. Well might his Enemies blame him therefore, saying, He had rais'd that Storm by Art Magick, to be Reveng'd on *Bovadilla*, and the rest of his Enemies that were with him, seeing that none of his four Ships perish'd; and that of 18 which set out with *Bovadilla*, only one called *la Aguja*, or *The Needle*, the worst of them all, held on its Course for *Spain*, where it arrived safe, having on Board 4000 Peso's in Gold, worth eight Shillings a Peso, belonging to the Admiral, the other three that escap'd, returning to *S. Domingo* shatter'd, and in a distressed Condition.

All his Ships Lost.

14 Lound for Spain cast away.

CHAP. LXXXIX.

How the Admiral departed from Hispaniola, *and discovered the Islands of* Guanaia.

THe Admiral in the Port of *Azua*, gave his Men a Breathing time after the Storm; and it being one of the Diversions used at Sea, to Fish, when there is nothing else to do, I will mention two sorts of Fish among the rest, which I remember were taken there; the one of them was pleasant, the other wonderful. The first was a Fish called *Saavina*, as big as half an ordinary Bell, which lying a-sleep above Water, was struck with a Harping-Iron from the Boat of the Ship *Bisceina*, and held so fast that it could not break loose; but being tied with a long Rope to the Boat, drew it after it, as swift as an Arrow; so that those aboard the Ship, seeing the Boat scud about, and not knowing the occasion, were astonished it should do so without the help of the Oars, till at last the Fish sunk, and being drawn to the Ships side, was there hall'd up with the Tackle. The other Fish was taken after another manner, the *Indians* call it *Manati*, and there are none of the sort in *Europe*: It is as big as a Calf, nothing differing from it in the colour and taste of the Flesh, but that perhaps it is better and fatter; wherefore those that affirm there are all sorts of Creatures in the Sea, will have it, that these Fishes are real Calves, since within they have nothing like a Fish, and feed only on the Grass they find along the Banks. To return to our History; the Admiral having a little refreshed his Men, and repaired his Ships, left Port *Azua*, and went to that of *Brasil*, which the *Indians* call *Giacchemo*, to shun another Storm that was coming. Hence he sailed again on the 14th of *July*, and was so Becalm'd, that instead of holding on his Course, the Current carried him away to certain Islands near *Jamaica*, which are very small and sandy, and he called them, *Los Poros*, or *The Wells*, because not find-

2 Strange Fishes.

ing

Columbus.

ing Water in them, they dug many Pits in the Sand, and took up that Water for their uſe. Then ſailing Southward for the Continent, we came to certain Iſlands, where we went aſhore upon the biggeſt only, called *Guanaia*, whence thoſe that make Sea-Charts, took occaſion to call all thoſe Iſlands of *Guanaia*, which are almoſt 12 Leagues from the Continent, near the Province now call'd *Honduras*, tho' then the Admiral called it Cape *Caſinas*. But theſe Men making ſuch Charts without having ſeen the World, they commit vaſt Miſtakes; which ſince it now comes in my way, I will here ſet down, tho' it interrupts the Courſe of our Hiſtory. Theſe ſame Iſlands and Continent are by them twice ſet down in their Charts, as if they were different Countries; and whereas Cape *Gracias a Dios*, and that they call Cape ..... are but one and the ſame, they make two of it. The occaſion of this miſtake, was, That after the Admiral had diſcovered theſe Countries, one *John Diaz de Solis*, from whom the River *de la Plata*, that is, of Silver or Plate, was called *Rio de Solis*, becauſe he was there killed by the *Indians*, and one *Vincent Yanez*, who commanded a Ship the firſt Voyage, when the Admiral diſcover'd the *Indies*, ſet out together to diſcover in the year 1508. deſigning to follow along that Coaſt the Admiral had diſcovered in his Voyage from *Veragua* Weſtward; and he following almoſt the ſame Track, they put into the Coaſt of *Cariai*, and paſſed by Cape *Gracias a Dios*, as far as Cape *Caſinas*, which they called *Honduras*, and the aforeſaid Iſlands they called *Guanajas* giving the Name of the biggeſt to them all. Thence they proceeded on further, without owning the Admiral had been in any of thoſe Parts, that the Diſcovery might be attributed to them, and to have it believ'd they had found large Countries; notwithſtanding that, *Peter de Ledeſma*, one of their Pilots, who had been before with the Admiral in his Voyage to *Veragua*, told them, He knew that Country, and that he had been there with the Admiral Diſcovering it, from whom I afterwards had this. But the Nature of the Charts plainly demonſtrates it, for the ſame thing is twice ſet down, and the Iſland is in the ſame Shape, and at the ſame Diſtance, they having at their return brought a true Draught of that Country, only ſaying, it lay beyond that which the Admiral had diſcover'd. So that the ſame Country is twice deſcrib'd in one Chart; which, if it pleaſe God, time will make appear, when that Coaſt is better known; for they will find but one Country of that ſort, as has been ſaid. But to return to our Diſcovery, being come to the Iſland of *Guanaia*, the Admiral ordered his Brother *Bartholomew Columbus* to go aſhore with two Boats, where they found People like thoſe of the other Iſlands, but not of ſuch high Foreheads. They alſo ſaw abundance of Pine-Trees, and pieces of *Lapis Calaminaris*, us'd to mix with Copper, which ſome Seaman taking for Gold, kept hid a long time.

Great Inhabitants of Guanaia.

The Admiral's Brother being aſhore in that Iſland, very deſirous to know ſomething of it, fortune ſo order'd it, that a Canoo, as long as a Galley, and eight foot wide, all of one Tree, and like the others in ſhape, put in there, being loaded with Commodities brought from the Weſtward, and Bound towards *New Spain*. In the midſt of it was a covering like an Awning made of Palm-Tree Leaves, not unlike thoſe of the *Venetian Gondola's*, which kept all under it ſo cloſe, that neither Rain nor Sea-Water could wet the Goods. Under this Awning were the Children, the Women, and all the Goods, and tho' there were 25 Men aboard this Canoo, they had not the Courage to defend themſelves againſt the Boats that purſued them. The Canoo being thus taken without any Oppoſition, was carried aboard, where the Admiral Bleſſed God, for that it had pleaſed him at once to give him Samples of the Commodities of that Country, without expoſing his Men to any danger. He therefore ordered ſuch things to be taken, as he judg'd moſt ſightly and valuable; ſuch as ſome Quilts, and Shirts of Cotton, without Sleeves, curiouſly wrought and dy'd of ſeveral Colours, and ſome ſmall Clouts to cover their Privities, of the ſame ſort; and large Sheets in which the *Indian* Women aboard the Canoo wrapp'd themſelves, as the Mooriſh Women at *Granada* uſe to do; and long Wooden Swords with a Channel on each ſide, where the edge ſhould be, in which there were ſharp edges of Flint fix'd with Thread, and a bituminous ſort of matter, which cut naked Men, as if they were of Steel, and Hatchets to cut Wood like thoſe of Stone the other *Indians* uſe, but that theſe were made of good Copper; alſo Bells of the ſame Metal, Plates, and Crucibles to Melt the Metal. For their Proviſion, they had ſuch Roots and Grain

A Canoo diſcover'd.

What Goods they had.

Columbus. Grain as they in *Hiſpaniola* Eat, and a ſort of Liquor made of *Maiz*, like the Engliſh Beer; and abundance of *Cacao* Nuts, which in *New Spain* paſs for Money; which they ſeemed to value very much; for when they were brought aboard among their other Goods, I obſerved that when any of theſe Nuts fell, they all ſtoop'd to take it up, as if it had been a thing of great conſequence: Yet at that time they ſeem'd to be in a manner beſides themſelves, being brought Priſoners out of their Canoo aboard the Ship, among ſuch ſtrange and fierce People, as we are to them; but ſo prevalent is Avarice in Man, that we ought not to wonder, that it ſhould prevail upon the *Indians* above the apprehenſion of the danger they were in. I muſt add, *Modeſty of the Indians.* That we ought to admire their Modeſty, for it falling out, that in getting them aboard, ſome were taken by the Clouts they had before their Privities, they would immediately clap their Hands to cover them, and the Women would hide their Faces, and wrap themſelves up as we ſaid the Mooriſh Women do at *Granada*. This mov'd the Admiral to uſe them well, to reſtore their Canoo, and give them ſome Things in Exchange for thoſe that had been taken from them. Nor did he keep any one of them but an old Man, whoſe Name was *Giumbe*, that ſeemed to be the wiſeſt and chief of them, to learn ſomething of him concerning the Country, and that he might draw others to Converſe with the Chriſtians, which he did very readily and faithfully all the while we ſail'd where his Language was underſtood. Therefore, as a Reward for this his Service, when we came where he was not underſtood, the Admiral gave him ſome Things, and ſent him home very well pleaſed, which was before he came to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, on the Coaſt of *Orecchia*, whereof mention has been made already.

CHAP. XC.

How the Admiral would not go to New Spain, *but Sail to the Eaſtward to find out the Streight in the Continent.*

NOtwithſtanding the Admiral had heard ſo much from thoſe in the Canoo, concerning the great Wealth, Politeneſs, and Ingenuity of the People Weſtward towards *New Spain*; yet thinking that thoſe Countries lying to the Leeward, he could Sail thither when he thought fit from *Cuba*, he would not go that way at this time, but held on his Deſign of diſcovering the Streight in the Continent, to clear a way into the *South Sea*, which was what he aim'd at in order to come at the Countries that produce Spice, and therefore reſolv'd to ſail Eaſtward towards *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, where he imagin'd the ſaid Streight to be, as in effect it was; yet was he deceiv'd in the matter; for he did not conceit it to be an *Iſthmus*, or narrow neck of Land, but a ſmall Gulph running from Sea to Sea. Which miſtake might proceed from the likeneſs of the Names, for when they ſaid the Streight was at *Veragua* and *Nombre de Dios*, it might be underſtood either of Land or Water; and he took it in the moſt uſual Senſe, and for that he moſt earneſtly deſir'd. And yet tho' that Streight is Land, yet it was, and is, the way to the Dominion of both Seas, and by which ſuch immenſe Riches have been diſcovered and conveyed; for it was God's Will, a matter of ſuch vaſt concern ſhould not be otherwiſe found out, that *Canoo* having given the firſt Information concerning *New Spain*.

The Admiral ſails Eaſtward. There being nothing therefore in thoſe Iſland of *Guanaia* worth taking notice of, he without further delay ſail'd in order to ſeek out the Streight towards the Continent, to a Point he called *Caſinas*, becauſe there were abundance of Trees that bear a ſort of Fruit that is rough, as a ſpungy Bone, and is good to Eat, eſpecially Boil'd, which Fruit the *Indians* of *Hiſpaniola* call *Caſinas*. There appearing nothing worth taking notice of all about that Country, the Admiral would not loſe time to go into a great Bay the Land makes there, but held on his Courſe Eaſtwards along that Coaſt, which runs along the ſame way to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, and is very low and open. The People neareſt to Cape *Caſinas*, wear thoſe painted Shirts or Jerkins before-mentioned, and Clouts before their Privities, which were like Coats of Mail made of Cotton ſtrong enough to defend them againſt their Weapons, and even to bear off the ſtroke of ſome of ours.

But

Columbus. But the People higher Eaſtward towards Cape *Gracias a Dios*, are almoſt black, of a fierce Aſpect, goes ſtark Naked, is very Savage, and as the *Indian* that was taken, ſaid, Eats Man's Fleſh, and raw Fiſh juſt as it is taken. They have their Ears bor'd with ſuch large holes, that they may put a Hens Egg into them, which made the Admiral call that Coaſt *de las Orejas*, or *of the Ears*. There on Sunday the 14th of *Auguſt* 1502. *Bartholomew Columbus* went aſhore in the Morning with the Colours, the Captains, and many of the Men, to hear Maſs; and on Wedneſday following, when the Boats went aſhore to take poſſeſſion of the Country for their Catholick Majeſties, above 100 Men ran down to the ſhore, loaded with Proviſions; who as ſoon as the Boats came aſhore came before the Lieutenant, and on a ſudden retir'd back without ſpeaking a word. He ordered they ſhould give them Horſe-Bells, Beads, and other Things; and by means of the aforeſaid Interpreter, inquir'd concerning the Country, tho' he having been but a ſhort time with us, did not underſtand the Chriſtians, by reaſon of the diſtance of his Country from *Hiſpaniola*, where ſeveral Perſons aboard the Ships had learnt the *Indian* Language. Nor did he underſtand thoſe *Indians*; but they being pleas'd with what had been given them, came the next day to the ſame Place, above 200 of them loaded with ſeveral ſorts of Proviſions, as Hens of that Country, which are better than ours, Geeſe, roaſted Fiſh, red and white Beans, like Kidney Beans, and other Things like thoſe they have in *Hiſpaniola*. The Country was green and beautiful; tho' low, producing abundance of Pines, Oaks, Palm-Trees of ſeven ſorts, and *Mirobalans* of thoſe in *Hiſpaniola* they call *Hobi*, and almoſt all ſorts of Proviſions that Iſland affords were here to be found. Abundance of Leopards, Deer, and others, as alſo all ſorts of Fiſh there are in the Illands and in *Spain*. The People of this Country are much like thoſe of the Iſlands, but that their Foreheads are not ſo high, nor do they ſeem to have any Religion. There are ſeveral Languages among them, and for the moſt part they go Naked, but cover their Privities. Some wear ſhort Jumps down to their Navel without Sleeves. Their Arms and Bodies have Figures wrought on them with Fire, which make them look oddly; and ſome have Lions, others Deer, and others Caſtles with Towers, or other Things painted on their Bodies. Inſtead of Caps, the better ſort of them wear red and white Cloths of Cotton; and ſome have Locks of Hair hanging on their Foreheads. But when they are to be fine againſt a Feſtival Day, they colour their Faces, ſome black, and ſome red; others draw ſtreaks of ſeveral Colours; others Paint their Noſe, and others black their Eyes; and thus they adorn themſelves to appear beautiful, whereas in truth they look like Devils.

CHAP. XCI.

How the Admiral left the Coaſt he called de las Orejas, *and by Cape* Gracias a Dios *came to* Cariari, *and what he did and ſaw there.*

THE Admiral ſailed along the ſaid Coaſt *de las Orejas* Eaſtward to Cape *Gracias a Dios*, which was ſo call'd, becauſe there being but 60 Leagues to it from Cape *Caſinas*, we laboured 70 days by reaſon of the Currents and contrary Winds upon the Tack to gain it, ſtanding out to Sea, and then making the ſhore, ſometimes gaining and ſometimes loſing ground, as the Wind was ſcant or large when we came about. And had not the Coaſt afforded ſuch good Anchoring we had been much longer upon it; but being clear, and having two fathom Water half a League from the ſhore, and two more at every Leagues diſtance; we had always the conveniency of Anchoring at Night when there was but little Wind, ſo that the Courſe was Navigable by reaſon of the good Anchoring, but with difficulty.

When on the 14th of *September* we came up to the Cape, perceiving the Land turn'd off to the South, and that we could conveniently continue our Voyage with thoſe *Levant* Winds that reign'd there, and had been ſo contrary to us, we all in general gave Thanks to God, for which reaſon the Admiral called this Cape *Gracias a Dios*. A little beyond it, we paſs'd by ſome dangerous Sands that ran out to Sea, as far as the Eye could reach. *Cape Gracias a Dios.*

It being requiſite to take in Wood and Water; on the 16th of *September*, the Admiral ſent the Boats to a River that ſeem'd

Cottonius.

ſeem'd to be deep, and to have a good entrance, but the coming out proved not ſo; for the Winds freſhing from Sea, and the Waves running high againſt the current of the River, ſo diſtreſs'd the Boats, that one of them was loſt with all the Men in it, wherefore the Admiral called it the River *de la Deſgratia*, that is, of the Diſaſter.

In this River and about it, there were Canes as thick as a Man's Leg; and on Sunday the 25th of *September*, ſtill running Southward, we came to an Anchor near a little Iſland called *Quiriviri*, and a Town on the Continent, the Name whereof was *Cariari*, where were the beſt People, Country, and Situation, we had yet ſeen, as well becauſe it was high, full of Rivers, and abounding in Trees, as becauſe the Iſland was thick Wooded, and full of Foreſts of Palm, Mirobalan, and other ſorts of Trees. For this reaſon, the Admiral called it *Hucite*. It is a ſmall League from the Town the *Indians* call *Cariari*, which is near a great River, whether reſorted a great multitude of People from the adjacent Parts, ſome with Bows and Arrows, others with Staves of Palm-Tree, as black as a Coal, and hard as a Horn, pointed with the Bones of Fiſhes, others with Clubs; and they came together as if they meant to defend their Country. The Men had their Hair braided and wound about their Heads; the Women ſhort like ours. But perceiving we were peaceable People, they were very deſirous to Barter their Commodities for ours, theirs were Arms, Cotton-Jerkins, and large pieces like Sheets, and *Guanini*'s, which is pale Gold, they wear about their Necks, as we do Relicks. Theſe things they Swam with to the Boats, for the Chriſtians went not aſhore that day nor the next; nor would the Admiral allow any thing of theirs to be taken, that we might not be taken for Men that valued their Goods, but gave them ſome of ours. The leſs they ſaw us value the Exchange, the more eager they were, making abundance of Signs from Land. At laſt, perceiving no Body went aſhore, they took all the things that had been given them, without reſerving any, and tying them together, left them in the ſame place where the Boats firſt went aſhore, and where our Men found them on the Wedneſday following when they landed. The *Indians* about this place, believing, that the *Chriſtians* did not Confide in them, they ſent an Ancient Man of an awful Preſence with a Flag upon a Staff, and two Girls, the one about 8, the other about 14 years of Age, who putting them into the Boat, made Signs that the Chriſtians might ſafely Land. Upon their Requeſt, they went aſhore to take in Water, the *Indians* taking great care not to do any thing that might fright the Chriſtians, and when they ſaw them return to their Ships, they made Signs to them to take along with them the young Girls with their *Guanini*'s about their Necks, and at the Requeſt of the old Man that conducted them, they complied and carried them aboard. Wherein thoſe People ſhow'd more friendly than others had done; and in the Girls appear'd an undauntedneſs, for tho' the Chriſtians were ſuch Strangers to them, they expreſs no manner of concern, but always look'd pleaſant and modeſt, which made the Admiral Treat them well, Cloathed, Fed, and ſet them aſhore again, where the 50 Men were, and the old Man that had delivered them received them again with much ſatisfaction. The Boats going aſhore again that ſame day, found the ſame People with the Girls, who reſtor'd all the Chriſtians had given them. The next day the Admiral's Brother going aſhore to learn ſomething of thoſe People, two of the chief Men came to the Boat, and taking him by the Arms between them, made him ſit down upon the Graſs; and he asking ſome Queſtions of them, ordered the Secretary to write down what they anſwered; but they ſeeing, the Pen, Ink, and Paper, were in ſuch a Conſternation, that moſt of them ran away; which, as was believed, they did for fear of being Bewitch'd, for to us they ſeem'd to be Sorcerers, or Superſtitious People, and that not without reaſon; becauſe, when they came near the Chriſtians, they ſcatter'd ſome Powder about them in the Air, and burning ſome of the ſame Powder endeavour'd to make the Smoak go towards the Chriſtians; beſides, their refuſing to keep any thing that belong'd to us, ſhow'd a Jealouſie; for, as they ſay, *A Knave thinks every Man like himſelf.* Having ſtaid here longer than was convenient, conſidering the haſt we were in, after repairing the Ships, and provided all we wanted, upon Sunday the 2d of *October*, the Admiral order'd his Brother to go aſhore with ſome Men to view that *Indian* Town, and learn ſomething of their Manners, and the Nature of the Country. The moſt remarkable things they ſaw were, in a great Wooden Palace

Indians of Cariari civiliz'd.

Columbus. lace covered with Canes, ſeveral Tombs, in one of which there was a Dead Body dry'd up and Embalm'd; in another, two Bodies, wrapp'd up in Cotton-Sheets without any ill Scent; and over each Tomb, was a Board with the Figures of Beaſts carv'd on it; and on ſome of them, the Effigies of the Perſon buried there, adorn'd with *Guanini's*, Beads, and other Things they moſt value. Theſe being the moſt civiliz'd *Indians* in thoſe Parts, the Admiral order'd one to be taken, to learn of him the Secrets of the Country; and of Seven that were taken, two of the chiefeſt were pick'd out, and the reſt ſent away with ſome Gifts, and Civil Entertainment, that the Country might not be left in an uproar, telling them, they were to ſerve as Guides upon that Coaſt, and then be ſet at liberty. But they believing they were taken out of Covetouſneſs, that they might Ranſom themſelves with their Goods and Things of value, the next day abundance of them came down to the Shore, and ſent four aboard the Admiral, as their Ambaſſadors, to Treat about the Ranſom, offering ſome Things, and freely giving two Hogs of the Country, which tho' ſmall, are very wild. The Admiral therefore obſerving the Policy of this People, was more deſirous to be acquainted with them, and would not depart till he had learnt ſomething of them, but would not give Ear to their Offers. He therefore ordered ſome Trifles to be given to the Meſſengers, that they might not go away diſ- Indian *Swine, and a fierce wild Cat.* ſatisfied, and that they ſhould be paid for their Hogs, one of which was Hunted after this manner. Among other Creatures that Country produces, there is a kind of Cats of a greyiſh colour, and as big as a ſmall Greyhound, but have a longer Tail, and ſo ſtrong, that whatſoever they clap it about is as it were tied with a Rope. Theſe run about the Trees like the Squirrels, leaping from one to another; and when they leap, they do not only hold faſt with their Claws, but with their Tail too, by which they often hang, either to reſt them, or ſport. It hapned that one *Balleſter* brought one of theſe Cats out of a Wood, having knock'd him off a Tree, and not daring to meddle with it when down, becauſe of its fierceneſs, he cut off one of his fore Legs, and carrying it ſo wounded aboard, it freighted a good Dog they had; but put one of the Hogs they had brought us into a much greater fear; for as ſoon as the Swine ſaw the Cat it ran away, with ſigns of much dread, which we were ſurpriz'd at; becauſe before this hapned, the Hog ran at every Body, and would not let the Dog reſt upon the Deck. The Admiral therefore ordered it to be put cloſe to the Cat, which preſently wound her Tail about its Snout, and with that fore-Leg it had left, faſtned on its Pole to Bite it, the Hog for fear grunting moſt violently. By this we perceiv'd that theſe Cats hunt like the Wolves or Dogs in *Spain*.

CHAP. XCII.

How the Admiral went from Cariari, *to* Caravaro *and* Veragua, *till he came to* Portovelo, *all along a very fruitful Coaſt.*

City of Caravaro. UPon Wedneſday the 5th of *October*, the Admiral ſail'd, and came to the Bay of *Caravaro*, which is 6 Leagues in length, and above 3 in breadth, where there are many ſmall Iſlands and 2 or 3 Channels to get in or out at any time. Within theſe Iſlands the Ships ſail as it were in Streets between Iſlands, the Leaves of the Trees ſtriking againſt the Shrouds. As ſoon as we Anchor'd in this Bay, the Boats went to one of the Iſlands, where there were 20 Canoes upon the Shore, and the People by, as Naked as they were Born, and had only a Gold Plate about their Neck, and ſome an Eagle of Gold. Theſe, without ſhowing any tokens of fear, the two *Indians* of *Cariari* interpreting, gave a Gold Plate for three Horſe-Bells; it weigh'd ten Ducats, and they ſaid there was great plenty of that Metal up the Continent not far from them.

The next day being the 7th of *October*, the Boats went aſhore upon the Continent, where meeting ten Canoes full of People, and they refuſing to Chaffer away their Gold Plates, two of the chief of them were taken, that the Admiral might learn ſomething of them with the aſſiſtance of two Interpreters. The Gold Plate one of them wore weigh'd 14 Ducats, and the others Eagle 22. Theſe ſaid, that a day or two's Journey up the Country, there was abundance of *Product of the Country.* Gold

Columbus. Gold found in ſome Places which they named. In the Bay a vaſt deal of Fiſh was taken, and aſhore there were abundance of thoſe Creatures above-mention'd at *Cariari*; alſo great plenty of their Food, ſuch as Roots, Grain, and Fruit. The Men, who are Painted all over Face and Body of ſeveral Colours, as red, black and white, go naked, only covering their Privities with a narrow Cotton Cloth.

Aburena. From this Bay of *Caravaro*, we went to another cloſe by it, called *Aburena*, which in ſome meaſure is like the other.

On the 17th we put out to Sea to continue our Voyage; and being come to *Guaiga*, a River 12 Leagues from *Aburena*, the Admiral commanded the Boats to go aſhore, which as they were doing, they ſaw above 100 *Indians* on the Strand, who aſſaulted them furiouſly, running up to the middle into the Water, brandiſhing their Spears, blowing Horns, and beating a Drum in Warlike manner, to defend their Country, throwing the Salt Water towards the Chriſtians, chewing Herbs and ſpurting it towards them. Our Men not ſtirring endeavoured to appeaſe them, as they did, for at laſt they drew near to Exchange the Gold Plates they had about their Necks, ſome for 2, and ſome for 3 Horſe Bells, by which means we got 16 Gold Plates, with 150 Ducats. The next day being Friday the 19th of *October*, the Boats went to Land again to Barter; yet before any Chriſtian went aſhore, they called to ſome *Indians*, who were under ſome Bowers they had made that Night to defend their Country, fearing the Chriſtians would Land to do them ſome wrong. Tho' they called never ſo much, yet none of them would come, nor would the Chriſtians Land without knowing firſt what mind they were in; for, as afterwards appear'd they waited in order to fall on them as ſoon as they landed. But perceiving they came not out of the Boats, they blew their Horns, beat the Drum, and making a great noiſe, ran into the Water as they had done the day before, till they came almoſt to the Boats, making ſigns as if they would caſt their Javelins if they did not return to the Ships. The Chriſtians offended at this their proceeding, that they might not be ſo bold, and deſpiſe them, wounded one with an Arrow in the Arm, and fir'd a Cannon, at which they were ſo frighted, that all ran away to Land. Then four Chriſtians landed, and calling them back, they came very peaceably, leaving their Arms behind them, and exchang'd three Gold Plates, ſaying, They had no more, becauſe they came not provided for to Trade, but to Fight.

All the Admiral look'd for in this Journey, was to get Samples of what thoſe Parts afforded; and therefore without further delay, he proceeded to *Catiba*, and caſt Anchor in the Mouth of a great River. The People of the Country were ſeen to gather, calling one another with Horns and Drums; and afterwards ſent a Canoe with two Men in it to the Ships, who having talk'd with the *Indians* that were taken at *Cariari*, preſently came aboard the Admiral without any Apprehenſion of Fear; and by the Advice of thoſe *Indians* gave the Admiral two Plates of Gold they had about their Necks, and he in return gave them ſome Baubles of ours. When theſe were gone aſhore, there came another Canoe with three Men wearing Plates hanging at their Necks, who did as the firſt had done. Amity thus ſettled, our Men went aſhore, where they found abundance of People with their King, who differ'd in nothing from the reſt, but that he was cover'd with one Leaf of a Tree, becauſe at that time it rain'd hard; and to give his Subjects a good Example, he exchang'd a Plate, and bid them Barter for theirs, which in all were 19 of pure Gold. This was the firſt Place in the *Indies* where they ſaw any ſign of a Structure, which was a great Maſs of Wall, or Imagery, that to them ſeem'd to be of Lime and Stone; the Admiral ordered a piece of it to be brought away as a Memorial of that Antiquity. Catiba.

He went away Eaſtward, and came to *Cobravo*, the People of which Place lie near the Rivers of that Coaſt, and becauſe none came down to the Strand, and the Wind blew freſh, he held on his Courſe, and went on to five Towns of great Trade, among which was *Veragua*, where the *Indians* ſaid the Gold was gathered and the Plates made.

The next day he came to a Town, called *Cubiga*, where the *Indians* of *Cariari* ſaid, the Trading Country ended, which began at *Carabora*, and ran as far as *Cubiga*, for 50 Leagues along the Coaſt.

The Admiral, without making any ſtay, went on till he put into *Porto Bello*, giving it that Name, becauſe it is large, beautiful, well-peopled, and encompaſs'd by a well cultivated Country. He entred this Place on the 2d of *November*, paſſing Porto Bello.

Columbus. passing between two ſmall Iſlands, within which the Ships may lie cloſe to the Shore, and turn it out if they have occaſion. The Country about that Harbour higher up, is not very rough, but Till'd and full of Houſes, a Stones throw or a Bow ſhot one from the other; and it looks like the fineſt Landskip a Man can imagine. During ſeven Days we continued there on account of the Rain and Ill Weather, there came continually Canoos from all the Country about to Trade for Proviſions, and Bottoms of fine Spun Cotton, which they gave for ſome Trifles, ſuch as Points and Pins.

CHAP. XCIII.

How the Admiral came to Port Baſtimentos, *or,* Nombre de Dios, *and continu'd his Voyage till he put into* Retrete.

ON Wedneſday the 9th of *November* we ſailed out of *Porto Bello*, eight Leagues to the Eaſtward; but the next day were forced back four Leagues by ſtreſs of Weather, and put in among the Iſlands near the Continent, where is now the Town of *Nombre de Dios*; and Puerto de Baſtimentos. becauſe all thoſe ſmall Iſlands were full of Grain, he call'd it, *Puerto de Baſtimentos*, that is, the Port of Proviſions.

There a Boat well Mann'd, purſuing a Canoo, the *Indians* imagining our Men would do them ſome harm, and perceiving the Boat was within leſs than a Stones throw of them, they all threw themſelves into the Water to Swim away, as in effect they did; for tho' the Boat row'd hard, it could not in half a League the purſuit laſted, overtake any of them; or if it did happen to overtake one, he would Dive like a Duck, and come up again a Bow-ſhot or two from the place. This Chaſe was very pleaſant, ſeeing the Boat labour in vain, which at laſt returned empty.

Here we continued till the 23th of *November*, refitting the Ships, and mending our Cask; and that day we ſailed Eaſtward to a Place called *Guiga*, there being another of the ſame Name between *Veragua* and *Cerago*. The Boats going aſhore, found above 300 Perſons on it, ready to Trade for ſuch Proviſions as they have, and ſome ſmall Things of Gold they wore hanging at their Ears and Noſes.

But without making any ſtay here, on Retrete, a ſmall Port. Saturday the 24th of *November*, we put into a ſmall Port, which was called *Retrete*, that is, Retir'd Place, becauſe it could not contain above five or ſix Ships together, and the Mouth of it was not above 15 or 20 Paces over, and on both ſides of it Rocks appearing above Water as ſharp as Diamonds; and the Channel between them was ſo deep that they found no bottom, tho' if the Ships inclin'd never ſo little to either ſide, the Men might leap aſhore, which was it that ſav'd the Ships in that narrow place, which was the fault of thoſe who went in the Boats to view it, they being covetous to deal with the *Indians*, and perceiving the Ships would lie there conveniently for it, cloſe to the Shore. In this Place we continued nine days with bad Weather; and at firſt the *Indians* came very familiarly to Trade for ſuch as they had, but when they ſaw the Chriſtians ſteal privately out of their Ships, they retir'd to their Houſes, becauſe the Seamen like covetous, diſſolute Men, committed a thouſand Inſolencies; inſomuch that they provok'd the *Indians* to break the Peace, and ſome Skirmiſhes hapned between them. They increaſing daily, took Courage to come up to the Ships, which, as we ſaid, lay with their ſides cloſe to the Shore, thinking to do ſome harm, which Deſigns of theirs had turn'd to their own Detriments, had not the Admiral always endeavour'd to gain them by Patience and Civility: But at laſt, perceiving their Inſolence, to ſtrike a Terrour into them, he caus'd ſome pieces of Cannon to be fir'd, which they anſwer'd with Shouts, thraſhing the Trees with Staves, and threatening by Signs, ſhowing they did not fear the noiſe, for they thought it had been only a thundering to terrifie them. Therefore to abate their Pride, and make them not Contemn the Chriſtians, the Admiral cauſed a ſhot to be made at a Company of them that was got together upon a Hillock, and the Ball falling in the midſt of them, made them ſenſible there was a Thunderbolt as well as Thunder; ſo that for the future they durſt not appear, even behind the Mountains. The People of this Country were the propereſt they had yet ſeen among the *Indians*, for they were tall and ſpare, without any great Bellies, and well countenanced.

War with Indians.

Columbus.

Alligators.

The Country was all Plain, bearing little Graſs, and few Trees; and in the Harbour there were vaſt great *Crocodiles*, or *Alligators*, which go out to ſtay and ſleep aſhore, and ſcatter a Scent as if all the Musk in the World were together; but they are ſo ravenous and cruel, that if they find a Man ſleeping, they drag him to the Water to devour him, tho' they are fearful and cowardly when attack'd. Theſe *Alligators* are found in many other Parts of the Continent, and ſome do affirm they are the ſame as the *Crocodiles* of *Nile*.

CHAP. XCIV.

How the Admiral being drove by ſtreſs of Weather, ſtood again to Weſtward, to get Intelligence concerning the Mines, and enquire concerning Veragua.

ON Monday the 5th of *December*, the Admiral perceiving the violent Eaſt and North-Eaſt Winds did not ceaſe, and that there was no Tradeing with thoſe People, he reſolved to go back, to be ſatisfied concerning what the *Indians* ſaid of the Mines of *Veragua*, and therefore that day he return'd to *Porto Bello*, ten Leagues Weſtward; and continuing his Courſe the next day, was aſſaulted by a Weſt Wind, which was oppoſite to his new Deſign, but favourable to that he had for 3 Months paſt. But he believing this Wind would not laſt long, did not alter his Courſe, but bore up againſt the Wind for ſome days, becauſe the Weather was unſetled; and when the Weather ſeem'd a little favourable to go to *Veragua*, another Wind would ſtart up and drive him towards *Porto Bello*; and when we were moſt in hopes to get into Port, we were quite beat off again, and ſometimes with ſuch Thunder and Lightning, that the Men durſt not open their Eyes, the Ships ſeem'd to be juſt Sinking, and the Sky to come down. Sometimes the Thunder was ſo continued, that it was concluded, ſome Ship fired its Cannon to deſire Aſſiſtance. Another time there would fall ſuch Storms of Rain, that it would laſt violently for two or three days, inſomuch that it look'd like another Univerſal Deluge. This perplex'd all the Men, and made them almoſt Deſpair, ſeeing they could not get half an hours reſt, being continually wet, turning ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, ſtruggling againſt all the Elements, and dreading them all; for in ſuch dreadful Storms, they dread the Fire in flaſhes of Lightning, the Air for its fury, the Water for the terrible Waves, and the Earth for the hidden Rocks and Sands, which ſometimes a Man meets with near the Port, where he hop'd for Safety, and not knowing them, chooſes rather to contend with the other Elements in whom he has leſs ſhare.

Terrible Tempeſts for many Days.

Beſides all theſe Terrours, there occur'd another no leſs dangerous and wonderful, which was a Spout riſing from the Sea, on Tueſday the 13th of *December*, which if they had not Diſſolv'd by ſaying the Goſpel of St. *John*, it had certainly ſunk whatſoever it fell upon; for as has been ſaid, it draws the Water up to the Clouds like a Pillar, and thicker than a Butt, twiſting it about like a Whirlwind. That ſame Night we loſt ſight of the Ship called *Cano*, and had the good fortune to ſee it again after three dreadful dark days, tho' it had loſt its Boat, and been in great danger, being ſo near Land as to caſt Anchor, which it loſt at long run, being forced to cut the Cable. Now it appeared that the Currants on that Coaſt follow the Wind, running Weſtward with the Eaſt-Wind, and the contrary, the Water ſtill going after the prevailing Wind. The Ships being now almoſt ſhattered to pieces with the Tempeſt, and the Men quite ſpent with Labour, a day or two's Calm gave them ſome reſpite, and brought ſuch multitudes of Sharks about the Ships, that they were dreadful to behold, eſpecially for ſuch as are Superſtitious; becauſe, as it is reported, That Ravens at a great diſtance ſmell out Dead Bodies; ſo ſome think theſe Sharks do, which if they lay hold of a Man's Arm or Leg, cut it off, like a Razor, for they have two rows of Teeth in the nature of a Saw. Such a multitude of theſe was killed with the Hook and Chain, that being able to deſtroy no more, they lay Swimming upon the Water, and they are ſo greedy, that they do not only Bite at Carrion, but may be taken with a red Rag upon the Hook. I have ſeen a Tortoiſe taken out of the Belly of one of theſe Sharks, and it afterwards liv'd aboard the Ship; but out of another was taken the whole Head of one of his own Kind, we having cut it off and thrown it into the Water,

Multitude of Sharks.

Columbus. Water, as not good to Eat, no more than they are themſelves, and that Shark had ſwallowed it, and to us it ſeem'd contrary to reaſon, that one Creature ſhould ſwallow the Head of another of its own bigneſs, which is not to be admir'd becauſe their Mouth reaches almoſt to their Belly, and the Head is ſhaped like an Olive. Tho ſome look'd upon them to forebode miſchief, and others thought them bad Fiſh, yet we all made much of them by reaſon of the want we were in, having been now above 8 Months at Sea, ſo that we had conſum'd all the Fiſh and Fleſh brought from *Spain*; and what with the heat and moiſture of the Sea, the Bisket was ſo full of Maggots, that, as God ſhall help me, I ſaw many that ſtaid till Night to Eat the Pottage or Brewice made of it, that they might not ſee the Maggots; and others were ſo us'd to Eat them, that they did not mind to throw them away when they ſaw them, becauſe they might loſe their Supper if they were ſo very curious.

Upon Saturday the 17th, the Admiral put into a Port 3 Leagues Eaſt of *Pennon*, which the *Indians* called *Huiva*. It was like a great Bay, where we reſted 3 days, and going aſhore, ſaw the Inhabitants dwell upon the tops of Trees, like Birds, laying Sticks acroſs from Bough to Bough, and building Huts upon them, rather than Houſes. Tho' we knew not the Reaſon of this ſtrange Cuſtom, yet we gueſs'd it was done for fear of the Griffins there are in that Country, or of Enemies; for all along that Coaſt, the People at every League diſtance are great Enemies to one another.

We ſailed from this Port on the 20th with fair Weather, but not ſettled; for as ſoon as we were got out to Sea, the Tempeſt began to Rage again, and drove us into another Port, whence we departed again the third day, the Weather ſeeming ſomewhat mended, but like an Enemy that lies in wait for a Man, ruſh'd out again, and forced us to *Pennon*, where when we hop'd to put in, the Wind ſtarted up ſo contrary, that we were drove again towards *Veragua*. Being at an Anchor in the River, the Weather became again ſo Stormy, that all the favour we had from it, was, that it allowed us to get into that Port, where we had been before on Thurſday the 12th of ſame month. Here we continued from the 2d day in *Chriſtmas*, till the 3d of *January* the following year 1503. when having repair'd the Ship called *Gallega*, and taken aboard abundance of *Indian* Wheat, Water and Wood, we turn'd back towards *Veragua* with bad Weather and contrary Winds, which chang'd croſsly, juſt as the Admiral alter'd his Courſe. And this was ſo ſtrange and unheard of a thing, that I would not have repeated ſo many changes, if, beſides my being then preſent, I had not ſeen the ſame written by *James Mendez*, who ſail'd with the Canooes of *Jamaica*, whereof I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and writ an Account of this Voyage, and the Letter the Admiral ſent by him to their Catholick Majeſties, which is Printed, will inform the Reader how great our Sufferings were, and how much Fortune perſecuted him ſhe ought moſt to favour. But to return to the Changes of Weather, and of our Courſe, which put us to ſo much trouble between *Veragua* and *Porto Bello*, for which reaſon, that Coaſt was called *Coſta de Contraſſes*, that is, Coaſt of Thwartings. *Wonderful changes of Weather.*

Upon Thurſday, being the Feaſt of the *Epiphany*, we caſt Anchor near a River, which the *Indians* call *Tebra*, and the Admiral nam'd *Belem*, or *Bethlem*, becauſe we came to that Place upon the Feaſt of the three Kings. He caus'd the Mouth of that River, and of another Weſtward, to be Sounded; the latter the *Indians* call *Veragua*, where he found but ſhoal Water, and in that of *Belem*, 4 Fathom at high Water. The Boats went up this River to the Town, where, they were inform'd the Gold Mines of *Veragua* were. At firſt the *Indians* were ſo far from converſing, that they aſſembled with their Weapons, to hinder the Chriſtians landing. The next day, our Boats going to the River of *Veragua*, the *Indians* there did as the others had done, and that not only aſhore, but ſtood upon their Guard with their Canooes in the Water. But an *Indian* of that Coaſt, who underſtood them a little, going aſhore with the Chriſtians, and telling them, we were good People, and deſir'd nothing but what we paid for, they were ſomewhat pacified, and truck'd 20 Gold Plates, ſome hollow pieces like Joints of Reeds, and ſome Grains never melted; which to make their value the more they ſaid were gathered a great way off upon uncouth Mountains, and that when they gather'd it, they did not Eat, nor carry Women along with them, which ſame thing the People of *Hiſpaniola* ſaid, when it was firſt diſcovered. *Indian Policy.*

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. XCV.

How the Admiral went into the River of Belem, *and reſolv'd to Build a Town there, and leave his Brother the Lieutenant in it.*

Trade with the Indians

ON Monday the 9th of *January*, the Admirals Ship, and that called *Biſcaina*, went up the River, and the *Indians* came preſently to truck for ſuch Things as they had, particularly Fiſh, which at certain times of the year comes out of the Sea up theſe Rivers in ſuch quantities as ſeems incredible to ſuch as do not ſee it; and they exchang'd ſome little Gold for Pins, and thoſe things they moſt valued they gave for Beads or Hawks-Bells. Next day the other two Ships came in, which they had not done at firſt, becauſe there being but little Water at the Mouth of the River, they were forced to ſtay for the Flood; tho' there the Sea never riſes or falls above half a Fathom.

Veragua being fam'd for Mines and extraordinary Wealth, the third day after our arrival, the Admirals Brother went up the River with the Boats to the Town of *Quibio*, ſo the *Indians* call their King, who hearing of the Lieutenants coming, came down the River in his Canooes to meet him. They met in very friendly manner, giving one another interchangeably ſuch things as they valu'd moſt, and having diſcours'd a long time together, every one went away peaceably. Next day the ſaid *Quibio* came aboard to viſit the Admiral, and having diſcour'd together about an Hour, the Admiral gave him ſome things, and his Men truck'd Bells for ſome Gold, and ſo he return'd without any Ceremony the ſame way he came.

A dangerous ſudden Flood.

We being thus very eaſie and ſecure, on Wedneſday the 24th of *January*, the River of *Belem* ſuddenly ſwell'd ſo high, that before we could provide againſt it, or carry a Cable aſhore, the fury of the Water came ſo impetuouſly againſt the Admirals Ship, that it broke one of its two Anchors, and drove her with ſuch force againſt the Ship *Gallega*, which lay a-ſtern of it, that it brought the Foremaſt by the Board, and were both carried away foul of one another in utmoſt danger of periſhing. Some judg'd the mighty Rains to have been the Cauſe of this mighty Flood, they having never ceaſed all the Winter in that Country; but had that been it, the River would have ſwell'd by degrees, and not all on a ſudden, which made it be believed ſome great Shower had fallen on the Mountains of *Veragua*, which the Admiral called St. *Chriſtophers*, becauſe the higheſt of them was above the Region of the Air, where Meteors are bred, for no Cloud was ever ſeen above, but all below it. To look to it is like an Hermitage, and lies at leaſt 20 Leagues up the Country, in the midſt of woody Mountains, whence we believed that Flood came which was ſo dangerous, that tho' it brought Water enough to carry the Ships out to Sea, the Wind was then ſo boiſterous, that they muſt have been ſhatter'd to pieces at the Mouth of the River, diſtant half a Mile from whence they broke looſe. This Tempeſt laſted ſo long, that we had time enough to refit and Caulk the Ships. The Waves broke ſo furiouſly upon the Mouth of the River, that the Boats could not go out to Diſcover along the Coaſt, to learn where the Mines lay, and chooſe a Place to build a Town; the Admiral having reſolved to leave his Brother there with moſt of the Men, that they might ſettle and ſubdue that Country, whilſt he went to *Spain* to ſend Supplies of Men and Proviſions. Upon this Proſpect, the Weather growing Calmer, on Monday the 6th of *February*, he ſent his Brother with 68 Men by Sea to the Mouth of *Veragua* River, a League diſtant from *Belem* Weſtward, and he went a League and half up the River, to the *Caciques* Town, where he ſtaid a day enquiring out the way to the Mines.

On Wedneſday they travell'd four Leagues and a half, and came to lie near a River, which they paſs'd 44 times, and the next day advanced a League and half towards the Mines, ſhow'd them by *Indians* ſent by *Quibio* to guide them. In two hours time after they came thither, every Man gather'd ſome Gold about the Roots of the Trees, which were there very thick, and of a prodigious heighth. This Sample was much valued, becauſe none of thoſe that went had any Tools to dig, or had ever gather'd any. Therefore the Deſign of their Journey being only to get Information of the Mines, they return'd very well pleas'd that ſame day to *Veragua*, and the next to the Ships. True it is, that, as was afterwards known, theſe Mines, were not thoſe of *Veragua*, which lay much nearer, but of *Vrira*, a Town whoſe People are Enemies to thoſe of *Veragua*, to do whom a diſpleaſure, *Quibio* ordered the Chriſtians to be conducted thither, and that they might go away to thoſe and leave his.

Gold Mines of Urira.

CHAP.

Columbus.

CHAP. XCVI.

How the Admirals Brother went to ſee ſome Towns of that Province; with an Account of the Country, and Cuſtoms of thoſe People.

Chriſtians find good reception.

ON Thurſday the 14th of *Febr.* 1503. the Admirals Brother went into the Country with 40 Men, a Boat following with 14. The next day they came to the River of *Urira*, 7 Leagues from *Belem* Weſtward. The *Cacique* came out a League from his Town to meet him, with 20 Men, and preſented him with ſuch Things as they feed on, and ſome Gold Plates were Exchang'd here. Whilſt they were here, the *Cacique*, and Chief Men, never ceaſed putting a dry Herb into their Mouths and Chewing it, and ſometimes they took a ſort of Powder they carried with that Herb, which looks very odd. Having reſted here a while, the Chriſtians and *Indians* went together to the Town, where abundance of People came out to them, and aſſign'd them a great Houſe to lie in, giving them much to Eat. Soon after came the *Cacique* of *Dururi*, which is a Neighbouring Town, with a great many *Indians*, who brought ſome Gold Plates to truck; all theſe *Indians* ſaid, there were *Cacignes* up the Country, who had plenty of Gold, and abundance of Men arm'd like ours. Next day, the Lieutenant ordered the reſt of his Men to return by Land to the Ships, and he with 30, he kept with him, held on his Journey towards *Zobraba*, where the Fields for above 6 Leagues were all full of *Maiz*, like Corn-Fields. Thence he went to *Cateba*, another Town; at both Places he was well entertained, abundance of Proviſions given him, and ſome Gold Plates truck'd, which, as has been ſaid, are like the Paten of a Chalice, ſome bigger and ſome leſs, weighing 12 Ducats more or leſs; they wear them about their Necks, hanging by a String, as we do Relicks. The Lieutenant being now very far from the Ships, without finding any Port along that Coaſt, or any River bigger than that of *Belem* to ſettle his Colony, he came back the ſame way on the 24th of *February*, bringing above ..... Ducats in Gold he had Exchanged for. As ſoon as he return'd, preſently order was taken for his ſtay, and 80 Men being appointed to remain with him, they agreed by ten and ten, or more or leſs in a Gang, and began to build Houſes upon the Bank of the aforeſaid River of *Belem*, about a Cannon ſhot from the Mouth of it, within a Trench that lies on the right hand, coming up the River, at the Mouth of which there is a little Hill. Beſides theſe Houſes, which were all of Timber, and covered with Palm-Tree Leaves, which grew along the Shore, another large Houſe was built, to ſerve as a Store-Houſe and Magazine, into which ſeveral pieces of Cannon, Powder, and Proviſions were put, and other Neceſſaries for the Support of the Planters. But for Wine, Biſket, Oil, Vinegar, Cheeſe, and much Grain, which was all they had to Eat; theſe things were left in the ſafeſt place, aboard the Ship call'd *Gallega*, that was to be left with the Lieutenant, that he might make uſe of it either at Sea, or aſhore, having all its Cordage, Nets, Hooks, and other Fiſhing Tackle; for as we have ſaid, there is vaſt plenty of Fiſh in that Country in every River, ſeveral ſorts at certain times running along the Coaſt in Shoals, on which the People of the Country feed more than upon Fleſh; for tho' there be ſome ſorts of Beaſts they are not enough to maintain them. The Cuſtoms of theſe *Indians* are for the moſt part much like thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*, and the Neighbouring Iſlands; but theſe People of *Veragua*, and the Country about it, when they talk to one another, and Eat, turn their Backs, and are always Chewing an Herb, which we look upon to be the occaſion that their Teeth are decay'd and rotten. Their Food is Fiſh, which they take with Nets, and Hooks made of Tortoiſe-ſhell, which they cut with a Thread, as if they were Sawing; the ſame they uſe in the Iſlands. They have another way of catching ſome very ſmall Fiſhes, which in *Hiſpaniola* they call *Titi*. Theſe at certain times being drove to the Shore by the Rains, are ſo perſecuted by the bigger Fiſh, that they are forced up to the Surface of the Water, where the *Indians* take as many as they will of them in little Mats, or ſmall Nets, and wrap them up in Leaves of Trees, as Apothecaries do their Drugs; and having dried them in an Oven, they keep a long time. They alſo catch Pilchards almoſt in the ſame manner; for at certain times theſe Fiſhes fly from the great ones ſo violently, and in ſuch fear, that they leap out two or three Paces upon the dry Land, ſo that there is no more

Dururi.

Zobraba.

Cateba.

Indians manner of Fiſhing.

Columbus.

to do, but to take them as they do the others. These Pilchards are taken after another manner; for in the middle of their Canooes, from Stem to Stern, they raise a partition of Palm-Tree Leaves two yards high, and plying about the River they make a noise, and beat the Shore with their Oars, and then the Pilchards, to fly from the other Fish, leap into the Canoo, and hitting against those Leaves fall in, by which means they take as many as they please. Several sorts of Fish pass along the Coast in Shoals, whereof wonderful quantities are taken, which they keep roasted a long time. They have also abundance of *Maiz*, which is a sort of Grain growing in an Ear, or hard Head like *Millet*, whereof they make white and red Wine, as Beer is made in *England*, and mix of their Spice with it, as pleases their Pallat; it has a pleasant taste like a sharp brisk Wine: They also make another sort of Wine of certain Trees like Palms; and I believe they are of that kind, but that they are smooth, and have such Prickles on the Trunk as the Thorn. From the Pith of this Palm, which is like Palmitoes squeez'd, they draw a Juice, whereof they make Wine, Boiling with it Water and Spice; and this they make great account of. They make another Wine of the Fruit we said is found in the Island *Guadalupe*, which is like a great Pine-Apple: It is planted in great Fields, and the Plant is a Sprout growing out at the top of the Fruit it self, like that which grows out of a Cabbage or Lattice. One Plant lasts 3 or 4 years, and bears. They make Wine of other sorts of Fruit, particularly of one that grows upon very high Trees, and is as big as a large Limon, and every one has two, three, and some nine Stones like Nuts, but they are not round, but long, or like a Chesnut. The Rind of this Fruit is like a Pomgranate, and when first taken from the Tree it resembles it exactly, save only that it wants the prickly Circle at the top. The Taste of it is like a Peach: of these some are better, some worse, as is usual among other Fruit. There are of them in the Islands, and the *Indians* call them *Mamei*.

Indian Wines.

CHAP. XCVII.

How for the greater Security of the Christian Colony, Quibio, *and several of the principal Men were made Prisoners, and how through the Carelessness of his Keepers, he made his Escape.*

The Mouth of the River choak'd up with Sand.

ALl things were now settled for the Christian Colony, and 10 or 12 Houses Built and Thatch'd, and the Admiral ready to Sail for *Spain*, when he fell into greater Danger for want of Water, than he had been before by the Inundation. For the great Rains of *January* being over, the Mouth of the River was so choak'd up with Sand, that whereas when they came in, there was about ten Foot Water, which was scant enough, when we would have gone out there were not two foot, so that we were shut up without any help, it being impossible to get the Ships over the Sand, and though there had been such an Engine, the Sea was so boisterous, that the least Wave which beats upon the Shore was enough to beat the Ships in pieces, especially ours, which were at this time like a Honey-Comb, being all Worm-eaten through and through. We had nothing left but to have recourse to God, and beg Rain of him, as before we pray'd for fair Weather; for the Rain we knew would swell the River, and clear the Sand from the Mouth of it, as is usual in those Rivers. It being in the mean while discovered by means of the Interpreter, that *Quibio*, the *Cacique* of *Veragua* intended to set Fire to the Houses and Destroy the Christians, because all the *Indians* were against their Planting upon that River. It was therefore thought fit, as a Punishment to him, and a Terror and Example to others, to make him a Prisoner with all his chief Men, and send them into *Spain*, and that his Town should remain at the disposal of the Christians.

To this purpose, the Lieutenant, on the 30th of *March*, went with 76 Men to the Town or Village of *Veragua*; and because I call it a Town or Village, it is to be observ'd that in those Parts their Houses are not close together, but they live as in *Biscay* at some distance from one another. When *Quibio* understood that the Lieutenant was come near, he sent him word not to come up to his House, which stood upon a Hill above the River of *Veragua*; and the Lieutenant, that he might not fly for fear of him, resolv'd to go with only 5 Men, ordering those he left behind to come after him, two and two, at some distance from

Columbus.

from one another, and when they heard a Musquet fired, they should beset the House, that none might escape. Being come up to the House, *Quibio* sent another Messenger, bidding him not go in, for he would come out to talk to him, tho' he was wounded with an Arrow, which they do that their Women may not be seen, being wonderful jealous of them. Accordingly he came and sat at the Door, bidding only the Lieutenant come near him, who did so, ordering the rest to fall on, as soon as he laid hold of his Arm. He ask'd the *Cacique* some Questions concerning his Indisposition, and the Affairs of the Country by the Assistance of an *Indian* he had, whom we had taken not far off above Three Months since, and he willingly went along with us. This Man was then much afraid, for knowing that *Quibio* design'd to destroy all the Christians, and not knowing our Strength, he thought that might easily be done by the great multitude of People there was in that Province. But the Lieutenant minded not his fear, and pretending to look where the *Cacique* was wounded, he took him by the Arm, and tho' they were both very strong, yet the Lieutenant took such good hold, that he lost it not till the other four came up, which done, one of them fir'd a Musquet, and on a sudden all the Christians running out of their Ambush, beset the House, in which there were 30 People great and small, most of which were taken and never a one wounded, for they seeing their King taken, would make no Resistance. Among these there were some Wives and Children of *Quibio*, and other Men of Note, who offered great Wealth, saying, There was a great Treasure in the adjoyning Wood, and they would give it all for their Ransom. But the Lieutenant not regarding their Promises, ordered *Quibio*, with his Wives and Children, and the principal Men, to be carried aboard, before the Country took the alarm, staying himself there with most of the Men, to go after his Kindred and Subjects who were fled. Then having consulted with the Captains and Chief Men, whom they should intrust to Conduct the Prisoners to the Mouth of the River; he at last delivered them to *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, a Pilot, and a Man in good Reputation, he offering to carry them, the *Cacique* being bound Hands and Feet; and this Pilot being charg'd to take special Care that the *Cacique* should not escape, he answered, He would give them leave to pull of his Beard if he got from him. So he took him into his Custody, and went down the River of *Veragua*. Being come within half a League of the Mouth of it, and *Quibio* complaining that his hands were too hard bound, *John Sanchez* out of Compassion, loosed him from the Seat of the Boat, to which he was tied, and held the Rope in his Hand. A little after, *Quibio* observing he did not mind him, threw himself into the Water; and *John Sanchez* not being able to hold fast the Rope, let go that he might not draw him after into the Water. Night coming on, and those in the Boat being all in a Confusion, they could not see or hear where he got ashore, so that they heard no more of him than if a Stone had fallen into the Water: That the like might not happen with the rest of the Prisoners, they held on their way to the Ships with much shame for their Carelessness and Oversight. The next day, the Lieutenant, perceiving the Country was very mountainous and woody, and that there were no regular Towns, but one House here and another at a great distance, and that it would be very difficult to pursue the *Indians* from place to place, he resolved to return to the Ships with his Men, not one of them being either killed or wounded. He presented the Admiral with the Plunder of *Quibio*'s House, worth about 300 Ducats, in Gold Plates, little Eagles, and small Quills which they string and wear about their Arms and Leggs, and in gold Twists which they put about their Head in the Nature of a Coronet. All which Things, deducting only the 5th part for their Catholick Majesties, he divided among those that went upon the Expedition: And to the Lieutenant, in token of Victory, was given one of those Crowns or Coronets above-mentioned.

The Cacique represented.

Makes his escape.

CHAP. XCVIII.

How after the Admiral was gone from Belem *to return to* Spain, Quibio *assaulted the Christian Colony, in which Engagement there were many kill'd and wounded.*

ALl things being provided for the maintenance of the Colony, and the Rules and Methods for them to be govern'd by settled, by the Admiral, it pleas'd God to send so much Rain, as swell'd the River and open'd the Mouth of

Columbus. *The Admiral sails.*

of it; wherefore the Admiral resolv'd to depart with all speed for *Hispaniola*, to send speedy Supplies to this Place. Having waited for a Calm that the Sea might not beat upon the Mouth of the River, we went out with 3 Ships, the Boats going a-head and Towing us. Yet never a one went out so cleverly, but his Keel raced upon the Sand, and had been in danger notwithstanding the Calm but that those are loose moving Sands. Then we presently took in all we had unladed to lighten the Ships that they might get out. As we lay waiting for a fair Wind upon the open Coast, a League from the Mouth of the River, it pleas'd God miraculously to give us an occasion of sending the Admirals Boat ashore, as well for Water, as for other necessary Affairs, that by the loss of these, both those ashore, and those in the Ships might be sav'd, which hapned thus. When *Quibio*, and the *Indians*, saw that the Ships were without, and could not relieve them that were left behind, they assaulted the Christian Colony at the same time that the Boat came to the shore. They having not been discover'd by reason of the thickness of the Wood; when they came within ten Paces of our Mens Houses, fell on with great Shouts, casting Javelins at those they spied, and at the very Houses, which being covered with Palm-Tree Leaves, were easily struck through and through, and so sometimes they wounded those within. Having thus surpriz'd our Men thinking of no such thing, they wounded 4 or 5 before they could put themselves into a posture of Defence. But the Lieutenant being a Man of great Resolution, he went out against the Enemy with a Spear, encouraging his Men, and falling furiously on the *Indians*, with 7 or 8 that followed him, so that he made them retire to the Wood, which as we said was close to the Houses. Thence they return'd and skirmish'd, casting their Javelins, and then retiring, as the *Spaniards* use to do in the Sport they call *Juego de Cannas*, many of them flying from the Christians after they had felt the edge of their Swords, and the Teeth of a Dog, who furiously fell in among them; so that at length they fled, having kill'd one Christian, and wounded 7, one of which was the Lieutenant, who was hurt with a Javelin in the Breast; from which danger two Christians took care to preserve themselves, which Story I will relate to show the Comicalness of the one, who was an *Italian* of *Lombardy*, and the Gravity of the other who was a *Spaniard*.

Indians attack the new Colony

The *Lombard* running hastily to hide himself in a House, *James Mendez*, of whom mention will be made hereafter, said to him, Turn, Turn back *Sebastian*, Whither are you going? He answered, Let me go, you Devil, for I am going to secure my Person. The *Spaniard* was Captain *James Tristan*, whom the Admiral sent ashore in the Boat, who never went out of it with his Men, tho' the fray was just by the River; and being blam'd by some for not assisting the Christians, he answer'd, He said he did it that those ashore might not run to the Boat and so all perish, because if the Boat were lost, the Admiral would be in danger at Sea, and therefore he would do no more than he had been commanded, which was to take in Water, and to see whether there was any need of his assistance. Resolving therefore to take in the Water immediately, that he might carry the Admiral an Account of what had hapned, he went up the River for it, where the Sweet did not mix with the Salt, tho' some advis'd him not to go for the danger there was of the *Indians* and their Canooes; to which he answered, he did not fear that danger, since he was sent for that purpose by the Admiral. Accordingly he went up the River, which is very deep within, and shelter'd on both sides with abundance of Trees, which come to the edge of the Water, and so thick that there is scarce any going ashore, except in some Places which are the Fishermens Paths, and where they hide their Canooes. As soon as the *Indians* perceived he was got about a League from the Colony up the River, they rush'd out from the thickest on both sides the River in their Canooes, and making a hideous Noise, blowing their Horns, assaulted him boldly on all sides with great odds on their side, because their Canooes being swift, and one Man being enough to command and turn them which way they please, especially those that are little, and belong to the Fishermen, 3 or 4 Men came in each of them, one of whom row'd, and the rest cast their Javelins at those in the Boat; I call them Javelins because of their bigness, tho' they have no Iron-Heads, but only Points of Fish Bones. There being but 7 or 8 Men in our Boat who row'd, and the Captain with 3 or 4 Men for Fight, they could not cover themselves against the many Javelins they threw at them, and therefore they were forced to quit the Oars to take up their Targets. But there was such a multitude of *Indians*, who pour'd in on all sides, coming up and retiring in good

Indians kill all the Spaniards in the Boats.

good order, as they thought fit, that they wounded moſt of the Chriſtians, eſpecially the Captain, who was hurt in many Places; and tho' he ſtood unmov'd incouraging his Men, it avail'd him nothing; for he was beſet on all ſides, and could not ſtir, nor make uſe of his Muſquets, till at laſt they ſtruck a Javelin into his Eye, and he fell down Dead; and all the reſt came to the like Fate, except one *John de Noia* of *Sevil*, who by good luck in the heighth of the Fray fell into the Water, and Diving got to the ſhore, and made his way through the thickeſt of the Wood to the Colony to carry the News of what had hapned. This ſo terrified our Men, that ſeeing they were but a few, ſome of their Companions being kill'd, and others wounded, and that the Admiral was at Sea without a Boat, and in danger not to return to a Place where he might ſend them relief, they reſolved not to ſtay there; and accordingly would have gone away immediately without any Orders, had not the Mouth of the River hindred, the bad Weather having ſhut it up again, for neither could the Ship they had left them get out, nor durſt any Boat attempt it, becauſe the Sea beat ſo violently, ſo that there was no ſending the Admiral Advice of what had hapned. He was in no leſs danger himſelf, riding in an open Road, having no Boat, and but few Men, ſo many having been kill'd. So that we were all in the ſame Trouble and Confuſion, as they were within, who conſidering what had hapned, and ſeeing thoſe that had been killed in the Boat drive down the River covered with Wounds, and followed by the Country Crows, look'd upon theſe things as ill Omens, and dreaded coming to the ſame end; and the more becauſe they perceived the *Indians* were puff'd up with their Succeſs, inſomuch that they gave them not a Minutes reſpite by reaſon of the ill Situation of the Colony; and there is no doubt but they muſt have all ſuffer'd, had they not adviſ'd to remove to an open Strand Eaſtward, where they made a work round them with the Casks and other things, and planting the Cannon in convenient Places defended themſelves, the *Indians* not daring to come out of the Wood, becauſe of the miſchief the Bullets did among them.

CHAP. XCIX.

How the Indians *that were kept Priſoners aboard made their Eſcape, and the Admiral was inform'd of the Ill Succeſs of his Men.*

Some Indians kill all the Spaniards in the Boats.

WHilſt theſe things hapned, the Admiral waited ten days with much Trouble, and ſuſpecting what might fall out, till the Sea would ſettle, that he might ſend another Boat to know what it was that detain'd the firſt; but Fortune thwarting him in all things, would not allow us to hear of one another; and to add to our Affliction, it hapned that the Sons and Kindred of *Quibio*, whom we kept Priſoners aboard the Ship *Bermuda*, to carry them to *Spain*, found means to eſcape thus. At Night, they were kept under Hatches, and the Scuttle being ſo high that they could not reach it, the Watch forgot to faſten it with a Chain as they uſed to do, eſpecially becauſe ſome Seamen lay upon it. The Priſoners therefore one Night, gathering the Stones that were in the Hold under the Scuttle, and raiſing themſelves on them, ſet their Shoulders againſt it, and forced it open, tumbling thoſe that lay on it over and over, and ſome of the principal Men, leaping out, caſt themſelves into the Sea. The Seamen taking the Alarm, many of them could not get out; and the Scuttle being faſtned with the Chain, better care was taken, but thoſe that remain'd in Deſpair, becauſe they could not get off with their Companions, hang'd themſelves with the Ropes they could come at, and ſo were found the next Morning, their Feet and Knees dragging upon the bottom of the Hold, the Place not being high enough for them to hang without touching, ſo that all the Priſoners aboard that Ship eſcap'd or died. Tho' this loſs was not material to the Ships, yet beſides that it increas'd the number of Misfortunes, it was fear'd it might be hurtful to thoſe aſhore; becauſe *Quibio* would willingly have made Peace with them to get his Children, and now there being no Hoſtage left, there was cauſe to ſuſpect he would make War with the greater fury. Being thus afflicted amidſt ſo many Troubles and Diſaſters, having nothing to truſt to but our Anchors and Cables, without knowing any thing from ſhore, there wanted not thoſe, who ſaid, that ſince thoſe *Indians* only to obtain their liberty, had ventur'd to leap into the Sea above a League from ſhore, they to ſave themſelves, and ſo many more, would be content to Swim aſhore, provided that Boat

Columbus.

which remain'd would carry them as far as where the Waves did not break. I say one Boat remain'd which was that of the Ship *Bermuda*, for that of the *Biscaina* we said before was lost in the fray, so that they had only that one Boat at present among the 3 Ships. The Admiral hearing these Seamens honest proposal, allow'd of it, and so the Boat carried them within a Musket shot of Land, not being able to go nearer without great danger, because of the great Waves that broke on it. There one *Peter de Ledesma*, a Pilot of *Sevil*, threw himself into the Water, and with a good Heart got to shore, where he learnt the Condition our Men were in, and how they all unanimously said, they would not upon any account remain there in that forlorn Condition, and therefore desired the Admiral not to Sail till he had taken them off, for to leave them there was Sacrificing of them, and the more because there were already Divisions among them, and they Obey'd neither the Admirals Brother, nor the Captains, and all their Care was upon the first fair Weather, to secure a Canoo and go aboard, because this could not be conveniently done with only one Boat that was left them; and if the Admiral would not receive them, they would endeavour to save their Lives aboard that Ship which was left them, and rather trust Fortune than be at the Mercy of the *Indians*, who would inhumanly Butcher them. With this Answer, *Peter de Ledesma*, returned to the Boat which waited for him, and thence to the Ships, where he gave the Admiral an Account how Matters stood.

A Spaniard Swims ashore.

CHAP. C.

How the Admiral brought off the Men he had left at Belem, *and struck over to* Jamaica.

THe Admiral understanding the Rout, the Confusion, and Despair those ashore were in, he resolv'd to stay and bring them off, tho' not without great danger, because his Ships lay in an open Road, out of all shelter, and without hopes of escaping had the Weather grown more boisterous. But it pleased God in 8 days he continued there, the Weather mended so much, that those ashore with their Boat, and large Canooes fast bound together, that they might not over-set, began to gather their Goods, and every one striving to be none of the last, they used such diligence, that in two days nothing was left ashore but the Hulk of the Ship, which by reason of the Worms was unfit for Service. Thus rejoycing we were all together again, we sailed up that Coast Eastward; for tho' all the Pilots were of Opinion that we might return to St. *Domingo* standing away to the North, yet only the Admiral and his Brother, knew it was requisite to run a considerable way up that Coast, before they struck across that Gulph that is between the Continent and *Hispaniola*, which our Men were much displeased at, thinking the Admiral design'd directly for *Spain*, whereas he neither had Provisions, nor were his Ships fit for that Voyage. But he knowing best what was fit to be done, we held on our Course till we came to *Porto Bello*, where we were forced to leave the Ship *Biscaina* it was so Leaky, being all Worm-eaten through and through. And holding along up the Coast, we pass'd by the Port we call'd *Retrete*, and a Country near which there were abundance of small Islands, which the Admiral called *las Barbas*, but the *Indians* and Pilots, call that the Territory of the Cacique *Pocorosa*: Hence we held on 10 Leagues to the last Land we saw of the Continent, called *Marmora*, and on Monday the first of *May* 1503. we stood to the Northward, the Wind and Currents East, which made us lie as near the Wind as we could. And tho' all the Pilots said, we should be East of the *Caribbee* Islands; yet the Admiral fear'd he should not make *Hispaniola*, which prov'd so; for upon Wednesday the 10th of the same Month of *May*, we were in sight of two very small and low Islands, full of Tortoises, as was all the Sea about; insomuch that they look'd like little Rocks, for which reason those Islands were call'd *Tortugas*, or, *Tortoises*. Sailing on Northwards, on Friday following about Evening, 30 Leagues from those Islands, we came to those called *Jardin de la Reina*, or the *Queen's Garden*, which is a great number of Islands on the Southside of *Cuba*. Being here at an Anchor, 10 Leagues from *Cuba*, with Men and Trouble enough, because they had nothing to Eat but Bisket, with some little Oil and Vinegar, labouring day and night at the Pump, because the Ships were so Worm-eaten they were ready to sink, a great Storm arose in the night, and the Ship *Bermuda* not being able to ride it out, ran foul of us, and broke our Stem, and its own Stern, and tho' with much difficulty, because of the

Tortugas Islands.

Leaves Belem and Steers Northward.

Columbus. the roughneſs of the Sea and high Wind, it pleas'd God they got looſe from one another, and tho' we caſt all our Anchors none would hold, but the Sheet-Anchor, whoſe Cable when day appeared, we found held but by a Thread, which if the night had laſted an hour longer, muſt have given way, and all that place being full of Rocks, we could not miſs ſplitting upon ſome of thoſe that a-ſtern us. But it pleas'd God to deliver us here, as he had done from many other Dangers. And ſo Sailing hence with much Toil, we came to an *Indian* Town on the Coaſt of *Cuba*, called *Mataia*, where having got ſome Refreſhment, we ſail'd for *Jamaica*, for the Eaſt Winds and great Currents ſetting Weſtward, would not permit us to ſtand for *Hiſpaniola*, eſpecially the Ships being ſo Worm-eaten, that, as has been ſaid, we never ceas'd day and night working at 3 Pumps in each of them, and if any one broke, whilſt it was mended, we were forced to ſupply the want of it with Kettles. For all this, the Night before *Midſummer*-Eve, the Water was ſo high in our Ship, that there was no draining of it, for it came almoſt up to the Deck; and with much Labour we held out in that manner till day appearing we put into a Harbour in *Jamaica* called *Puerto Bueno*, or, *Good Harbour*; which tho' good to take ſhelter againſt a Storm, had no freſh Water, nor any Town near it. Having made the beſt ſhift we could, on the day after the Feaſt of St. *John*, we ſet out for another Harbour Eaſtward, called *Santa Gloria*, or *Holy Glory*, which is enclos'd with Rocks. Being got in and no longer able to keep the Ships above Water, we run them aſhore as far in as we could, ſtranding them cloſe together board and board, and ſhoaring them up on both ſides, fixt them ſo that they could not budge, and in this poſture the Water came up almoſt to the Deck, upon which, and the Poop and Forecaſtle, were Sheds made for the Men to lie in, to ſecure ourſelves, that the *Indians* might not hurt us, becauſe the Iſland was not then Inhabited or Subdued by *Chriſtians*.

The Admiral runs his Ships aground.

CHAP. CI.

How the Admiral ſent Canoo's from Jamaica *to* Hiſpaniola, *to give Advice that he was caſt aſhore there with his Men.*

BEing thus fortified in our Ships about a Bow-ſhot from Land, the *Indians*, who were a peaccable good natur'd People, came in their Canoo's to Sell Proviſions, and ſuch things as they had, for our Commodities. Therefore, that there might not be ſome diſorder committed among the *Chriſtians*, and that they might not take more in Exchange than was fitting, and the others might have their Due, the Admiral appointed two Perſons to overſee the Buying of ſuch Things as they brought, and to divide daily among the Men what was Exchanged, becauſe there was nothing left aboard to ſubſiſt on, as well becauſe moſt of the Proviſions were ſpent, as for that the reſt was ſpoil'd and ſome loſt when the Men came away from *Belem*, where the Haſte and Confuſion hindred things being brought off as they ſhould. That we might be ſupplied with Suſtenance, it pleaſed God to direct us to that Iſland, which abounds in Proviſions, and is Inhabited by *Indians* who are willing enough to Trade, and therefore they reſorted from all Parts to Barter ſuch Commodities as they had. For this reaſon, and that the *Chriſtians* might not diſperſe about the Iſland, the Admiral choſe to fortifie himſelf upon the Sea, and not ſettle a dwelling aſhore, becauſe we being naturally Diſobedient, no Command or Puniſhment would have kept the Men from running about the Country and into the Houſes of the *Indians*, to take from them what they found, and thus they would have anger'd their Wives and Children, which would have caus'd Quarrels and made them our Enemies, and the taking their Proviſions by force, would have reduc'd us to great want and diſtreſs This could not happen now, becauſe the Men were aboard, and there was no going aſhore without leave, which pleas'd the *Indians*, who ſold 2 *Hutias*, which are little Creatures like Rabbets, for a Bit of Tin, and Cakes of Bread, they call *Zabi*, for 2 or 3 red or yellow Glaſs-Beads, and when they brought a quantity of any thing, they had a Hawks-Bell, and ſometimes we gave a *Cacique*, or Great Man, a little Looking-glaſs, or red Cap, or a pair of Sizzers to pleaſe them. This good Order kept the Men plentifully ſupplied with Proviſions, and the *Indians* were well pleaſed with our Company. But it being requiſite to find ſome means to return to *Spain*, the Admiral ſometimes conſulted with the Captains and principal Men about the means of getting out of that Confinement, and at leaſt returning to *Hiſpaniola*; for to ſtay there in hopes ſome

The Admiral Care to prevent Diſorders.

Columbus.

ſome Ship might arrive was a mere folly, and to think to build a Veſſel was impoſſible, having neither Tools nor Workmen fit to do any thing to the purpoſe, but what would take up a long time, and not produce ſuch a Veſſel as was fit to ſail againſt the Winds and Currents that prevail among thoſe Iſlands, and therefore it had been only time loſt, and would rather have prov'd our Ruin than Relief. Therefore after many Conſultations, the Admiral reſolv'd to ſend to *Hiſpaniola* to give an Account that he was caſt aſhore on that Iſland, and deſired a Ship might be ſent him with Proviſions and Ammunition. To this purpoſe he made choice of two Perſons that might perform it faithfully and couragiouſly: I ſay couragiouſly, becauſe it ſeem'd impoſſible to go over from one Iſland to the other in Canoos, and there was no other way for it. Theſe being Boats, as has been ſaid above, made of one ſingle Tree hollow'd, and ſo contriv'd that when they are loaded, they are not a Span above Water. Beſides they muſt be indifferent large for that paſſage, becauſe little ones would be more dangerous, and the biggeſt by reaſon of their own weight were not fit for a long Voyage, or to perform what was deſign'd. Two Canoo's fit for the purpoſe being choſe, the Admiral in *July* 1503. order'd *James Mendez de Segura*, his chief Secretary to go in one of them with ſix *Chriſtians* and 10 *Indians* to row, and in the other he ſent *Bartholomew Fieſco*, a *Genoeſe* Gentleman, with the like number of Men; that as ſoon as *James Mendez* got over to *Hiſpaniola*, he might continue his Journey to St. *Domingo*, which was 250 Leagues from the Place where we were, and *Fieſco* might return to bring the News that the other was ſafe arriv'd, and we might not be left in fear leaſt ſome Diſaſter had befallen him, which there was much cauſe to fear; conſidering, as has been ſaid, how unfit a Canoo is to live upon a rough Sea, eſpecially when there were *Chriſtians* in it; for if there were none but *Indians* the danger had not been ſo great, becauſe they are ſo dextrous, that tho' a Canoo overſets when they are half way over, they turn it up again, Swimming and get into it. But Honour and Neceſſity putting Men upon bolder Attempts than this, the Perſons above-mentioned took their way along the Coaſt of *Jamaica* to the Eaſtermoſt Point of it, which the *Indians* call *Aoamaquique* from a Cacique of that Province ſo called, 33 Leagues from *Maima*, where we were. There being 30 Leagues diſtance between the two Iſlands, and nothing in the way but one little Iſland or Rock 8 Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, it was requiſite to expect a Calm in order to croſs over ſo great a Sea in ſuch poor Veſſels, which it pleas'd God they ſoon had. Every *Indian* having put aboard his Calabaſh of Water and *Carrabi*, or ſuch Proviſions as they uſe, and the *Chriſtians* with Swords and Targets, and the neceſſary Suſtenance, they put out to Sea; and the Admirals Brother, who went to that Point of *Jamaica* to ſee that the *Indians* of the Iſland ſhould no way hinder them, ſtaid there till night coming on, he loſt ſight of them, and then return'd eaſily towards the Ships, in his way perceiving the People of the Country to Converſe and be Friendly with us.

Canoo's paſt over to Hiſpaniola.

CHAP. CII.

How the Brothers, called Porras, *with many of the Men, Mutinied againſt the Admiral, ſaying, They would go to* Spain.

WHen the Canoo's were gone for *Hiſpaniola*, the Men left aboard the Ships began to fall ſick, as well by reaſon of the Hardſhips endur'd during the Voyage, as the change of Diet; for at preſent they had no Spaniſh Proviſions, nor Wine, nor Fleſh, except ſome of thoſe *Hutias* we have ſpoke of, they happned to get in Exchange. So that thoſe who were Sound, thinking it very hard to be ſo long confin'd, did not forbear to Mutter among themſelves in private; ſaying, the Admiral would return into *Spain* no more, becauſe their Catholick Majeſties had turn'd him off, nor much leſs to *Hiſpaniola*, where he had been refus'd admittance at his coming from *Spain*, and that he had ſent thoſe in the Canoo's into *Spain* to ſollicite his own Affairs, and not to bring Ships or other Succours, and that he deſign'd, whilſt they were ſolliciting their Catholick Majeſties to ſtay there to fulfill his Baniſhment, for otherwiſe *Bartholomew Fieſco* had been come back by this time, as was given out he was to do. Beſides, they knew not, whether he and *James Mendez* were drown'd by the way; which, if it had hapned, they ſhould never be reliev'd, if they did not take care for it themſelves, ſince the

Mutiny begun by the Men.

Admiral

Columbus. Admiral did not ſeem to look to it for the Reaſons aforeſaid, and becauſe of the Gout, which had ſo ſeiz'd all his Limbs, that he could ſcarce ſtir in his Bed, much leſs undergo the Fatigue and Danger of going over to *Hiſpaniola* in Canoo's. For which Reaſons, they ought with a good Heart to fix their Reſolution, ſince they were well, before they fell ſick, with the reſt, that it would not be in the Admirals Power to hinder them; and being once in *Hiſpaniola*, they would be ſo much the better receiv'd, by how much the danger they left him in was greater, becauſe of the Hatred and Enmity born him by the Commendary *Lares*, then Governor of that Iſland; and that when they went into *Spain* they might go to the Biſhop *D. John de Fonſeca*, who would favour them, as would the Treaſurer *Morales*, who kept for his Miſtreſs the Siſter of thoſe *Porras*'s, the Ringleaders of the Mutineers, and chief Fomenters of the Sedition, who did not doubt but they ſhould be well receiv'd by their Catholick Majeſties, before whom all the Fault would be laid upon the Admiral, as had been in the Affairs of *Hiſpaniola* with *Roldan*; and their Majeſties would the rather Seize him and take all he had, than be oblig'd to perform all that was agreed upon between them and him. Theſe and the like Arguments they us'd among themſelves, and the Perſualions and Suggeſtions of the aforeſaid Brothers, one of whom was Captain of the Ship *Bermuda*, and the other Controller to the Squadron, prevailed with 48 Men to join in this Conſpiracy, taking *Porras* for their Captain; and every one provided what he could againſt the day and hour appointed; and being all ready with their Arms, on the 2d of *January* in the morning, the aforeſaid Captain *Francis de Porras* came upon the Quarter-Deck of the Admirals Ship, and ſaid to him, My Lord, What is the meaning that you will not go into *Spain*, and will keep us all here periſhing? The Admiral hearing theſe unuſual inſolent Words, and ſuſpecting what the matter might be, very calmly anſwer'd, He did not ſee which way they could go, till thoſe that were gone in the Canoo's ſent a Ship. That no Man was more deſirous to be gone than he, as well for his own private Intereſt, as for the good of them all, for whom he was accountable; but that if he had any thing elſe to propoſe, he would again call together the Captains and principal Men to Conſult, as had been done ſeveral times before. *Porras* replied, It was no time to talk, but that he ſhould Embark quickly, or ſtay there by himſelf; and ſo turning his Back, added in a loud Voice, I am going to *Spain* with thoſe that will follow me, at which time all his Followers, who were preſent, began to cry out, We will go with you, We will go with you, and running about, poſſeſt themſelves of the Forecaſtle, Poop, and Round Tops, all in Confuſion; and Crying, Let them Die; others, For *Spain*, for *Spain*; and others, What ſhall we do Captain? Though the Admiral was then in Bed ſo Lame of the Gout that he could not ſtand; yet he could not forbear riſing and ſtumbling out at this Noiſe. But 2 or 3 worthy Perſons, his Servants, laid hold of, and with labour laid him in his Bed, that the Mutineers might not Murder him. Then they ran to his Brother, who was couragiouſly come out with a Half-Pike in his Hand; and wreſting it out of his Hands, put him in to his Brother, deſiring Captain *Porras* to go about his Buſineſs, and not do ſome Miſchief they might all ſuffer for, that he might be ſatisfied they did not oppoſe his going; but if he ſhould kill the Admiral, he could not expect but to be ſeverely puniſh'd, without hopes of any Benefit. The Tumult being ſomewhat appeas'd, the Conſpirators took ten Canoo's, that were by the Ships ſide, and which the Admiral had bought all about the Iſland, and went aboard them as joyfully as if they had been in ſome Port of *Spain*. Upon this, many more, who had no hand in the Plot, in Deſpair to ſee themſelves as they thought forſaken, taking what they could along with them, went aboard the Canoo's with them, to the great Sorrow and Affliction of thoſe few faithful Servants, who remain'd with the Admiral, and of all the Sick, who thought themſelves loſt for ever, and without hopes of ever getting off. And it is certain, that had the People been well, not 20 Men had remain'd with the Admiral, who went out to Comfort his Men with the beſt Words the poſture of his Affairs would ſuggeſt; and the Mutineers, with their Captain *Francis de Porras*, in their Canoo's, went away for the Eaſt-point of the Iſland, whence *James Mendez* and *Fieſco* went over for *Hiſpaniola*; and whereſoever they came, they inſulted the *Indians*, taking away their Proviſions, and what elſe they pleas'd by force; and telling them, they muſt go to the Admiral and he would Pay them, but in caſe he did not, they might kill him, which was the beſt thing they could do; becauſe he was not only feared by the *Chriſtians*, but had been the ruine of all the Miſchief had befallen the *Indians* of the other Iſland, and would do the ſame

Mutineers go away to the Eaſt point of the Iſland.

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by them, if they did not prevent it by his Death, for that was his Design in staying there. Thus travelling to the Easternmost Point of *Jamaica*, the first Calm they set out for *Hispaniola*, carrying some *Indians* in every Canoo to row. But the Weather not being well setled, and their Canoo's over loaded, they resolv'd to return to *Jamaica* before they were 4 Leagues at Sea, the Wind turning against them, and they being able to make but little way. Besides, they not being skillful at managing the Canoo's, it hapned a little Water flash'd in over the sides; to remedy which, they lightned, throwing all they carried over-board; so that nothing remain'd but their Arms, and as much Provision as would serve them back. The Wind still freshing, and they thinking themselves in some danger, it was resolv'd to Murder the *Indians*, and throw them into the Sea; this they accordingly executed upon some of them; and others, who for fear of Death, trusting in their skill in Swiming, leap'd over into the Water, and being very weary would hang by the Canoo's to Breath a little, had their Hands cut off, and were wounded in other Parts; so that they Butcher'd 18, leaving only a few alive to Steer the Canoo's, because they knew not how to do it. And had not the need they had of them prevented it, they had compleated the greatest Act of Cruelty imaginable, leaving not one of them alive, after they had by Intreaties, and Deceitfully drawn them to their assistance in that dangerous Voyage. Being come to Shore, they differ'd in Opinions; for some said it was better to go to *Cuba*, and that from that Place where they were, they might take the East-Winds and Currents upon their Quarter, and so run over without any trouble in a short time, and so cross over from thence to *Hispaniola*, not knowing they were 17 Leagues asunder: Others said it was better to return to the Ships, and make their Peace with the Admiral, or take from him by force what Commodities and Arms he had left; others were for staying till another Calm, to attempt the same Passage again. This being thought the best Advice, they staid in that Town of *Aoamaquique* above a Month, waiting for fair Weather, and destroying the Country. When the fair Weather came, they imbark'd again twice, but made nothing of it, the Wind being contrary. Being thus disappointed of that Passage, they set out towards the West from one Town to another, with an Ill-Will, without Canoo's or any Comfort, sometimes Eating what they found, and taking it where they could by force, according to their Strength, and that of the *Caciques*, through whose Territories they pass'd.

Their Barbarities.

CHAP. CIII.

What the Admiral did, after the Mutineers were gone from him, and the Advantage he made of an Eclipse.

TO return to what the Admiral did, after the Rebels were gone, he took great Care that the Sick should be furnished with such things as were proper for their Recovery, and that the *Indians* should be so civilly treated that they might not forbear bringing Provisions to Exchange for our Commodities; which things were so well manag'd, and with such Application by him, that the *Christians* soon recover'd, and the *Indians* continued some days providing all things plentifully. But they being a People that take little Pains in Sowing; and we Eating more in one day than they did in 20; besides having no longer any Inclination to our Commodities, and making little account of them, they began in some measure to take the Advice of the Mutineers, since they saw so great a part of our Men against us, and therefore brought not such Plenty of Provisions as we stood in need of. This brought us to great Distress; for if we would have taken it by force, the greatest part of us must have gone ashore in warlike manner, and have left the Admiral aboard in great danger, he being very ill of the Gout; and if we expected they should bring it of their own accord, we must live in Misery, and give ten times as much for it as we did at first, they knowing how to make their Bargains, as being sensible of the Advantage they had over us. But God, who never forsakes those that have recourse to him, as the Admiral had, put him in the way how he should be furnish'd with all he wanted, which was thus. He bethought himself, that within 3 days there would be an Eclipse of the Moon in the first part of the night; and then sends an *Indian* of *Hispaniola*, who was with us, to call the principal *Indians* of that Province, saying, He would talk with them about a matter of Concern. Being come that day before the Eclipse was, he ordered the Interpreter to tell them, That we were *Christians*, and Believ'd in God, who dwelt

in Heaven, and took Care of the Good, and Puniſh'd the Wicked: That he ſeeing the Rebellion of the *Spaniards* had not permitted them to go over to *Hiſpaniola*, as *James Mendez* and *Fieſco* had done, but had made them run through all thoſe Sufferings and Dangers all the Iſland had heard of: That as for the *Indians*, ſeeing how negligent they were in bringing Proviſions for our Commodities, he was angry with them, and had Decreed to puniſh them with Plague and Famine; which becauſe perhaps they would not believe; God had appointed to give them a manifeſt token of it in the Heaven that they might plainly know the Puniſhment was to come from him. Therefore, he bid them that night, obſerve when the Moon appear'd, and they ſhould ſee her Riſe Angry and of a bloody Hue, to denote the miſchief God intended ſhould fall on them. Having ſaid this to them, the *Indians* went away, ſome afraid, and others looking upon it as an idle Story: But the Eclipſe beginning as the Moon was Riſing, and increaſing, the higher ſhe was, the *Indians* took notice of it, and were ſo frighted, that they came running from all Parts loaded with Proviſions, crying and lamenting, and pray'd the Admiral by all means to intercede with God for them, that he might not make them feel the Effects of his Wrath, and promiſing for the future carefully to bring him all he wanted. The Admiral ſaid he would ſpeak with God, and ſhut himſelf up whilſt the Eclipſe laſted, they ſtill crying out to him to aſſiſt them; and when the Admiral ſaw, the Eclipſe began to go off, and the Moon would ſoon ſhine, he came out of his Cabin, ſaying, He had pray'd to his God for them, and promis'd him in their names they would be good for the future, and uſe the *Chriſtians* well, bringing them Proviſions and other Neceſſaries; and that therefore God forgave them, and as a token of it they ſhould ſee the Angryneſs and Bloody colour of the Moon would go off. This proving ſo, juſt as he ſpoke it, they gave the Admiral many thanks, and prais'd his God, continuing ſo till the Eclipſe was quite paſs'd. From that time forwards they always took Care to provide all that was neceſſary, ever praiſing the God of the *Chriſtians*, for they believ'd the Eclipſes they had ſeen at other times, had denoted Miſchiefs to befal them; and being ignorant of the cauſe of them, and that they happned at certain times, not believing it poſſible to know on Earth, what was to happen in the Heavens, they certainly concluded the God of the *Chriſtians* had reveal'd it to the Admiral.

CHAP. CIV.

Of another Mutiny among thoſe that remain'd with the Admiral, which was quell'd by the coming of a Veſſel from Hiſpaniola.

EIght Months being paſs'd after *James Mendez* and *Bartholomew Fieſco* went away, and there being no News of them, the Admirals Men were very much caſt down, ſuſpecting the worſt; ſome ſaying they were loſt at Sea; others, that they were kill'd by the *Indians* in *Hiſpaniola*; and others, that they had Died with Sickneſs and Hardſhips; for from the Point of that Iſland, which lay next *Jamaica*, there was above 100 Leagues to *St. Domingo*, whither they were to go for Relief, the way by Land being over uncouth Mountains, and by Sea againſt the prevailing Winds and Currents. To confirm their Suſpicion, ſome *Indians* aſſur'd them they had ſeen a Canoo over-ſet and ſtranded on the Coaſt of *Jamaica* by the current, which its likely had been ſpread abroad by the Mutineers to make thoſe that were with the Admiral Deſpair of returning. They therefore concluding it certain that no Relief would come to them; one *Bernard*, an Apothecary of *Valencia*, with two Companions, whoſe Names were *Zamora* and *Villatoro*, and moſt of thoſe that had remain'd ſick, ſecretly conſpir'd together to do the ſame the others had done before. But Almighty God, who knew how dangerous this ſecond Sedition muſt be to the Admiral, was pleas'd to put a ſtop to it by the coming of a Veſſel ſent by the Governor of *Hiſpaniola*. It came to an Anchor one Evening near the Ships that were aground; and the Captain of it, whoſe Name was *James de Eſcobar*, came in his Boat to viſit the Admiral, ſaying, The Commendary and Governor of *Hiſpaniola* ſent him his Commendations; and not being able ſo ſoon to ſend a Ship fit to carry off all thoſe Men, had ſent him in his Name to Viſit him, and preſenting him a Cask of Wine and two Flitches of Bacon, return'd to his Caraval, and without taking any Letter, ſail'd away that very Evening. The Men, ſomewhat comforted with his coming, took no notice of what they had conſpir'd to do; tho' at the ſame time they much wondred that

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Baſe Practice of the Governor of Hiſpaniola.

the Caraval had ſtole away ſo privately, and in ſuch haſte; and they ſuſpected, that perhaps the Governor of *Hiſpaniola* would not have the Admiral go thither. He being aware of it, told them he had ſo ordered it, becauſe he would not go away without carrying them all off, which that Caraval was not big enough to perform; he being willing to prevent any Diſorders his ſtay might occaſion, from the Mutineers. But the Governor of *Hiſpaniola* was afraid that if the Admiral return'd to *Spain*, their Catholick Majeſties would reſtore him to his Government, and ſo he ſhould be forced to quit it; for which reaſon he would not provide as he might have done for the Admiral's Voyage to *Hiſpaniola*; and therefore had ſent that little Caraval to ſpy and obſerve the Condition the Admiral was in; and to know whether he could contrive with ſafety to have him deſtroyed, which he knew, by what had hapned to *James Mendez*, who ſent an Account of his Voyage in Writing, by the Caraval, which was as follows.

CHAP. CV.

An Account of what hapned to James Mendez, *and* Fieſco *in their Voyage.*

James Mendez, and *Fieſco*, ſetting out from *Jamaica*, that day they found the Weather ſetled Calm, and ſo held on till night, encouraging and perſuading the *Indians* to row with thoſe Paddles they uſe inſtead of Oars; and the Weather being violently hot, they would ſometimes leap into the Water and Swim, and then come freſh again to Row. Thus holding on their way, at Sun-ſet they loſt ſight of Land, and half the *Chriſtians* and *Indians* taking their Watch together at night to Row, and take care the *Indians* ſhould not prove treacherous, they advanced all that night without ſtaying, ſo that when day appear'd they were all weary enough. But the Commanders encouraging their Men, and ſometimes Rowing to give a good Example; after Eating to recover their Strength, and the Fatigue of the Night, they fell to their Labour again, ſeeing nothing but Sky and Water. And tho' this was enough to afflict them ſufficiently, yet we may ſay of them that they were in *Tantalus* his Condition; who having the Water within a Span of his Mouth, could not quench his Thirſt; ſo they were in Diſtreſs; for through the Ill-Management of the *Indians*, and the great Heat of the foregoing day and night, all the Water was drank up, without any regard to the future: And all Heat and Labour being intolerable without Drink, the higher the Sun aſcended the ſecond day after they ſet out, the more the Heat and Thirſt increas'd, ſo that by noon they had no Strength left. And as upon ſuch occaſions, the Head is bound to ſupply the Defect of the Hands and Feet; ſo by good fortune, the Captains found two Casks of Water, wherewith now and then relieving the *Indians*, they kept them up till the Cool of the Evening, encouraging them, and affirming they ſhould be ſoon near a ſmall Iſland called *Nabazza*, which lay in their way 8 Leagues diſtant from *Hiſpaniola*. This with their extraordinary Thirſt, and the Labour of Rowing two days and a night, quite caſt them down, believing they had loſt their way; for according to their reckoning they had run 20 Leagues, and ought now to be in ſight of the Iſland. But it was wearineſs that deceiv'd them, as well becauſe a Canoo that Rows well cannot in a day and night Row above 10 Leagues, as by reaſon the Currents are againſt them that go from *Jamaica* to *Hiſpaniola*, which they always judge to be more that ſuffer moſt by it. Night being come, having thrown one into the Sea who died with Thirſt, and others lying ſtretch'd out on the bottom of the Canoo, they were ſo afflicted in Mind, and ſo weak and ſpent that they hardly made any way. Yet, taking ſometimes Sea Water to refreſh their Mouths, which we may ſay was the Comfort given our Saviour, when he ſaid, *I thirſt*; they gently held on their way till the ſecond night came on without ſight of Land: But they being of thoſe God intended to ſave, it pleaſed him, that in that time of need, when the Moon began to riſe, *James Mendez* perceiv'd ſhe got up over-Land, for a little Iſland cover'd her in the Nature of an Eclipſe. Nor could they have ſeen it otherwiſe, becauſe it was ſmall, and at that time of night. Comforting them chearfully, and ſhowing them the Land, he ſo encouraged them ſupplying them in their great Thirſt with a little Water out of the Barrels, that the next morning they found themſelves near the ſmall Iſland, we ſaid was 8 Leagues from *Hiſpaniola*, and called *Nabazza*. They found it to be all round a hard Rock, and about half a League in circumference. Landing there the beſt they could, they all gave God Thanks for that Mercy; and there being

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Nabazza.

no Spring nor Tree, they went about taking up Rain-Water with their Calabaſhes, which lay in holes among the Rocks; which it pleas'd God to give them in plenty of that they fill'd their Bellies and Veſſels, and tho' the wiſer ſort adviſ'd the others to uſe Moderation in Drinking, yet Thirſt made ſome of the *Indians* exceed all Meaſure, whereof ſome died there, and others got deſperate Diſtempers. Having reſted that day till Evening, diverting themſelves, and Eating ſuch things as they found along the Shore, for *James Mendez* had all Utenſils to ſtrike Fire, rejoycing to be in ſight of *Hiſpaniola*, and fearing ſome bad Weather might ſtart up, they made ready to put an end to their Voyage, and accordingly about Sun-ſetting in the cool of the Evening, they ſet out towards Cape St. *Michael*, the neareſt Land of *Hiſpaniola*, where they arriv'd the next morning, being the fourth day after they ſet out. When they had reſted here two days, *Bartholomew Fieſco*, who was a Gentleman that ſtood upon his Honour, would have return'd as the Admiral had commanded him, but the Men who were Sailors, and *Indians*, being ſpent and indiſpos'd with their paſt Labour, and Drinking Sea-Water, and thought they had been delivered out of the Whales-Belly, their 3 days and nights anſwering to thoſe *Jonas* lay there, he could not get a Man to go with him. *James Mendez*, as being moſt in haſte, was gone up the Coaſt of *Hiſpaniola* in his Canoo, notwithſtanding he ſuffer'd under a Quartan Ague caus'd by his great Sufferings at Sea and at Land, in that Condition, travelling over Mountains and bad Roads, he came to *Xaragua*, which is a Province in the Weſt of *Hiſpaniola*, where the Governor then was, who ſeem'd to rejoyce at his coming, tho' afterwards he was tedious in diſpatching him, for the Cauſes abovemention'd, till after much importunity; it was obtain'd of him, that he ſhould give *James Mendez* leave to go to St. *Domingo*, there to buy and fit out a Veſſel with the Admiral's Money: which Ship being by him got ready, was ſent to *Jamaica* at the latter end of *May* 1504. and ſailed for *Spain*, according to the Admirals Direction, to give their Catholick Majeſties an Account of the Succeſs of his Voyage.

CHAP. CVI.

How the Mutineers ſet themſelves againſt the Admiral, and would hear of no Agreement.

NOw to return to the Admiral, who with all his Company had now receiv'd ſome Comfort and certain hopes of being delivered, by the Account of *James Mendez* his arrival, and the coming of the Caraval; he therefore thought fit to make it known to the Mutineers, that their Jealouſie ceaſing, they might return to their Duty. He therefore ſent two Men of Note, who had Friends among them, and knowing they would not believe, or at leaſt not ſeem to believe the coming of the Caraval, he ſent them part of the Bacon, the Captain of it had preſented him. Theſe two being come where Captain *Porras* was, with thoſe he confided moſt in, he came out to meet them, that they might not move, or perſuade the Men to repent them of the Crime they had committed, imagining, as the Truth was, That the Admiral ſent them a General Pardon. Yet it was not in the power of the Brothers ſo to curb their Men, but that they heard the News of the coming of the Caraval, the Health of thoſe that were with the Admiral, and the Offers he made them. After ſeveral Conſultations among themſelves, and the principal Men, the Reſult was, that they would not truſt to the Pardon the Admiral ſent them, but would go peaceably away to *Hiſpaniola*, if he would promiſe to give them a Ship to go in, provided two came; and if there came but one, he ſhould aſſign them half of it; and in the mean while, becauſe they had loſt their Cloths, and Commodities they had to Trade upon the Sea, he ſhould ſhare what he had with them. To which the Meſſengers anſwering, That thoſe were no reaſonable Propoſals, they interrupted them ſaying, That ſince it was not granted them by fair means, they would have it by force. Thus they diſmiſs'd the Admirals Meſſengers, miſinterpreting his Offers, and telling their Followers, that he was a cruel revengeful Man; and tho' they fear'd nothing for themſelves, becauſe the Admiral durſt not preſume to wrong them, becauſe of the favour they had at Court, yet they had reaſon to fear he would be reveng'd on the reſt, under colour of juſt Puniſhment; and that for this reaſon, *Roldan* and his Friends in *Hiſpaniola* had not truſted him, nor his Offers, and it ſucceeded

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CHAP. CVII.

How the Mutineers being come to the Ships, the Admiral's Brother went out to Fight them, overcame them, and took Porras *their Captain.*

THe Mutineers continuing obſtinate in their wicked Reſolution, came to a Town of the *Indians* within a quarter of a League of the Ships, then called *Maima*, where afterwards the *Chriſtians* built the Town they called *Sevil*; which the Admiral underſtanding, and being inform'd of their Deſign, he reſolved to ſend his Brother againſt them, to endeavour to reduce them by good Words; but ſo attended, that if they offer'd him any wrong, he might be able to oppoſe them. To this purpoſe, the Lieutenant drew out 50 Men, well arm'd, and ready for any Service. Theſe being come to a ſmall Hill, a Bow-ſhot from the Town where the Rebels were, ſent thoſe two before, who had gone on the firſt Meſſage, to require them to be peaceable, and that their Captain ſhould come peaceably to a Conference. But they being nothing inferior in Strength or Number, and almoſt all Seamen, perſuaded themſelves, that thoſe who came with the Lieutenant were weak Men, and would not Fight them; therefore they would not permit the Meſſengers to talk to them, but with their naked Swords, and the Spears, they had all in a Body, crying, Kill, Kill, fell upon the Lieutenants Party, ſix of the Rebels, who were accounted the boldeſt, having taken an Oath, not to part, but go directly againſt the Lieutenant, for if he were kill'd, they made no account of the reſt; wherein it pleas'd God they were diſappointed; for they were ſo well receiv'd, that 5 or 6 of them drop'd at the firſt Charge, moſt of them being of thoſe that aim'd at the Lieutenant, who fell upon his Enemies in ſuch manner, that in a very ſhort time, *John Sanchez de Cadiz*, from whom *Quibio* made his eſcape, was kill'd, as was *John Barba*; the firſt I ſaw draw his Sword when they ran into Rebellion, and ſome others fell very much wounded, and *Francis de Porras* their Captain was taken. Seeing themſelves ſo roughly handled, like baſe Rebellious People, they turn'd their Backs and fled as faſt as they could. The Lieutenant would have purſued, had not ſome of the chief Men about him been againſt it, ſaying, It was good to puniſh, but not ſo ſeverely, leaſt when he had killed many of them, the *Indians* ſhould think fit to fall upon the Victors, ſince he ſaw they were all in Arms, waiting the event of the fray, without taking either ſide. The Lieutenant approving of the Advice, return'd to the Ships, carrying along with him the Captain of the Rebels and ſome other Priſoners, where he was well receiv'd by the Admiral, his Brother, and thoſe that had remain'd with him, all of them giving Thanks to God for that Victory, which they attributed to him, and wherein the Guilty had receiv'd their juſt Puniſhment, and their Pride been humbled, none being wounded on our ſide but the Lieutenant in his Hand, and one of the Admiral's Gentlemen of the Chamber, who died of a ſmall wound he receiv'd with a Spear in his Hip. But to return to the Rebels, *Peter de Ledeſma*, that Pilot we mention'd above, who went with *Vincent Yanez* to *Honduras*, and ſwam aſhore at *Belem*, fell down certain Rocks, and lay hid that day and the next, till the Evening, no body aſſiſting him, or knowing where he was, except the *Indians*, who with Amazement, not knowing how our Swords would cut, with little Sticks opened his Wounds, one of which was in his Head, and his Brains were ſeen through it, another on his Shoulder, ſo large that his Arm hung, as it were looſe, and the Calf of one Leg almoſt cut off, ſo that it hung down to his Ankle, and one foot, as if it had a Slipper on it, being ſliced from

The Rebels routed.

A wonderful Account of a wounded Man.

Columbus.

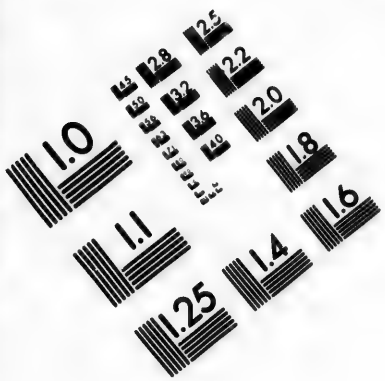
from the Heel to the Toes. Notwithſtanding all which deſperate Hurts, when the *Indians* diſturb'd him, he would ſay, Let me alone, for if I get up, *&c.* And they at theſe Words would fly in a great Conſternation. This being known aboard the Ships, he was carried into a Thatch'd Houſe hard by, where the Dampneſs and Gnats were enough to have kill'd him. Here inſtead of Turpentine, they dreſs'd his Wounds with Oil, and he had ſo many, beſides thoſe already mention'd, that the Surgeon who dreſs'd him ſwore, That for the firſt 8 days, he ſtill found out new ones, and yet at laſt he recover'd, the Gentleman of the Chamber dying, in whom he apprehended no danger. The next day, being the 20th of *May*, all thoſe that had eſcap'd, ſent a Petition to the Admiral, humbly begging he would be merciful to them, for they repented them of what was paſt, and were ready to ſubmit themſelves to him. The Admiral granted their Requeſt, and paſs'd a general Pardon, upon Condition the Captain ſhould continue a Priſoner, as he was, that he might not raiſe another Mutiny. And becauſe they could not be ſo eaſie, and conveniently aboard the Ships, and there might ariſe ſome provoking Words among the common ſort, which would cauſe diſturbance, and rub up old Sores, which might be the cauſe of freſh Tumults, and becauſe it would be a hard matter to Quarter, and maintain ſo many Men conveniently, thoſe few there were beginning to ſuffer want, he reſolv'd to ſend them a Commander with Commodities to Exchange, that he might go with them about the Iſland, and contain them within the Bounds of Juſtice, till ſuch time as the Ships came, which he daily expected.

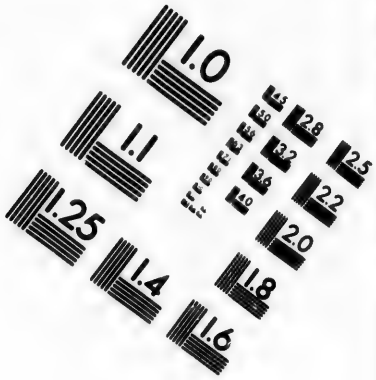
The Rebels Submit, and are Pardon'd

CHAP. CVIII.

How the Admiral went over to Hiſpaniola, *and thence into* Spain, *where at* Valladolid *it pleaſed God to take him to himſelf.*

THE *Chriſtians* being all again return'd to their Duty, and the *Indians* for that ſame reaſon being more careful to ſupply them for their Commodities, ſome days paſs'd which made up a year ſince we arrived at *Jamaica*. After which, there arriv'd a Ship, which *James Mendez* had bought and fitted out at St. *Domingo* with the Admirals Money, aboard which all the Men, as well Enemies as Friends, were Shipp'd, and ſetting Sail on the 28th of *June*, we proceeded on our Voyage with much difficulty, the Winds and Currents, as we have ſaid before, being very contrary to go from *Jamaica* to St. *Domingo*, where we arriv'd in great need of reſt on the 13th of *Auguſt* 1504. and the Governor made a great Reception for the Admiral, lodging him in his own Houſe; tho' this was a treacherous kindneſs; for on the other ſide, he ſet *Porras* who had headed the Mutineers at liberty, and attempted to puniſh thoſe who had a hand in apprehending of him, and to try other Cauſes and Offences that belong'd only to their Catholick Majeſties, who had appointed the Admiral Captain General of their Fleet, and yet he fawn'd upon the Admiral, uſing all Demonſtrations of Kindneſs in his preſence. This laſted till our Ship was refitted, and another hir'd, on which the Admiral, his Kindred, and Servants embark'd, moſt of the reſt remaining in *Hiſpaniola*. We ſailed on the 2d of *September*, and being but two Leagues at Sea, the Maſt of the Ship came by the board; for which reaſon the Admiral cauſ'd it to return into the Harbour, and we in the other held on our Courſe for *Spain*. Having run about the 3d part of the way, there aroſe ſuch a terrible Storm, that the Ship was in great danger. The next day, which was the 19th of *October*, the Weather being fair, and we very ſtill, the Maſt flew into four pieces; but the Courage of the Lieutenant, and the Admiral's Ingenuity, tho' he could not riſe out of his Bed for the Gout, found a Remedy for this Misfortune, making a Jury-Maſt of a Yard, and ſtrengthning the middle of it with Ropes, and ſome Planks they took from the Poop and Stern. In another Storm we ſpent our Foremaſt, and yet it pleaſed God we ſail'd 700 Leagues in that Condition, and arriv'd at the Port of St. *Lucar de Barrameda*, and thence to *Sevil*, where the Admiral took ſome reſt after the Fatigues he had gone through; and in *May* 1505. ſet out for the Catholick King's Court, for the glorious Queen *Iſabel* had the year before Exchang'd this Life for a better, which was no ſmall trouble to the Admiral, ſhe having always favoured and ſupported him, whereas the Catholick King had prov'd unkind, and averſe to his Affairs; which plainly appear'd by the Reception he gave him; for





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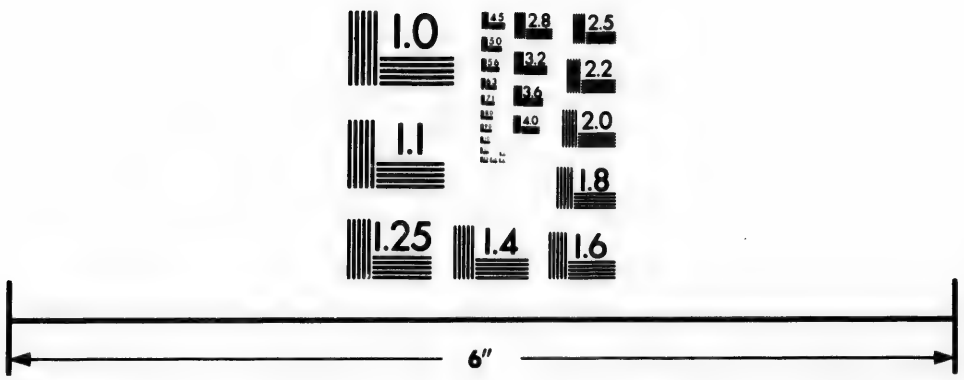

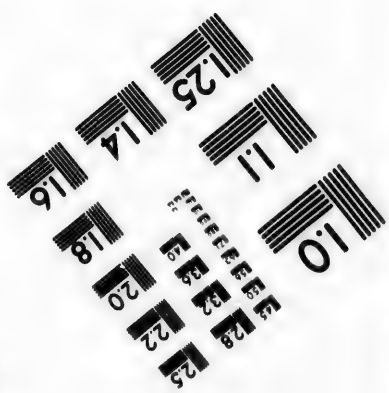

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Columbus. for tho' to appearance he ſhow'd him a favourable Aſpect, and pretended to reſtore him to his full power, yet he would have quite ſtript him of all, had not ſhame hindred him; which as has been ſaid, has great Power over Noble Spirits, and the King himſelf and Queen had both ingag'd their Faith to him, when he went upon his laſt Voyage. But the *Indies* daily more and more diſcovering what they were like to be, and the King perceiving how great a ſhare fell to the Admiral, by Virtue of the Articles granted him, he ſtrove to have the abſolute Dominion in himſelf, and to diſpoſe of all thoſe Employments which belong'd to the Admiral, according to his own Will and Pleaſure. Hereupon he began to propoſe new Terms to him by way of Equivalent, which God would not permit to take Effect; becauſe juſt then King *Philip* the firſt came to Reign in *Spain*; and at the time his Catholick Majeſty went from *Valladolid* to meet him, the Admiral much oppreſs'd with the Gout, and troubled to ſee himſelf put by his right, other Diſtempers coming on him, gave up his Soul to God upon *Aſcenſion*-Day, being the 20th of *May* 1506. at the aforeſaid City of *Valladolid*, having devoutly receiv'd all the Sacraments of the Church, and ſaid theſe Words laſt, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my Spirit:* which through his infinite Mercy we do not queſtion but he received into his Glory: To which may he admit us with him.

His Body was afterwards convey'd to *Sevil*, and there by the Catholick King's Order magnificently Buried in the Cathedral, and an Epitaph in *Spaniſh* cut on his Tomb, in Memory of his Renowned Actions, and Diſcovery of the *Indies*. The Words are theſe:

A CASTILIA, YA LEON,
NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON.

That is,

Columbus *gave* Caſtile *and* Leon *a New World.*

Words well worth Obſerving, becauſe the like cannot be found either among the Ancient or Moderns.

It will therefore be ever remembred, that he was the Diſcoverer of the *Weſt-Indies*, tho' ſince then, *Ferdinand Cortes* and *Francis Pizarro* have found out many other Provinces and vaſt Kingdoms on the Continent; For *Cortes* diſcovered the Province of *Yucatan*, and the City of *Mexico*, called *New Spain*, then poſſeſs'd by the great *Montezuma*, Emperor of thoſe Parts; and *Francis Pizarro* found out the Kingdom of *Peru*, which is of a vaſt Extent, and full of Endleſs Wealth, which was under the Dominion of the great King *Atabaliba*. From which Countries and Kingdoms there come every year into *Spain*, many Ships laden with Gold, Silver, Brazil, Cochinele, Sugar, and many other Commodities of great value, beſides Pearls and other Jewels, which are the Cauſe that at this time *Spain* and its Princes flouriſh and abound in Wealth.

F I N I S.

This LETTER *underneath was written by* Mr Greaves *to the famous* Claudius Hardy, *who publiſh'd* EUCLID's *DATA, and was in great Eſteem for his Learning in the Mathematicks, and his Skill in the Oriental Languages.*

Clariſſimo Doctiſſimoque Viro D. C. H.

QUatuor anni clapſi ſunt (vir clariſſime) ex quo propter longinquam peregrinationem à me in Orientem ſuſceptam, nulla mihi opportunitas data eſt, affectum, ſincerimque tibi animum teſtandi. Tandem favente Numine, ſalvo & incolumi reverſo, conceditur nonnihil otii, & de periculis præteritis, & de amicis veteribus, cogitandi. Inter quos ſi rectè de humanitate, ſtudiiſque tuis judico, nemo erit qui de reditu meo, majori, quàm tu, lætitiâ afficiatur. Eáque tantò erit ac cumulatior, cùm intellexeris iter tam periculoſum non alias ob cauſas initum, niſi ut linguis Orientalibus, & ſtudiis Aſtronomicis, peregrè feliciùs incumberem, in quibus utriſque quantum profeceris, eruditis tuis ſcriptis, literatis omnibus ſatis comprobaſti. Quapropter breviter, ſtrictimque, ubi commoratus ſim, quid præſtiterim, & quos libros mecum adduxerim, pro veteri amicitiâ tibi indicabo. Primum annum Conſtantinopoli egi, ut me totum linguæ Arabicæ addicerem, ſed ſpe falſus, idoneis deſtitutus magiſtris, ad alias curas animum induxi, eúmque diligenti librorum MSS. diſquiſitioni applicui. Quo quidem in genere non pœnitendam operam locavi. Nam præter varios codices Arabicos, Perſicos, Turcicos, propemodum de univerſis ſcientiis ſcriptos, & præter Lexica melioris notæ tribus hiſce linguis deſervientia, coemi inſuper penè omnes antiquos Mathematicos Græcos, in idioma Arabicum ante aliquot ſæcula traductos, unà cum operibus præcipuè Aſtronomorum recentium, apud Arabes, & Indos, maximè inſignium. Inter verò illos antiquos, non leviter gaudeo adhuc ſuperſtites reperiri, quatuor libros Apollonii Pergæi Geometræ ſubtiliſſimi

في وضع المخطوط علي المسس

quorum Pappus, aliique meminerunt. Conſtantinopoli cum claſſe Turcicâ ſolvi, eo anni tempore, quo ſolent, multis navigiis ſimul, pro more Gentis, Alexandriam peterc. Fretus ſatis proſperâ navigatione Rhodum appuli, ubi, propter auctoritatem Poſidonii, clanculùm in ſubmœnianis Chriſtianorum hortis altitudinem ſolis ſæpe obſervavi: inde poſt ſex dies è portu diſcedens, octo dierum ſpacio, flantibus leniter Etefiis, Alexandriam perveni; ubi corruptis Judæis, qui vectigalibus ibi præſunt, inſtrumenta mea Aſtronomica ſine periculo expoſui. Erant autem diverſa, ex ære ut plurimum fabrefacta, & ab egregio artifice ſummâ cum diligentiâ conſtructa, quorum maximum quadrans erat totus æneus, radium obtinens ſeptem eorum pedum, qui apud Anglos veteri edicto Regio uſurpantur. Alexandriæ ſex menſes continuos hæſi, ſoli ſtelliſque intentus, quoties per caligines, aut pluvias, licebat, quas illic, mediâ præcipuè hyeme, contra receptam opinionem, & crebras, & violentas,

To the moſt Worthy and moſt Learned *D. C. H.*

IT is now four Years, worthy Sir, ſince my long Travels into the East have depriv'd me of the opportunity of giving you ſome Teſtimony of my Affection, and ſincere Inclinations to you. Being at length, by the help of God, return'd in ſafety, I have ſome leiſure to think on paſt Dangers, and old Friends; among whom, if I be not miſtaken in your Favour and Inclination, none will more rejoyce at my Return than you. And your Satisfaction will be the greater, when you underſtand that I undertook ſo dangerous a Journy upon no other Account, but to apply my ſelf more ſucceſſfully in Foreign Parts, to the Study of Aſtronomy, and the Oriental Languages; in both which, how great a Proficient you are, has been ſufficiently made appear to the Learned World by your Writings, full of Erudition. I will therefore, in purſuit of our former Friendſhip, briefly inform you in what Parts I reſided, what I did there, and what Books I have brought with me. I ſpent the firſt Year at Conſtantinople, *with a deſign to apply my ſelf wholly to the* Arabick *Tongue; but being deceiv'd in my expectation, and wanting able Maſters, I bent my Mind to other Affairs, and apply'd my ſelf to a diligent Search of Manuſcript Books. Wherein I have not loſt my Labour: For beſides ſeveral* Arabick, Perſian, *and* Turkiſh *Books, which treat of almoſt all Sciences, and beſides the beſt Lexicons for the underſtanding of theſe three Languages, I have bought almoſt all the ancient* Greek *Mathematicians, tranſlated ſome Ages ſince into the* Arabick *Tongue, together with the Works of the moſt renowned modern Aſtronomers among the* Arabians *and* Indians. *But among thoſe ancient ones, I do not a little rejoyce, that there are ſtill found in being four Books of* Apollonius Pergæus, *the moſt ſubtile Geometrician,*

Conicorum libri quatuor.

of which Pappus, *and others make mention. I ſail'd from* Conſtantinople *with the* Turkiſh *Fleet, at the time the great Convoy of that Nation uſes to ſet out for* Alexandria. *My paſſage was good, and I arriv'd at* Rhodes, *where, in reſpect to* Poſſidonius's *Authority, I often took the Sun's Altitude privately in the Gardens of the Chriſtians without the Walls. Departing that Port after ſix Days, a gentle Eaſterly Gale, in eight Days, brought me to* Alexandria; *where bribing the* Jews, *who have the collecting the Cuſtoms, I landed my Aſtronomical Inſtruments in ſafety. I had ſeveral of them, moſt of them of Braſs, and made by a notable Workman, with extraordinary accuracy; the biggeſt whereof was a Braſs Quadrant, whoſe Radius was ſeven ancient Statute Foot of* England. *I continu'd ſix whole Months at* Alexandria, *obſerving the Sun and Stars, as often as Fogs and Rains would permit; which, contrary to the receiv'd Opinion, I found to be frequent and violent, eſpecially in the*

lentas, eſſe ſenſi. Laboribus, & vigiliis defeſſus, relaxandi animi gratiâ bis Memphim petii, ſeu ut rectiùs loquar العآهرة Nam antiquâ Memphi Orientalior eſt hodierna Elkahira ſeptem ad minimum mill bus paſſuum: inde ad ſepulcra veterum Ægyptiorum acceſſi, & cryptas illas ſubterraneas ſubii; poſt ad pyramides me contuli, earumque juſtam magnitudinem, idoneis ad eam rem adjutus inſtrumentis, deprehendi, & multa illic, dum omnia curioſiùs perluſtro, nec à priſcis ſcriptoribus, nec à recentioribus, literis mandata, annotavi. Opera ſanè ſtupenda, & ab ipſis Antiquis inter orbis miracula merito judicata, ſed a nemine (quòd ſciam) pro eorum dignitate ſatis deſcripta.

Interiorem cameram, & nonnulla ſecretiora adyta, temporis injuriâ nondum corrupta, nec unquam, ſi rectè judico, corrumpenda, menſuris Anglicis diligenter menſus ſum, adeò exactè, ut è viginti mille partibus, in quas viginti pedes, lineis tranſverſis, ſive potius diagoniis, diviſi, ne unam quidem, vel deeſſe, vel ſupereſſe, exiſtimem. Quod ideò tanto accuratiùs præſtiti, ut ex iſtâ comparatione omnium gentium menſuræ, quæ hodie ſunt, aut olim fuerunt, è duraturo aliquo monumento poſteris ſignari poſſint. Quod quidem ſi à Mathematicis olim præſtitum fuiſſet, ſelectis aliquibus idoneis locis, temporum injuriæ non obnoxiis, minus hodie incerti eſſemus in antiquorum menſuris inveſtigandis. Quid de meo conſilio cenſendum ſit, eruditorum judicio permitto; me certè, neque propoſiti, neque laboris ſuſcepti pœnitet. Te verò (Vir clariſſime) inter alios præcipuè oro, & obteſtor, ut pondera, & menſuras Gallicas, ſummâ diligentiâ cum archetypis, collatas, & Regio ſigillo, ut fieri aſſolet, munitas ad me tranſmittas, & ſi qua numiſmata, vaſa priſca, vel pedes veteſti, ab hæredibus Nobiliſſimi D. Viri Pereſcii recuperari poſſint, meo ære compares. Multum ille in hâc palæſtra defudavit, & quantum ex literis ipſius licet conjicere, ſi peperiſſet, quæ tam diu parturivit, omnium induſtriam, & conatus facilè ſuperaſſet. Ipſe dum peregrè agebam tanquam itineris παίγνιον, Arabum, Perſarum, Turcarum, Italorum, Hiſpanorum, Germanorum, varia, & diverſa pondera, & menſuras, meis oculis, manibuſque ſubjeci, & cum Anglicis ſeduliè, & fideliter contuli. Idem & de Gallicis in animum induxiſſem, ſi per Pariſios domum redire contigiſſet, ſed, ſpe fruſtratus, iſtam tibi, tuæque diligentiæ provinciam demando. Tu me interea eâdem benevolentiâ proſequêris, quâ ſolebas, & ſi quid, quod mihi adjumento eſſe poſſit, repereris, Viro Doctiſſimo, meique amantiſſimo, D. Dorrel in ædibus Oratoris Angli, committes. Vale.

Londini 18. Kal.
Jun. MDCXLI.

Tibi addictiſſimus,

JOANNES GRAVIUS.

depth of Winter. Being ſpent with Labour and Watching, I went twice to divert my ſelf to Memphis, *or to ſpeak more properly,* Elkahira: *For the preſent* Elkahira (Grand Cairo) *is at leaſt ſeven Miles to the Eaſtward of the ancient* Memphis. *Thence I repair'd to the Sepulchres of the ancient* Egyptians, *and entred thoſe ſubterranean Cells, or Caverns; thence I went to the Pyramids, and having fit Inſtruments for that purpoſe, took their exact Dimenſions, obſerving there many things, as I curiouſly view'd them, which have not been deliver'd in writing either by the ancient or modern Authors. They are indeed amazing Structures, and deſervedly reckoned by the Ancients among the Wonders of the World, but not yet deſcrib'd as they ought to be by any one that I know of.*

I carefully took the Dimenſions of the inner Chamber, and ſome more private places, which Time has not yet, nor, if I miſtake not, ever will deſtroy, with Engliſh *Meaſures; and that ſo exactly, that I believe there is not one part over or under of* 20000, *into which* 20 *Foot are divided by Croſs, or rather Diagonal Lines. Which I was the more exact in, to the end that the Meaſures of all Nations that now are, or formerly were, may be tranſmitted to Poſterity from ſome laſting Monument, by comparing them with theſe. Had this been formerly done by Mathematicians, chooſing for the purpoſe ſome proper Places not expoſ'd to the Injury of Time, we ſhould not at preſent be ſo uncertain in the ſearch after the Meaſures of the Ancients. I leave it to the Learned to determine, what Judgment is to be made of this my Deſign; for my part I neither repent my Attempt nor my Labour. I intreat and conjure you (moſt worthy Sir) to ſend me the* French *Weights and Meaſures, carefully compar'd with the Standards, and ſeal'd by the King's Authority, as is uſual; and if any Coins, old Veſſels, or ancient Feet can be obtain'd of the Heirs of the moſt Noble* Pereſcius, *that you will buy them upon my account. He labour'd much in this Affair, and, as may be conjectur'd by his Letters, had he brought forth what he had ſo long conceiv'd, he would doubtleſs have out-done all others. I, during my Travels, by the by, view'd and handled the ſeveral and ſundry Weights and Meaſures of the* Arabians, Perſians, Turks, Italians, Spaniards, *and* Germans, *an I carefully compar'd them with the* Engliſh. *I ſhould have done the ſame by the* French, *had I return'd home by the way of* Paris, *but being diſappointed of it, I commit this Affair to your Care. Do you continue your wonted Good Will to me, and if you happen to find any thing that may be a help to me, deliver it to the moſt Learned Gentleman, and my very good Friend, Mr.* Dorrel, *at the* Engliſh *Embaſſador's. Farewel.*

London, May 14.
1641.

Your moſt Affectionate,

JOHN GREAVES.

Pyramidographia :

OR, A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PYRAMIDS

IN

ÆGYPT.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Professor of Astronomy in the University of* OXFORD.

Romanorum Fabricæ & antiqua opera (cum veniâ id dictum sit) nihil accedunt ad Pyramidum splendorem, & superbiam. Bellon. lib. 2. Observ. cap. 42.

THE PREFACE.

HOW *high an Eſtimation the Ancients had of the* Ægyptian *Pyramids, appears by the ſeveral Teſtimonies of* Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, *and* Pliny. *For* [a] Herodotus *acknowledges, that though there were a Temple at* Epheſus *very renowned, as alſo at* Samos; *yet the Pyramids were worthier of Relation: Each of which ſingle, might be compared with many of the moſt ſumptuous Structures of the* Grecians. Diodorus Siculus *confirms as much; who as he prefers the Works of the* Ægyptians *for Magnificence before thoſe of other Nations, ſo he prefers the Pyramids before the reſt of the* Ægyptians: It is confeſſed, [b] *ſaith he*, that theſe Works far excel the reſt in *Ægypt*, not only in the maſſineſs of the Structures, and in the Expences, but alſo in the Skilfulneſs of the Architects. *He farther adds.* The Greatneſs of the Work, and Art of the Work-men, ſtrike an admiration into the Spectators. [c] Strabo *alſo teſtifies.* That three of them are very memorable, two of theſe are accounted amongſt the ſeven Miracles of the World. *Laſtly,* [d] Pliny, *though he judges them* to be an idle and vain Oſtentation of the Wealth of Kings, *yet he grants that* three of them have filled the World with their Fame. *Which three, by his Deſcription, and by ſuch Indications as may be collected out of* Diodorus *and* Strabo, *muſt neceſſarily be theſe three, which now are extant, and of which I intend eſpecially to diſcourſe. For* [e] Diodorus *writes, That* they are ſeated on Libya-ſide, an CXX Stadia (or Furlongs) from *Memphis*, and from *Nilus* XLV. *We likewiſe read in* [f] Strabo, XL Stadia from the City (*Memphis,*) there is a certain Brow of an Hill in which are many Pyramids; *who, preſently after deſcribing more particularly the three greateſt, gives us this Character:* Theſe three ſtand near to one another upon the ſame Plain. *And if that be not ſufficient to point them out,* [g] Pliny *delivers many evident marks whereby to diſcover them:* Theſe three (*as he informs us,*) are very conſpicuous to thoſe that ſail upon the *Nilus*, they are ſeated on *Africa* ſide, upon a Rocky and Barren Hill, between the City *Memphis* and that place which we ſaid is called the *Delta*, from the *Nilus* leſs than IV Miles, from *Memphis* VI; there being a Village appoſite to them, which they name *Buſiris*, from whence they uſe to aſcend up to them. *All which Characters ſeem, and are appliable to none but only to theſe three.*

Having thus diſcovered their true Place, or Situation, we ſhall next ſet down the ſeveral Opinions of the Authors who have written of them. Amongſt the Ancients, there were many who thought it worth their Labour to deſcribe them. For Pauſanias, *as it were, complains, that the Grecians had been very careleſs in deſcribing theſe, which they had omitted*

[a] Καίτοι ἀξιόλογός γε ἑκάτερα ἐστὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ. τῶν δὲ νεῶν αἱ πυραμίδες λόγῳ μείζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἑκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλλήνων ἔργων καὶ μεγίστων διαφέρουσα. Herod. l. 2.

[b] Ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πολὺ διαφέρειν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οὐ μόνον τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν λιθοτεχνημάτων καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πολυτέχνῳ τῆς ἐργασίας. Diod. Sic. Biblioth. l. 1. Τὸ δὲ μεγέθει τῆς ἔργων καὶ τῷ [illegible] τεχνῶν [illegible] ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς θεατάς. Ibid.

[c] Ἰδίᾳ δὲ [illegible] τῶν ἑπτὰ θεαμάτων ἐστὶν ἀξιολογώτατα τὰ περὶ τὴν Δέλτα τρία πυραμίδες. Strab. l. 17.

[d] [illegible] Pyramidum tres, de quibus [illegible] Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

[e] Αὗται δὲ κεῖνται κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην τὴν πρὸς τοῖς Μεμφίτοις τόποις ἐπὶ πέτρας ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι, ἀπὸ δὲ Νείλου τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῖς τετταράκοντα. Diod. Sic. l. 1.

[f] Τετταράκοντα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως στάδιοι τὰ περὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὄρη· ἐν ᾧ πολλαί εἰσι πυραμίδες ἐστί. Strab. l. 12. Αὗται δὲ ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ πλησίον, ἐπὶ πέτρου ἐπιπέδου. Idem Ibid.

[g] *Reliquæ tres*] *ſunt conſpicuæ undique innavigantibus, ſitæ ſunt in parte Africæ, montuoſæ ſterilique inter Memphim oppidum, & quod appellari diximus Delta, à Nilo minus IV millia paſſ. à Memphi, vico appoſito, quem vocant Busiris, in quo ſunt adlationes deorum illatæ.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

many remarkable Structures of their own, writes thus: [h] *That the Grecians admired things of Strangers more than of their own, seeing that some Historians of Note had most accurately described the Pyramids of Ægypt, whereas the Treasury of Minyas, and Walls of Tiryns, (places in Bœotia,) no less to be admired than these, had been omitted by them.* Pliny *gives us a large Catalogue of Authors that had purposely treated of this Argument:* [i] *Those which have writ of them, are,* Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butorides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion: *Where we are beholding to him for preserving the Names of so many Writers, though their Works (unless those of* Herodotus,*) by the injury and calamity of Times, have long since perished. Besides these,* Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, Solinus, *and* Ammianus Marcellinus, *(the Names of Modern Authors I purposely omit,) have given us some Relations of them. But it may be, if the Writings of* Aristides *had not perished, who in his* Λόγῳ Αἰγύπτῳ *speaks thus of himself,* [k] *After that I had entred into Æthiopia, and four times travelled all over Ægypt, and had left nothing unhandled, neither the Pyramids, nor Labyrinth, nor Temples, nor Channels, and partly had procured out of their Writings such measures as might be had, and partly with the Priests had measured such things as were not obvious, yet could I not preserve them intire for thee, seeing the Books which thy Servants, by my appointment, transcribed, have perished: Or, if we had* the Sacred Commentaries of the Ægyptians, *so often cited by* Diodorus, *we might receive better satisfaction, and be also more content with the loss of those other Writings of the* Grecians. *But seeing the vicissitudes and revolutions of Times, have deprived us of these, whilst the Pyramids have been too great to be consumed, it will be no superfluous labour to imitate the Examples of the Ancients, and to supply the loss of them, by giving a distinct Narration of the several respective Dimensions and Proportions of these Pyramids: In which I shall tread in as even a Path as I can, between Truth and the Traditions of such of the Ancients as are still extant: First, putting down those Relations which by them have been transmitted to us; and next, shewing in what manner, upon Examination, I found the Pyramids in the Years One thousand six hundred thirty eight, and One thousand six hundred thirty nine, or in the Thousand forty and eighth Year of the* Hegira. *For I twice went to* Grand Cairo *from* Alexandria, *and from thence into the Deserts, for the greater certainty to view them; carrying with me a* radius *of ten Feet most accurately divided into Ten thousand Parts, besides some other Instruments, for the fuller discovery of the Truth. But before I descend to a particular Description, I shall make enquiry by whom, at what time, and to what end these Monuments were erected.*

[h] Ὡς ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ ἀναγεγραπται δεῖν καλακεχωρισμένων. Οἱ ἱστορίαν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱσορεῖσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων ἐν τῇ ἱστορίᾳ βίβλοις. Diod. Sic. l. 1. Idem. Ibidem.

[i] *Qui de iis scripsere, ut* Herodotus, Euhemerus, Duris Samius, Aristagoras, Dionysius, Artemidorus, Alexander Polyhistor, Butorides, Antisthenes, Demetrius, Demoteles, Apion. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 12.

[k] Τετταρεσκαιδεκάτῳ δ' ἔτει ἦλθον εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ τετράκις ἐπῆλθον πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ οὐδὲν κατέλιπον οὔτε τῶν πυραμίδων, οὔτε τοῦ λαβυρίνθου, οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν, οὔτε τῶν διωρυχῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων ἐμισθωσάμην τὰ μέτρα λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ συνεμετρησάμην τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους ἃς ἐκέλευσα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀντιγράψαι, οὐκ ἔσωσα σοι διὰ τὸ τὰς μὲν ἀπολωλέναι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶναι· εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἀναγεγραμμένας ἐσπουδάκειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ἐκλαβεῖν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἂν ἐπεποίηκειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων ἐκλαβεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν διὰ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολάς, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκλαβεῖν ἐνῆν ἐκ τῶν πυραμίδων· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐδὲν ἀνεξέτασον ἃ συγγράφουσι, καὶ λαβεῖν, ὃν ἱερόν, ἃ διώρυχας ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὲ ἐκ βίβλων τὰ μέτρα ὑπῆρχεν ἐκλαβεῖν παρεσκεύασα. διὸ καὶ ἐξ ἑτοίμου λαβεῖν ἐμοὶ ἐκμισθώσας αὐτὸς μὲ τῶν καιρῶν ἐξέβαν καὶ μεσημβρὶ· εἶτ' ἐκ ἐδυνήθην αὐτὰ σοι διασῶσαι τῶν συγγραμμάτων διαφθαρέντων ἃ τοῖς σοῖς σωτὶ παρέταξα παισίν. Aristid. Λόγ. Αἰγυπ.

Of the Authors or Founders of the PYRAMIDS.

Greaves.

IT is the Opinion of ſome [a] Modern Writers, that the *Ægyptian* Pyramids were erected by the *Iſraelites*, during their heavy preſſure under the Tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. And this ſeems to be confirmed by [b] *Joſephus*; who relates, that *when at Time had extinguiſhed the Memory of the Benefits of* Joſeph, *the Kingdom of* Ægypt *being tranſplanted into another Family, they uſed the* Iſraelites *with much ſeverity, waſting them with ſeveral Labours; for they were commanded to cut divers Channels for the River* (Nilus) *to raiſe Walls, and caſt up Banks, whereby to hinder the inundation of the Stream; they oppreſſed alſo our Nation with thoſe Fabricks of the Pyramids, compelling them to learn many* (mechanical) *Arts, and inured them to the ſupporting of Labours.* But the ſacred Scriptures clearly expreſſing the Slavery of the *Jews*, to have conſiſted in making and burning of Brick, (for the Original is לבנים *Lebénim*, which the [c] *Septuagint* renders by πλινθος and πλινθεια,) whereas all theſe Paramids conſiſt of Stone, I cannot be induced to ſubſcribe to their Aſſertion.

[a] *Hero, Spondanus de exercitatis rebus, lib. 1. par. 1. cap. 6. Bredenus Epigr. Græc. vet. 1666.*

[b] Joſeph. lib. 2. Antiq. cap. 5. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἑτέρους ἀνθρώπους μετέβαλεν ὁ χρόνος, καὶ ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίαν μεθειστήκει διὰ τὸν ἐπιλειψαυσίαν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ, &c.

[c] Exod. cap. 5. ver. 14.

Much leſs can I aſſent to that Opinion of [d] *Stephanus*, [e] *Nicetas*, [f] *Nonnus*, and *the Author of the Greek* [g] Ἐτυμολογικὸν μέγα, with ſome others, who derive the Name of the Pyramids ἀπὸ τῆς πυρὸς, that is *from Corn*, and not ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, *from the Figure of a Flame of Fire*, which they reſemble; becauſe, ſay moſt of them, theſe were built by the Patriarch *Joſeph*, as (Προσδόκια, *Receptacles and Granaries* of the ſeven plentiful Years. For, beſides that this Figure is moſt improper for ſuch a purpoſe, (a Pyramid being the leaſt capacious of any regular Mathematical Body) the ſtraightneſs and fewneſs of the Rooms within, (the reſt of the Building being one ſolid and intire Fabrick of Stone) do utterly overthrow this conjecture. Wherefore the Relations of *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and of ſome others, but eſpecially of theſe two, both of them having travelled into *Ægypt*, and converſed with the Prieſts, (beſides that, the latter made uſe of their *Commentaries*,) will give us the beſt and cleareſt Light in Matters of ſo great Antiquity.

[d] Ὠνομάσθη ὁ Πυραμίδες ἀπὸ τοῦ πυροῦ, ὡς ἐκεῖ σιτοφυλακίων ὁ σπειλιὰς ἔνθεν ἐστοιπον σίτου καὶ ἀπὸ Νίνου Steph. de urbibus.

Πυραμίδες.] *Id eſt ædificia quædam à Joſeph, ut nonnulli opinantur, ad condenda frumenta ſcitè admodum elaborata, ſimilia pyræ, id eſt, acervo frumenti non abſimilia. Nicetas in XX Orat. Nazianzeni.*

[e] Νῦν δὲ τοῦτο, ut inquit Nonnus, ἀ ἔστιν, quin has Pyramides poſt Joſephi tempora, ex Pharaonis Judæorum ex Ægypto in Regum ſepulchra conſtruxerint. Bilius ex Nonno monacho. Ibidem.

[f] Πυραμίδες ὁ πάλαι χρόνος) ἐν αἷς Βασιλικὰ σιτοφυλάκια, ἃ ἐπεκάλουσι Τωβίδ. Ἑτυμολ. μέγα.

For *Herodotus* writes thus concerning the firſt of theſe Pyramids, that [h] *until King* Rhampſinitus's *time the* Ægyptians *report the Laws to have flouriſhed in* Ægypt: *After whom*, Cheops *ſucceeding in the Kingdom, fell into all manner of Vice; for, ſhutting up the Temples, he forbad the* Ægyptians *to ſacrifice; beſides, he commanded that they ſhould be imployed in his Works*, (he means this Pyramid of which he diſcourſeth,) *that ſome of them ſhould receive the Stones dug out of the Quarries of the* Arabian *Mountain, and that from thence they ſhould carry them to the* Nilus; *theſe being wafted over the River, others were to receive them, and to draw them to the Mountain which is called* Libycus. *There were imployed in the Work ten* Myriads *of Men, every three Months a* Myriad: *The People ſpent ten Years in the way in which they drew the Stones, which ſeems to me no leſs a Work than the building of the Pyramid it ſelf.* * *Diodorus Siculus* diſcourſing of the ſame Argument, gives the Erector of this another name, different from that of *Herodotus*, ſtiling him *Chemmis*; but in the Time, and Perſon, they both agree, each of them affirming him to have ſucceeded *Rhampſinitus*, and to have been the Father of *Mycerinus*, and to have reigned over the *Ægyptians* fifty Years. This difference of Names between *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the ſame King, may probably be thus reconciled, That *Diodorus* expreſſes the genuine denomination in the *Ægyptian* Language, and that *Herodotus* renders the ſignification in

[h] Herod. lib. 2. Μέχρι μὲν νυὸ Ῥαμψίνιτα βασιλῆος ἦν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάντ' ἐυνομίῃσι ἐλεγχόμενα, &c.

* Diod. Sic. l. 1.

in the *Greek*; a practice not unusual with him, and with other approved Authors. Thus the Patriarch *Isaac* in the Scriptures, being denominated from צחק, that is, *Laughter*, is by *Alexander Polyhistor*, as * *Eusebius* testifies, named Γέλως. Wherefore חם *Cham* in *Hebrew*, (or in the *Greek* stellion, *Chemmis,*) signifying *Adustion*, which anciently might be the name in *Ægyptian*, and χέωψ, or καιωψ, signifying *Swarthy Visage* or *Adust*; *Herodotus* might call him *Cheops* in *Greek*, whom in the *Ægyptian* Language *Diodorus* stiles *Chemmis*. But I go on with *Diodorus*. This Chemmis, [a] saith he, *erected the greatest of these three Pyramids, which are reputed amongst the seven wonderful Fabricks of the World*; where he also enlarges the number of the Workmen imployed by him, to *Three hundred and sixty thousand*, which *Herodotus* mentions only to have been *an Hundred thousand*; though both of them concur, and [b] *Pliny* with them both, that *twenty years were spent in the building of this Pyramid.*

* Euseb. præp. Evangel. cap. 16.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Χώμμις ἑξηκοντάδας ἓξ τῶν μεγίστων τῶν τριῶν Πυραμίδων ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις ἔργοις θεάσασθαι.

[b] *Pyramis amplissima ex Aralicis lapidicinis exstitit.*

Trecenta LX *hominum milla annis* XX *eam construxisse prodantur.* Plin. lib. 36. cap. 12.

Concerning the second Pyramid, *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* assign the Author of it to have been *Cephren*, Brother to the former King. *Diodorus* adds, that by some he is also called *Chabryis*, and was the Son of *Chemmis*; a difference which I imagin to have been occasioned out of the diversity of Pronunciation of *Chabryis* for *Cephren*; there being an easie Transmutation in Letters of the same Organ, as *Grammarians* use to speak. *Cheops*, as [c] *Herodotus* informs us, *being deceased, his Brother* Cephren *reigned after him; who imitated him, as in other things, so in the making of a Pyramid, the Magnitude of which is less than that of his Brothers.* And [d] *Diodorus* relates, *That* Chemmis *being dead, his Brother* Cephren *succeeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned Fifty six Years: Some say, that not his Brother, but his Son, which was named* Chabryis, *reigned after him. This is affirmed by the consent of all, that the Successor of the former King, in imitation of him, built the second Pyramid like to the first, in respect of the Art and Workmanship, but far inferior to it in respect of Magnitude.*

[c] Herod. lib. 2. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν τυραννίδα τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα, &c.

[d] Diodor. lib. 1. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ ἀδελφὸς κεφρὴν, καὶ ἡβῆσαι ἐπὶ ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτη, &c.

The third Pyramid was erected by [e] *Mycerinus*, some call him *Mycherinus*, as it is observed by *Diodorus*, who makes him the Son of *Chemmis*, as *Herodotus* doth of *Cheops*; the difference between them being, as we noted before, rather nominal than real. The fame [f] *Herodotus* also writes, That *some of the* Grecians *make the third Pyramid the work of* Rhodopis *a Curtizan*; *an Errour in Opinion of those who seem not to know who this* Rhodopis *might be of which they speak; for neither could she have undertaken such a Pyramid, on which so many thousand Talents were to be spent; neither lived she in this Man's time, but in the time of King* Amasis. Now this *Amasis*, as he elsewhere shews, lived long after these Pyramids were in being. The fame Story is recited by [g] *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, both of them omitting the Names of the Founders of the former two. *Strabo* gives her a double Name; *The third Pyramid is the Sepulchre of a Curtizan, made by her Lovers, whom* Sappho *the Poetress calls* Doricha, *Misiress to her Brother* Charaxus; *others name her* Rhodope. But whether we name her *Doricha*, or *Rhodope*, the Relation is altogether improbable, if we consider either her Condition or the infinite vastness of the Expence. For * *Diodorus*, though he rightly acknowledges this Pyramid to be much less than either of the former two, yet in respect of the exquisite Workmanship, and richness of the Materials, he judges it not inferiour to either of them. A Structure certainly too great and sumptuous to have been the design and undertaking of a Curtizan, which could hardly have been performed by a rich and potent Monarch. And yet *Diodorus* hath almost the same Relation, only a little altered in the Circumstances: [h] *Some say, that this*

[e] Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ... Herodot. lib. 2.

[f] Herodot. lib. 2. Τὴν δὲ μεγίστην φασί τινες τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιδι ἐπιγράφειν γυναικὶ ἧι, ἀλ. ὀρθῶς γε δοξάζειν, &c.

[g] Λέγεται δὲ ἡ ἑταίρας ταφὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν. ἡ Σαπφὼ δὲ ἡ τῆς μιᾶς τούτων ἀδελφὴ ἐμνήσθη Δωρίχαν ὀνομάζουσα τὴν ἐρωμένην τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς χαράξου γενομένην ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδόπιδα. Strab lib. 17.

* Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

[h] Διόδ. Sic. l. 1. Τοῦτον δ' ἐνίοις λέγεσι Ῥοδώπιδι τῇ ἑταίρᾳ, ἧς φασί, τὴν Νομάρχων τινὰς ἐρασθέντας χρυσοῦν, διὰ φιλοτιμίαν οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἐπιτελέσαι κοινῇ τὸ καλούμενον

is the Sepulchre of the Strumpet Rhodope; *of whom, some of the* Nomarchæ (or Prefects of the Provinces) *being enamoured, by a common Expence to win her favour, they built this Monument.* But to pass by this Fable, (for it is no better,) and to return to our History. The fame Author immediately relates, ingeniously confesses, that concerning them all three, there is little Agreement either amongst the Natives or amongst Writers: *For they say,* Atmaus *made the greatest of these, the second,* Amafis, *the third,* Inaron. And *Pliny* informing us, that *these three were made in seventy eight Years and four Months*, leaves the Founders of them very uncertain: For reciting the Names of many Authors that had described them, he concludes, [a] *Inter omnes eos non constat à quibus factæ sint, justissimo casu obliteratis tantæ vanitatis authoribus.*

Greaves.

[a] Plin. Lib.

The *Arabians*, whose Excellencies I judge to have been in the speculative Sciences, and not in the Histories and Occurrences of ancient Times, assign other Founders of these three, different from those mentioned by the *Greeks*. The Author of the Book intitled, *Morat Alzeman*, writes, *They differ concerning him that built the Pyramids: Some say* Joseph, *some say* Nimrod, *some* Dalukah *the Queen, and some that the Ægyptians built them before the Flood: For they foresaw that it would be, and they carried thither their Treasures, but it profited them nothing.* In another place he tells us, *That the* Coptites *(or Ægyptians) report, that these two greater Pyramids, and the lesser, which is coloured, are Sepulchres. In the East Pyramid is King* Saurid, *in the West Pyramid his Brother* Hougib, *and in the coloured Pyramid* Fazfarinoun *the Son of* Hougib: *The* Sabæans *relate, that one of them is the Sepulchre of* Shiit, *(that is* Seth,*) and the second the Sepulchre of* Hermes, *and the coloured one the Sepulchre of* Sab, *the Son of* Hermes, *from whom they are called* Sabæans. *They go in Pilgrimage thither, and sacrifice at them a Cock, and a black Calf, and offer up Incense.* Ibn Abd Alhokm: another *Arabian*, discourfing of this Argument, confesses, That he could not find amongst the Learned Men in *Ægypt*, any certian Relation concerning them, (wherefore) *what is more reasonable* (saith he,) *than that the Pyramids were built before the Flood? For if they had been built after, there would have been some Memory of them amongst Men.* At last he concludes, *The greatest part of Chronologers affirm, that he which built the Pyramids*, was Saurid ibn Salhouk *the King of Ægypt, who was before the Flood 300 Years.* And this Opinion he confirms out of the Books of the *Ægyptians*: To which he adds, *The* Coptites *mention in their Books, that upon them there is an Inscription ingraven*; the Expolition of it in *Arabick* is this, *I* Saurid *the King, built the Pyramids in such and such a time, and finished them in six Years; he that comes after me, and says he is equal to me, let him destroy them in six hundred Years; and yet it is known, that it is easier to pluck down than to build, and when I had finished them, I covered them with Satin, and let him cover them with Mats.* The same Relation I find in several others of them, that this *Saurid* was the Founder of these three Pyramids, which the admiration of After-times inrolled amongst the Miracles of the World. And these are those three, which are still fair and intire, and standing near to one another, formerly not far distant from the great and ancient City *Memphis*, built by [b] *Uchoreus*, (of which there is now not so much as the Ruins left,) and less distant from the River *Nilus*, as *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, rightly describe.

[b] Οὗτος τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐπὶ φανερώτατον τῶν καθ' Αἰγυπτον. Diodor. lib. 1.

Besides these three, we find mentioned in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, the Names and Authors of some others, not much inferiour to these in magnitude, long since ruined, and defaced by time. On the contrary, there are many now standing in the *Lybian* Desert, whose Names and Authors, neither *Herodotus* nor *Diodorus*, nor yet any of the Ancients, have expressed.

After *Mycerinus*, according to [c] *Herodotus*, (for *Diodorus* is here silent,) *Asychis* succeeded in the Kingdom, [d] *who being desirous to excel his Predecessors, left for a Monument a Pyramid made of Bricks, with these words in* [e]

[c] Herod. lib. 2.

[d] Τούτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντος, μιμούμενον τοὺς πρὸ ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας ἀπολιπεῖν μνημόσυνον Πυραμίδα λιθίνην, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐνῆν ταῦτα λεγόμενα· Μὴ μὲ καταφρόνεε πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας Πυραμίδας, πρὸς ἐγὼ πρὸ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον, ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· κοντῷ γὰρ βάπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὅτι περιχοίτο ἄνεμος τὴν γῆν, συνέλεξαν πηλὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βυθοῦ, καὶ μὲ τοῦτο τοιοῦτο ἐξεποίησε.

[e] Ibidem. Lib. [illegible] Ἀσυχὶς [illegible] Αἰγύπτου [illegible] Ἀσυχὶς [illegible] ΙΧΧΧΙΙΙ [illegible] Ἡρ. [illegible] cap. 2.

graven

graven in Stone, Compare not me with the Pyramids built of Stone, which I as far excel as Jupiter *doth the other Gods. For ſtriking of the bottom of the Lake with long Poles, and gathering the Dirt which ſtuck to them, they made thence Bricks, and formed me in this manner.*

The ſame Author relates, that many Ages after this *Aſychis*, *Sanacharib* King of the *Arabians* and *Aſſyrians*, who certainly is the ſame which is mentioned in the Scriptures, having expelled *Sethon* the King of the *Ægyptians*, and the Prieſt of *Vulcan*, [r] *the Ægyptians recovering their liberty, made* [illegible] *Twelve Kings*, (which is alſo confirmed by *Diodorus*,) *dividing Ægypt into ſo many Parts; for they could at no time live without a King; theſe by a* [illegible] *a Labyrinth above the Lake of* Moeris: *At the Angle where the Labyrinth ends, there is a Pyramid of* XL Orgyiæ, (that is, of CCXL Feet,) *in which are ingraven exact Reſemblances of Beaſts, the Paſſage to it is underground.* And this is that Pyramid, as may evidently be collected out of [s] *Strabo*, in which *Imandes* lyes buried, whom we may probably ſuppoſe to have been the Builder of it: His words are theſe, *At the end of this Building*, (that is, of this Labyrinth,) *which contains a Furlong in length, there is a certain* [t] *Sepulchre, being a quadrilateral Pyramid, each ſide of which is* CCCC *Feet, and the Altitude is the ſame; the Name of him that lyes buried there is* Imandes, whom the Author of the Epitome calls *Mamdes*, and *Strabo* himſelf not long after *Ymandes*; *Diodorus* names him *Olymandeus*. Which of theſe two, whether *Herodotus* or *Strabo*, hath given the truelt meaſure of it, unleſs the Pyramid were now extant, cannot be decided by us. Though *Pliny* adheres to the dimenſions of *Herodotus*; but whereas *Herodotus* and *Strabo* mention there but one Pyramid, he makes mention of

[r] Diodorus relates, that over the Sepulchre there was a Circle of Gold of 365 Cubits compaſs, and a Cubit in breadth, in which the Days of the Year were inſcribed, and divided into a Cubit a piece, and ſignified [illegible] the Nature of the Increaſing and Decreaſing of the [illegible] and other Operations under the Ægyptian Kings. They ſay, this Circle was carried away by Cambyſes and the Perſians, at what time they conquered Ægypt. (Diodor. Sicul. lib. 1.) Be which ſhall ſeriouſly conſider theſe, and ſeveral other ſtruges in Herodotus and Diodorus, of the ſtupendious Works of the Ægyptians, muſt needs acknowledge, that the Magnificence, if not for [illegible] they far exceeded the Greeks and Romans, even when their Empires were at the higheſt, and moſt flouriſhing. And therefore, thoſe Obeliſcands Rome, collected by Auguſtus, are ſcarce to be admired, if compared with ſome of theſe. At this Day there is hardly any vaſt Column or Obeliſk remaining in Rome, worthy of Note, which hath not formerly been brought thither out of Ægypt.

many: And whereas *Strabo* makes this to be quadrilateral, he deſcribes theſe (if I miſtake not his words,) to be ſexangular. [u] *Superque Nemeſes* XV. *adiecuit incluſerit Pyramides complures* (that is, above this Labyrinth which he places *in Heracleopolite Nomo,*) *quadragenarium Ulnarium* VI *radice mares obtinente.*

Long before theſe four Pyramids of *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Aſychis*, who immediately ſucceeded one another in the Kingdom, but after this of *Iſmandes*, *Myris* as he is called by *Diodorus*, (but *Herodotus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, name him *Maris*) another *Ægyptian* King, built two admirable Pyramids; the deſcription of which, tho' in *Herodotus*, it immediately follows that of the twelve Kings; yet as it may evidently be collected out of him and *Diodorus*, theſe two of *Maris* muſt many Ages have preceded. [x] For *Herodotus* tells us, that from *Menes* (the firſt King of the *Ægyptians*, whom *Diodorus* names *Menas*,) the *Prieſts recited out of their Books* CCCXXX *Kings, the laſt of which was* Mœris; long after whom reigned *Seſoſtris*, who is called by *Manethos*, *Sethoſis*; and by *Diodorus*, *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſooſis*; who more particularly than *Herodotus*, expreſſes *Seſoſtris* to have been [y] ſeven Ages after *Maris*, and to have reigned long before theſe twelve Kings. The which *Seſoſtris*, or *Sethoſis*, immediately ſucceeding *Amenophis*, (according to *Manethos* in *Joſephus*, as we ſhall ſhew in the enſuing Diſcourſe,) muſt have been before *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, and *Aſychis*; and therefore conſequently, that *Maris* muſt long have preceded theſe twelve Kings. This *Maris* undertook, and finiſhed that moſt admirable Lake denominated after his name, as it is teſtified by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*. A Work the moſt uſeful and wonderful, if it be rightly conſidered, that I think was ever by any Man attempted; in the midſt of which, he erected two Pyramids, the one in memory of himſelf, the other of his Wife, each of them being 100 Feet in height; the deſcription of both which, and of his Lake, we [z] have in *Herodotus*, the latter we find in *Strabo*, but in none ſo fully as in [a]

[x] Herod. lib. 2. Μέχρι τούτου [Μοίριος] κατέλεξαν οἱ ἱερῆες ἐκ βίβλου ἐπέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα γενεὴν ἀνδρῶν βασιλέων· ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς Μοίριος.

[y] Diod. Sic. lib. 1

[z] Herod. lib. 2. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ λίμνου ἔργου τὴν μὲν ἐυχωλὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, τὴν δὲ μεγάθεα τῶν ἐργασμάτων, &c.

[a] Strabo, lib. 17. Εὐτάλιος δὲ τὸν πόλεως

dorus,

dorus, and therefore I ſhall relate his words. *Ten* Schœnes, (that is, 100 Furlongs; though *Strabo* and *Artemidorus* before him, obſerve a difference of *Schœnes* in *Ægypt*,) *above the City* (Memphis,) Myris *dug a Lake of admirable uſe, the greatneſs of which Work is incredible. For they relate, that the circumference of it contains* CCCCCC Furlongs, *the depth of it in many places is fifty Fathom*, (that is, two hundred Cubits, or three hundred Feet,) *who therefore may not deſervedly ask, that ſhall conſider the greatneſs of the Work, how many Myriads of Men, and in how many Years they made it? The common benefit of it to thoſe that inhabit Ægypt, and the Wiſdom of the King, no Man can ſufficiently commend. For ſince the riſing of* Nilus *is not always alike, and the Country is the more fruitful by the moderateneſs of this, he digged a Lake to receive the ſuperfluity of the Water, that neither by the greatneſs of the Inundation unſeaſonably drowning the Country, it ſhould occaſion Marſhes or Lakes; or flowing leſs than it ſhould do, for want of Water, it ſhould corrupt the Fruits; he therefore cut a Ditch from the River to the Lake, eighty Furlongs long, and three hundred Feet in breadth. By which, ſometimes receiving in, and ſometimes diverting the River, he exhibited a ſeaſonable quantity of Water to the Husbandmen, the Mouth of it ſometimes being opened, and ſometimes ſhut, not without much Art, and great Expences. For he that would open the Bars* (or Sluces,) *or ſhut them, it was neceſſary that he ſpent at the leaſt fifty Talents. The Lake in this manner benefitting the Ægyptians, hath continued to our Times, and from the Author it at this day, is called the Lake of* Myris. *The King that digged it, left a place in the midſt, in which he built a Sepulchre and two Pyramids, each a Furlong in height; the one for himſelf, the other for his Wife, placing upon them two Marble-Statues, ſitting on a Throne, imagining by theſe Works he ſhould propagate to Poſterity an immortal Memory of his worth. The Revenue of the Fiſh of this Lake, he gave to his Wife for her Unguents, and other Ornaments; the fiſhing being worth to her a Talent a day: For they report, there are two and twenty ſorts of Fiſhes in it, and that ſuch a Multitude is taken, that thoſe who are perpetually imployed in ſalting them, of which there is a very great number, can hardly diſpatch the Work.* Thus far *Diodorus*. Which deſcription, as it is much more full than that of *Herodotus*, ſo *Herodotus* hath this memorable Obſervation omitted by *Diodorus*: [1] *That this Lake was made by hand, and hollowed, it is apparent, becauſe almoſt in the midſt of it, there ſtands two Pyramids fifty Fathoms above the Water, and as many Fathoms of the Building under-water: Upon the top of each of which, there is a* Coloſſus *of Stone ſitting upon a Throne; ſo that the Pyramids are an hundred Fathoms high.* *Strabo* I know not by what overſight omits theſe two Pyramids, whereas he acknowledges the Lake of *Maris* in which they ſtood, [2] *to be admirable, being like a Sea for Greatneſs and for Colour.*

[1] Herodot. lib. 2.

[2] Λίμνην θαυμαστὴν τῷ μεγέθει, καὶ τῷ χρώματι παραπλησίαν. Strab. lib. 17.

Beſides theſe which we have handled, and whoſe Founders are upon record in the Writings of the Ancients, there are many others in the *Libyan* Deſert where it bounds *Ægypt*, of which there is no particular mention extant, either in the *Greeks*, *Latins*, or *Arabians*, unleſs we ſhall apply theſe words of [3] *Diodorus* to ſome of them. *There are three other Pyramids, each ſide of which contain two hundred Feet, the Structure of them, excepting the Magnitude, is like to the former*, (that is, as he there ſpecifies, to thoſe three Pyramids of *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*,) *theſe three Kings before-mentioned, are reported to have erected them for their Wives.* The bigneſs of ſome of theſe now extant, doth well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by *Diodorus*: But if theſe three Kings built them for their Queens, it may be wondred why they ſhould have placed them ſo remote from their own Sepulchres; or why they ſhould ſtand at ſuch large and inequal differences of ſeveral Miles from one another. I find as little ſatisfaction in [4] *Pliny*, where he writes, *Multa circa hæc vanitas illorum hominum fuit, viſtigiaque complurium inchoatarum extant, una eſt in Arſinoite nomo, duæ in Memphi, non procul Labyrintho, de quo & ipſi dicemus.* For not telling us the Founders of theſe, he leaves us ſtill in the ſame darkneſs, only we may in general collect

[3] Διοδωρ. Sic. l. 1. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τρεῖς Πυραμίδες, ἑκάστη ἔχουσα τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ πλέθρου διαμέτρου ὑπάρχει· τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἔργον ὁμοίως κατεσκεύασται τὰ κατασκευὴ τῶν ἄλλων, πλὴν τῷ μεγέθει. ταύτας δὲ φασί τοὺς προειρημένους τρεῖς βασιλεῖς τὰς ἰδίας ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας.

[4] Plin. lib. 36 cap. 12.

collect out of him, and likewise out of that Ode in *Horace*:

Hor. l. 3. od. 30.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius:
Regalique situ Pyramidum altius.

That they were the Works of *Ægyptian* Kings; but of which of them, and at what time, we are altogether uncertain. *Regum pecunia*, [a] saith *Pliny*, *otiosa, ac stulta ostentatio.* Of the same Opinion is *Leo Africanus*, in his accurate Description of *Africa*, after many Years travel in those Parts. *Hâc per desertum arenaceum, itur ad Pyramides, olim ad priscorum Ægypti Regum Sepulchra, quo in loco Memphin olim extitisse asserunt.* It may be it was the Royal Prerogative, and that it was prohibited to private Men, how wealthy and potent soever to be thus intombed; but without some farther Light from the Ancients, it would be too great a presumption to determine any thing.

[a] Plin. l. 36. cap. 12.

Leo Afric. lib. 8.

[1] *Lucan*, I know not upon what ground, makes as if the *Ptolemies* had imitated the *Ægyptian* Kings in this particular:

Lucan. lib. 8.

Cùm Ptolemæorum manes feriemque pudendam
Pyramides claudant.

Surely if they did, these are none of those: For they would have built them at *Alexandria*, which was then the Regal Seat, and not at *Memphis*, the which as [m] *Diodorus* assures us, began to decay after the Building of *Alexandria*, like as the ancient *Thebes* (as the [n] *Greeians* stiled it; or *the Greaves-City of the Sun*, as the *Ægyptians*, according to [o] *Diodorus*, called it; or *Diospolis*, as *Diodorus* and [p] *Strabo* all to name it,) did after the building of *Memphis*. Those which imagin the Monument or Sepulchre, mentioned by [q] *Plutarch* at *Alexandria*, into which *Cleopatra* fled for fear of *Augustus*, to have been a Pyramid, are much deceived. For in the Life of *Mark Antony*, where he informs us, that there were Sepulchres near the Temple of *Isis, of exquisite Workmanship, and very high*; into which she conveyed the richest of her Treasures, he describes one of them, wherein she hid her self, to have had a Window above the Entrance, by which she drew up with Cords the Body of *Antony*, and by which afterwards *Proculeius* entred, and surprized her. This Window is not in any of those Pyramids I have seen; neither can I apprehend, if these were of as solid and massie Stones, and of the same shape as those at *Memphis*, and the Chambers within as remote from the outward Superficies, of what use it could be, either in respect of Light or Ornament; and therefore I conjecture these Monuments of the *Ptolemies* to have been of a different Structure from those of the Pyramids.

[m] Diod. lib. 1.

[n] Plato, & alii.

[o] Diodor. lib. 1.

[p] Strabo lib. 17.

[q] Plutarch in Antonio.

In all other Classical Authors, I find no mention of the Founders of the rest in the *Libyan* Desert; and after such a distance of time, we must be content to be silent with them.

Of the Time in which the PYRAMIDS *were built.*

TO define the precise Time in which these Pyramids were erected, as it is an Inquiry of much Difficulty, so of much Importance, in regulating the various and uncertain Traditions of the Ancients concerning the *Ægyptian* Chronology. For if we shall peruse those Fragments of *Manethos*, an *Ægyptian* Priest, preserved by [a] *Josephus*; or those Relations of [b] *Herodotus*, of CCCXXX Kings to *Mœris*, from *Menes* the first that reigned in *Ægypt*, (who probably is [c] *Mizraim*, the second Son of *Cham*, and [d] *Father of the Ægyptians*;) or that computation of [e] *Diodorus*, borrowed from their sacred Commentaries, That to the CLXXX *Olympiad*, or to the time in which he travelled thither, there had been a Succession in the Royal Throne for XV CIↃ Years; or that Calculation of [f] *Pomponius Mela*, of CCC XXX *Kings to the time of* Amasis, *continuing above* XIII CIↃ *Years*; or lastly, those *Dynasties* mentioned by *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, but pretermitted by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; the first of which [g] *Joseph Scaliger* places in the VII CIↃ and IX Year of that *Julian* Period, which by him

[a] Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

[b] Herodot. lib. 2.

[c] Gen. 10. 6.

[d] Joseph. lib. 1. Antiq. cap. 7.

[e] Diodor. lib. 1.

[f] *Trecentos & triginta Reges ante Amasim, & supra tredecim millium annorum ætates, certis annalibus referunt.* Pomp. Mela, l. 1. c. 9.

[g] Scal. in Eusebii Chronic.

Greaves.

him is called *Periodus Juliana poſtulatitia*, and the time *tempus prolepticum*, preceding the Creation by CIↃ CCC XXXVI Years, we ſhall find our ſelves intangled in a Labyrinth, and Maze of Times, out of which we cannot, without much perplexity, unwind our ſelves. And if we farther conſider, that amongſt thoſe many Names delivered by *Manethos*, and preſerved by *Joſephus*, *Africanus*, *Euſebius*, and *Syncellus*, how few there are that concur with thoſe of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, or with thoſe in *Plato*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Cenſorinus*, and ſome others: And that which is of greater conſequence, how difficult it is to reconcile theſe Names and Times to the *Ægyptian* Kings recorded in the Scriptures, we ſhall find our ſelves beſet, and as it were invironed on every ſide with great and inextricable Doubts. What therefore in Inquiries of this nature, is approved as the moſt ſolid and rational Foundation, that is, to find out ſome common and received *Epocha*, in which either all or moſt agree, that ſhall be our Guide in Matters of ſo great Antiquity. Now, of all the antient *Epocha's* which may conduce to our purpoſe, there is none that we may ſafelier rely upon than that of *the migragation of the* Iſraelites *out of* Ægypt; which had the ſame hand faithfully to pen it, that was the moſt active and miraculous inſtrument of their departure. And though prophane Hiſtorians differ much in the manner of this Action, either as they were tainted with Malice againſt the *Hebrews*, or miſled with the Calumnies and Falſe Reports of their Enemies, the *Ægyptians*; of whom, [h] *Joſephus* may ſeem to have given a true cenſure, *That all the Ægyptians in general are ill affected to the* Jews; yet all agree in this, that *Moſes* was the chief Author, and conductor of this Expedition. If therefore we ſhall diſcover the time in which *Moſes* flouriſhed, and in which this great Enterprize was performed by him, it will follow by way of conſequence, that knowing what *Pharaoh*, or King in *Ægypt*, was coetaneous and concurrent with him, we may by *Synchroniſm*, comparing ſacred and prophane Authors, and following the Line of their Succeſſions, as it is delivered by good Authority, at length fall upon the Age in which *Cheops*, and thoſe other Kings reigned in *Ægypt*, whom we aſſigned out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, to have been the Founders of theſe Pyramids.

[h] Ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν μισεῖσθαι πρὸς πάντων διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπους ἀπάντων ἐχθίστους γενομένους καὶ ἀπαναστάντας. Ἀλλοφυλ. Joſ. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

And here, for our Inquiry, what *Ægyptian* King was concurrent with *Moſes*, we muſt have recourſe to the Relations, not only of the Scriptures, but alſo of other approved Authors amongſt the *Jews* and *Gentiles*; in which laſt, though we often find more than an *Ægyptian* Darkneſs, yet ſometimes thorough this we may diſcover ſome glimmerings of Light. By the Scriptures alone, it is impoſſible to infer, what King of *Ægypt* was coetaneous with *Moſes*; ſeeing the Name, which is there given him, of *Pharaoh*, is a common denomination applyable to all of them; much like *Cæſar* or *Auguſtus* with the *Roman* Emperours, or ſometime *Coſroe* with the *Perſians*, and no diſtinctive Appellation. Yet in *Herodotus* we find one King, the Succeſſor of *Seſoſtris*, to have been called [i] *Pheron*; which I ſuppoſe is *Pharaoh*, and his proper and peculiar Name. But who this *Pharaoh* ſhould be, whoſe Heart God hardned, and upon whom *Moſes* wrought ſo many Wonders, is worth our diſquiſition. *Joſephus* in his firſt Book *contra Apionem*, out of *Manethos* contends, that *Tethmoſis* (who is termed alſo *Amoſis* by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*,) reigned then in *Ægypt*. The whole force of his Argument lyes in this, that *Manethos* mentions the Expulſion of the Nation of Shepherds to have been by *Tethmoſis*: But the *Hebrews* were a Nation of Shepherds: Therefore the *Hebrews* were expelled out of *Ægypt*, or in the Scripture-phraſe, departed out of *Ægypt* under *Tethmoſis*; and conſequently, that *Moſes*, who was their Conductor, was coetaneous with him. That the *Hebrews* were a Nation of Shepherds, and ſo accounted of themſelves, and were eſteemed by others, is very perſpicuous. [k] *And* Joſeph *ſaid unto his Brethren, and unto his Father's Houſe, I will go up and ſhew* Pharaoh, *and ſay unto him, My Brethren and my Father's Houſe which were in the Land of* Canaan, *are come unto me: And the Men are Shepherds, for their Trade hath been to feed Cattel, and they have brought their Flocks, and their Herds, and all that they have. And it ſhall come to paſs, when* Pharaoh *ſhall call you, and ſhall ſay, What is your Occupation? that ye ſhall ſay, thy Servants Trade hath been about Cattel, from our Youth even until now, both we, and alſo our Fathers; that ye may dwell in the Land of* Goſhen. *For every Shepherd is an abomi-*

[i] Στραδ. ὁ δὲ Φερὼν τὸν Σέσωστριν τοῦτον ἐκδιῶξαι τοῦ θρόνου φασὶ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτεῖναι. Herodot. l. 2.

[k] Gen. 46. 31, 32, &c.

abomination to the Ægyptians. But before we shall disprove this Assertion of *Josephus*, which carries much speciousness with it, and therefore is approved and followed by [l] *Tatianus*, by [m] *Justin Martyr*, and by [n] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, we shall put down the words of *Manethos* himself, as they are reported by [o] *Josephus* in his First Book *contra Apionem*. Timaus *by name being our King, under him I know not how God was displeased, and beyond expectation, out of the Eastern Countries, Men of obscure Birth incamped themselves in the Country, and easily, and without Battel, took it by force, binding the Princes, and besides, cruelly burning the Cities, and overthrowing the Temples of the Gods. Last of all, they made one of themselves a King, who was named* Salatis; *he reigning nineteen Years, died. After him, another named* Bæon *reigned forty four Years; next to him* Apachnas; *another, thirty six Years seven Months; then* Apophis, *sixty one;* Janias *fifty, and and one Month; after all* Assis, *forty nine Years and two Months. And these were the first six Kings of them always conquering, and desiring to extirpate* Ægypt. *Their Nation was called* Hycsos, *that is, Kingly Shepherds. For* Hyc *in the sacred Tongue, signifies a King; and* Sos *a Shepherd, or Shepherds in the common Dialect, and thence* Hycsos *is compounded. But some say, that these were* Arabians. [*In other Copies I have found, that by the denomination* Hyc, *Kings are not signified, but on the contrary, captive Shepherds. For* Hyc *in the* Ægyptian *Language, when it is pronounced with a broad Sound, plainly signifies Captives; and this seems more probable to me, and better agreeing to the ancient History.*] *Those Kings therefore which we before mentioned, and those which were called* Pastores, *and those which descended of them, ruled* Ægypt *five hundred and eleven Years. After this, he mentions that by the Kings of* Thebes, *and of the rest of* Ægypt; *there was an Invasion made against these Shepherds, and a very great and lasting War. The which, he says, were conquered by a King, whose name was* Alisfragmuthosis, *whereby they lost all* Ægypt, *being shut up into a place containing in circuit ten thousand Acres. This space* Manethos *says, the Shepherds incompassed with a great and strong Wall, that they might secure all their Substance and their Spoils in a defensible place. But* Themosis *the Son of* Alisfragmuthosis *indeavouring to take them, with Four hundred thousand armed Men, beleaguer'd the Walls, who despairing to take them by Siege, made conditions with them that they should leave* Ægypt, *and go without any damage whither they would: They upon this agreement, no less than Two hundred and forty thousand, with all their Substance, went out of* Ægypt *by the Desert into* Syria, *and fearing the Power of the* Assyrians *(who then ruled* Asia,*) in that Country, which is now called* Judæa, *they built a City capable to receive so many Myriads of Men, naming it* Hierusalem.

[l] In oratione contra Græcos.
[m] In parænetico ad eosdem.
[n] Lib. 1. Stromatum.
[o] Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apion. Ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν τίμαος ὄνομα, &c.

[Greaves.]

By way of answer to *Josephus*, we say, that though the *Israelites* might properly be called Shepherds, yet it cannot hence be inferred out of *Manethos*, that these Shepherds were *Israelites*. Nay, if we compare this Relation of *Manethos* with that in *Exodus*, which [p] *Josephus* being a *Jew*, cannot but approve of, we shall find the contrary. For there they live under a heavy Slavery and Persecution, whereas here they are the Persecutors and Afflictors; there they groan under their Task-masters the *Ægyptians*, here they make all *Ægypt* to groan uuder them: *Lastly*, whereas there they are imployed in the lowest Offices, [q] *in Morter and in Brick, and in all manner of Service in the Field:* Here, after the destruction of many Cities, and Men, and infinite Outrages committed upon the *Ægyptians*, they make one of themselves a King, and for six Descents keep themselves in Possession of the Royal Throne, of which, after a long and bloody War, they are deprived. Their building likewise of a City in *Judæa*, and naming it *Jerusalem*, according to *Manethos*, is a strong Argument against *Josephus*, that these Shepherds could not have been the *Israelites*. For before the Entrance of the *Israelites* into *Canaan*, we find that *Jerusalem was a Fort of the* Jebusites *upon Mount* Sion, *unconquered by* Joshua. [r] *As for the* Jebusites *the Inhabitants of* Jerusalem, *the Children of* Israel *could not drive them out.* But they were long after subdued by *David. And* [s] David *and all* Israel *went to* Jerusalem, *which is* Jebus, *where the* Jebusites *were the Inhabitants of the Land.*

[p] Exod. 1.
[q] Exod. 1. 14.
[r] Josh. 15. 63.
[s] 2 Chron. 11. 4, 5.

Greaves. *Land. And the Inhabitants of* Jebus *ſaid to* David, *Thou ſhalt not come hither*; *nevertheleſs*, David *took the Caſtle of* Zion, *which is the City of* David. Beſides all this, the Hiſtory and Chronology of thoſe ancient Times, if we compare ſacred and prophane Authors, will in no ſort admit that theſe Shepherds muſt have been the *Iſraelites*. For if theſe that departed out of *Ægypt* in the Reign of *Tethmoſis*, King of *Thebais*, or of the upper part of *Ægypt*, were the Children of *Iſrael*, then muſt *Moſes* their Conductor have been as ancient as *Tethmoſis*, or *Amoſis*, that is, as ancient as *Inachus*, the firſt King of the *Argives*. For *Apion*, in his Fourth Book of the Hiſtories of *Ægypt*, ſhews out of *Ptolemæus Mendeſius*, an *Ægyptian* Prieſt, that this *Amoſis* lived in the time of *Inachus*, as it is recorded by [c] *Tatianus*, [u] *Juſtin Martyr*, [x] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and others. *Euſebius*, tho' he doth not approve of it, for he places *Moſes* in the time of [y] *Cecrops*, yet he aſſures us, that it was a received Opinion among many Learned Men, [z] *Moyſen Inachi fuiſſe temporibus eruditiſſimi viri tradiderunt ex noſtris Clemens, & Africanus; ex Judæis, Joſephus, & Juſtus, veteris hiſtoriæ monimenta replicantes.* Now *Inachus*, according to [a] *Caſtor* an ancient Chronographer, with whom *Euſebius* alſo concurs, began to reign a Thouſand and eighty Years before the firſt *Olympiad*, that is, CIↃ CCLXVIII before the deſtruction of the Temple under *Zedekiah*, and before Chriſt's Nativity, after the *Dionyſian* or common Account, CIↃIↃCCCLVI. That of the *Olympiads* is ſo aſſured an *Epocha*, and ſo ſtrongly and clearly proved by Eclipſes of the Sun and Moon, which are the beſt demonſtrations in Chronology, theſe being expreſſed by ſome of the Ancients to have hapned in ſuch a Year of ſuch an *Olympiad*, as by [b] *Ptolemy*; others in ſuch a Year of the *Epocha* of *Nabonaſſar*, that we cannot err in our Calculations an hour, much leſs an intire day. By this therefore we ſhall fix the time of *Zedekiah*, and the deſtruction of the Temple: And conſequently, if, by our continuation of the Years mentioned in the Sacred Story, it ſhall appear, that from the time of *Moſes*, either to the firſt *Olympiad*, or to *Zedekiah* and the deſtruction of the Temple, there cannot be ſo great a diſtance as theſe ſuppoſe, we may ſafely then conclude, that *Moſes* lived not in the time of this *Tethmoſis*, and is not ſo ancient as *Joſephus* makes him, and that theſe Shepherds were not the *Iſraelites*, but very probably *Arabians*, as *Manethos* here alſo reports; *Some ſay that theſe were* Arabians; who to this day, for the greateſt part, like the *Nomades*, wander up and down, feeding their Cattel, and often make incurſions upon the *Ægyptians* and *Syrians*. Which occaſioned *Seſoſtris* the great (as we find it in [c] *Diodorus*,) *to make a Wall on the Eaſt-ſide of* Ægypt *a Thouſand and fifty Furlongs in length, from* Peluſium *by the Deſert to* Heliopolis, *againſt the inrodes of the* Syrians *and* Arabians. As at this day the *Chineſe* have done againſt the irruptions of the *Tartars* on the North and Weſt Parts of *China*, for many hundred Miles; the which appears by a large Map of mine of that Country, made and printed in *China*. On the contrary, if the ſucceſſion of Times from *Moſes*, recorded in the Holy Writ, better agrees with the Age of *Amenophis*, the Father of *Rameſſes*, whoſe Story [d] *Joſephus* hath preſerved out of *Manethos*, and whoſe Time and Rank in the *Dynaſties*, *Africanus* and *Euſebius* deliver out of the ſame *Manethos*, we may with more probability affirm, that the migration of the *Iſraelites* and time of *Moſes*, was when *Amenophis* was *Pharaoh*, or King of *Ægypt*, than that it was when *Tethmoſis* reigned, as *Joſephus* and others contend, out of a deſire to make *Moſes* ancienter than in truth he is.

And though this Argument from the Series and Succeſſions of Time is ſo demonſtrative and concluſive, that nothing can be oppoſed againſt it, and therefore might be ſufficient to evince our purpoſe: Yet if we conſiderately examin another Relation of *Manethos*, (which is ſlighted and depreſſed by *Joſephus*, becauſe it made not for his purpoſe,) it muſt neceſſarily be that by thoſe Shepherds he meant not the *Iſraelites*, but rather by the *Iſraelites* the leprous People, which in his computation are Three hundred thirty Years and ſix Months after the *Dynaſtie* of the Shepherds. And therefore we may oppoſe the Authority of [e] *Manethos* againſt himſelf, or rather againſt *Joſephus*.

[c] In Oratione contra Græcos.
[u] In parænetico ad Græcos.
[x] Lib. 1. Strom.
[y] *And ſo doth St.* Auguſtin, Eduxit Moſes ex Ægypto populum Dei noviſſimo tempore Cecropis, Athenienſium Regis. L. 18. c. 11. de Civ. Dei.
[z] Euſeb. Chron.
[a] Euſeb. Chron.
[b] Ptolemæus [illegible]
[c] Diod. Sic. lib. 1.
[d] Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.
[e] Manethos apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

The

The ſum of whoſe Diſcourſe is this, That *Amenophis*, who was a great worſhipper of the Gods, as *Orus* one of the former Kings had been, being deſirous to ſee the Gods, *one of the Prieſts of the ſame Name with him, told him he might, if he cleanſed the Country of leprous and polluted People.* This leprous People choſe for their Captain one of the Prieſts of *Heliopolis*, named *Oſarſiphus*, who changing his Name, was called *Moſes*; he cauſing *Amenophis* for fear to fly into *Æthiopia*, was afterward by him, and by his Son *Sethon*, who was alſo called *Rameſſes*, by the name of his Father, overthrown in Battel, and the leprous People were purſued by them unto the Confines of *Syria*. Thus far out of *Manethos*. Here, which is very remarkable, we have expreſly the name of *Moſes*; whereas in the former Relation of *Manethos* there is no mention of him, but of ſix other Kings, with their peculiar Names. Whereas it is not probable he would have omitted the Name of *Moſes* if he had lived in that Age, being a Name ſo famous, and ſo well known to them; and by [f] *Joſephus* acknowledged, *that the* Ægyptians *accounted him to be an admirable and divine Man.* The purſuing of them unto the Confines of *Syria*, doth very well intimate the following of the *Iſraelites* by *Pharaoh* and his Hoſt. For his terming them a leprous and polluted People, we muſt conſider him to have been an *Ægyptian*, and therefore not unlikely to throw as many Aſperſions as he could upon the *Iſraelites*; whom they deadly hated, it may be out of memory of their former Plagues. However it were, *Chæremon* hath almoſt the ſame Hiſtory, as [g] *Joſephus* confeſſes. *Chæremon* profeſſing to write the Hiſtory of *Ægypt*, ſays, *That under* Amenophis, *and his Son* Rameſſes, *Two hundred and fifty thouſand leprous and polluted Men were caſt out of* Ægypt. *Their Leaders were* Moſes *the Scribe, and* Joſephus, *who was alſo a ſacred Scribe. The* Ægyptian *Name of* Moſes *was* Tiſithen, *of* Joſeph Peteſeph. *Theſe coming to* Peluſium, *and finding there Three hundred and eighty thouſand Men left by* Amenophis, *which he would not admit into* Ægypt, *making a League with them, they undertook an Expedition againſt* Ægypt. Upon this *Amenophis* flies into *Æthiopia*, and his Son *Meſſenes* drives out the *Jews* into *Syria*, in number about Two hundred thouſand, and receives his Father *Amenophis* out of *Æthiopia*. Thus [h] *Lyſimachus* aſſigns another King, and another time, in which *Moſes* led the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, and that was *when* Bocchoris *reigned in* Ægypt, *the Nation of the* Jews *being infected with Leproſies, and Scabs, and other Diſeaſes, betook themſelves to the Temples to beg their Living, many being tainted with the Diſeaſe, there happened a Dearth in* Ægypt. Whereupon *Bocchoris* conſulting with the Oracle of *Hammon*, received anſwer, *That the leprous People were to be drowned in the Sea in Sheets of Lead, the ſcabbed were to be carried into the Wilderneſs*; who chooſing *Moſes* for their Leader, conquered that Country which is now called *Judea*. Out of which Relation of *Lyſimachus*, and ſome others of like credit, [i] *Tacitus* may have borrowed his in the Fifth Book of his Hiſtories. *Moſt Authors agree, that there ariſing a Contagion in* Ægypt *which defiled their Bodies, King* Bocchoris *conſulting the Oracle of* Hammon *for Remedy, was bid to purge his Kingdom, and to carry that ſort of Men, as hated of the Gods, into other Countries. Thence the vulgar ſort being inquired after, and collected together, after they had been left in the Deſerts, the reſt being heavy with Tears,* Moſes, *one of the baniſhed Men admoniſhed them, not to expect the help either of Gods or Men, being deſerted by both, but that they ſhould truſt to him as their Captain ſent from Heaven, to whoſe aſſiſtance by their giving credit at the firſt, they had overcome their preſent Calamities. They aſſented unto him, and being ignorant of all, they begin their Journey as Fortune ſhould lead them.* Thus much and more hath *Tacitus* of *Moſes* and the *Jews*. But to paſs by his and *Laſimachus*'s Calumnies, we can no more aſſent to theſe Teſtimonies of theirs, that *Moſes* lived in the time

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[f] Τὸν δὲ ἀνδρα θαυμαζειν τε Αἰγυπτίους, ὡς θεῖον γενέσθαι. Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

[g] Lib. 1. contra Apionem. Χαιρήμων δὲ ὁ ἐξ Αἰγυπτιακῆς φάσκων ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν ὁ περιὼν ταῦτ' ἐποίησε Τ. βασιλέως, ὅτε ὁ Μανέθως, Ἀμένωφιν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Ῥαμέσσην, &c.

[h] Lyſimachus apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem. Περὶ Βοκχάρεως τ. Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως τ. λεπρὸν τ. Ἰουδαίων λεπρὰς ὄντας καὶ ψωρᾶς, καὶ ἄλλα νοσήματα τινα ἔχοντας, εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφεύγοντας μεταλαγχάνειν τροφῆς, &c.

[i] Tacit. l. 5. Hiſt. *Plurimi auctores conſentiunt, orta per Ægyptum labe quæ corpora fœdaret: Regem Bocchorim, adito Hammonis oraculo, remedium petentem, purgare regnum, & id genus hominum ut inviſum deis altas in terras avehere juſſum. Sic conquiſitum collectumque vulgus, poſtquam vallis locis relictum ſit, cæteris per lachrymas torpentibus, Moſen unum exulum monuiſſe, ne quam deorum hominumve opem expectarent ab utrisque deſerti, ſed ſibimet ut duci cœleſti crederent, primi cujus auxilio credentes præſentes miſerias peſtulſſent. Aſſenſere atque omnium ignavi fortuitum iter incipiunt.*

[e] Manethos apud Joſeph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

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time of *Bocchoris*, than we did to *Josephus* that he was coetaneous with *Tethmoſis*. For we find *Bocchoris* to be placed by *Africanus* and [k] *Euſebius*, both following *Manethos* in the twenty fourth *Dynaſty*, and by [l] *Diodorus* long after *Seſoſtris* the Great, or *Rameſſes*; which *Rameſſes*, or *Sethoſis*, or *Sethon*, (that is, *Seſoſtris*, and *Seſoeſis* in *Diodorus*,) both in *Manethos* and *Chæremon*, is the Son of *Amenophis*, who is the laſt King of the eighteenth *Dynaſty*, according to *Africanus* and *Euſebius*. I purpoſely omit the Opinion of [m] *Apion*, that *Moſes* (whom he makes to be of *Heliopolis*,) *departed with theſe Lepers, and Blind, and Lame, in the firſt Year of the ſeventh* Olympiad, *in which Year*, ſaith he, *the* Phœnicians *built* Carthage; and that other of [n] *Porphyrius* in his Fourth Book againſt the Chriſtians, that *Moſes* was before *Semiramis*. Where he places him as much too high, as *Apion* doth too low.

[k] Ex Edit. Joſ. Scaligeri.
[l] Diod. lib. 1.
[m] Apud Joſ. lib. 2. contra Apionem.
[n] *Ex Ethnicis vero impius ille Porphyrius in quarto operis ſui libro, quòd adverſum nos caſſa labore contexuit, poſt Moyſen Semiramim fuiſſe affirmat.* Euſeb. Chron.

Laying therefore aſide theſe vain and uncertain Traditions, we have no more aſſured way exactly to fix the time of *Moſes*, and by *Moſes* the time in which the Pyramids were built, than to have recourſe to the ſacred Scriptures, and ſometimes to compare ſuch Authors of the Gentiles with theſe, againſt whom we have no juſt Exceptions. For by thoſe, and theſe conjointly, we may continue his time to the firſt Olympiad, and thence to the deſtruction of the Temple, by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*: That of the Olympiads being a moſt certain and known Epocha with the *Greeks*, as that of the deſtruction of the Temple with the *Jews*. From *Moſes* then, or the migration of the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, to the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, are CCCCLXXX Years current, or Four hundred ſeventy nine complete; and ſo alſo [o] *Euſebius* computes them. The words of the Text plainly conclude this Sum: [p] *And it came to paſs in the four hundred and fourth-ſcore Year, after the Children of* Iſrael *were come out of the Land of* Ægypt, *in the fourth Year of* Solomon's *Reign over* Iſrael, *in the Month* Zif, *which is the ſecond Month, that he began to build the Houſe of the Lord.* From the building of the Temple to the deſtruction of it in the Reign of *Zedekias*, by the calculation and confeſſion of the beſt Chronologers, are betwixt Four hundred and twenty and Four hundred and thirty Years. Which is thus deduced: After the firſt Foundation of the Temple, *Solomon* reigned [q] thirty ſeven Years, [r] *Reboboam* with [s] *Abia* twenty; in whoſe time we are to place *Shiſhak*, or *Seſochoſis*, the King of *Ægypt*. [t] *And it came to paſs in the fifth Year of King* Rehoboam, *that* Shiſhak *King of* Ægypt, *came up againſt* Jeruſalem; *and he took away the Treaſures of the Houſe of the Lord, and the Treaſures of the King's Houſe, he even took away all; and he took away all the Shields of Gold which* Solomon *had made.* This *Shiſhak* is named by the *Septuagint* Σουσακιμ, by St. *Hierom Seſac*, and is the ſame whom [u] *Joſephus* calls Σέσαγχον, which he imagines to have been *Seſoſtris* the Great, whoſe Victories and Conqueſts are deſcribed at large by [x] *Herodotus*. But this *Seſoſtris*, or [y] *Seſoeſis*, as *Diodorus* alſo terms him, muſt long have preceded *Reboboam*'s time, as in the ſequel of this Diſcourſe it will appear. Therefore the more probable Opinion is that of *Scaliger*, that by *Shiſhak* is meant *Seſocheſis*, whom *Manethos* calls Σισονχις, and the *Scholiaſt* of *Apollonius* Σεσόγχωσις, the time of the Twenty ſecond *Dynaſty*, in which we find him placed by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, doth well agree with it, and the radical Letters in *Shiſhak*, *Seſac*, and Σισονχις, being the ſame, do very much ſtrengthen our Aſſertion. After *Reboboam* and *Abiah*'s Reign, [a] *Aſah* and [b] *Joſhoſaphat* reigned LXVI Years, [c] *Joram* and [d] *Abazia* IX, [e] *Athalia* and [f] *Joas* XLVI, [g] *Amaſias* XXIX,

[o] Euſeb. Chron.
[p] 1 Kings 6. 1.

[q] For 1 *Kings* 6. 1. *In the fourth Year of his Reign, and the ſecond Month he began to build the Houſe of the Lord*: And in 1 *Kings* 11. 42. *The time that Solomon reigned in Jeruſalem over all Iſrael, was forty Years.* Out of which, if we ſubduct three complete Years that preceded the Foundation of the Temple, there remains thirty ſeven Years.
[r] 1 *Kings* 14. 21. *He reigned ſeventeen Years in Jeruſalem.*
[s] 1 *Kings* 15. 2. *Three Years reigned he in Jeruſalem.*
[t] 1 *Kings* 14. 25, 26.
[u] Joſeph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 4.
[x] Herod. l. 2.
[y] *Diodorus* in the printed Copies, always names him *Seſoſis*, but in one of the *MSS.* as *Henr. Stephanus* obſerves, he is ſometimes called *Seſoſtris*, and ſometimes *Seſoeſis*. *Vid. Edit. Diod. ab Henr. Stephan.*

[a] 1 Kings 22. 42. *He reigned 25 Years in Jeruſalem.*
[b] 2 Kings 8. 17. *He reigned 8 Years in Jeruſalem.*
[c] 2 Kings 8. 26. *He reigned one Year in Jeruſalem.*
[d] 2 Kings 11. 3. *And he was with her hid in the Houſe of the Lord ſix Years; and Athaliah did reign over the Land.*
[e] 2 Kings 12. 1. *Forty Years reigned he in Jeruſalem.*
[f] 2 Kings 14. 2. *He reigned 29 Years in Jeruſalem.*

[g] 1 Kings 15. 1. Forty one Years reigned he in Jeruſalem.

[g] *Uzziah*

[g] *Uzziah* LII, [h] *Jotham* XVI, [i] *Ahaz* XVI, being contemporary with *Hoshea* the last King of *Israel*, in whose time we find *So* to reign in *Ægypt*, (2 *Kings* 17. 4.) After *Ahaz* succeeded, *Hezekiah* reigning [k] XXIX Years.

[g] 2 Kings 15. 2. *He reigned* 52 *Years in Jerusalem.*
[h] 2 Kings 15. 33. *He reigned* 16 *Years in Jerusalem.*
[i] 2 Kings 16. 2. *He reigned* 16 *Years in Jerusalem.*
[k] 2 Kings 18. 2. *He reigned* 29 *Years in Jerusalem.*

[l] 2 Kings 18. 13, 16. *Now* [l] *in the fourteenth Year of King Hezekiah, did Sennacharib King of Assyria, come up against all the fenced Cities of Judah, and took them.* But afterwards, when he came to besiege *Jerusalem* — [m] *It came to pass that night, that the Angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the Camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead Corpses. So Sennacharib King of Assyria, departed, and went, and returned and dwelt at Nineveh.* In the time of this *Sennacharib*, *Sethon* succeeding *Anysis* reigned in *Ægypt*, according to [n] *Herodotus*, who in his *Euterpe* hath plainly the name of *Sanacharib*, stiling him King of the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*, and making him to have received a miraculous Defeat, which it may be was that of *Hezekiah*, though he applies it to *Sethon* King of the *Ægyptians*. His Story is well worth our observation, which runs thus: [o] *After this* (Anysis) *the Priest of* Vulcan, *by name* Sethon, *reigned, who abusing the Men of War of the* Ægyptians, *and contemning them as not useful to him, besides other Ignominies he deprived them of their Lands, which had been given to every Company of Twelve by the former Kings. Whence it hapned, that when afterwards* Sanacharib, *the King of the* Arabians *and* Assyrians, *invaded* Ægypt, *the* Ægyptian *Soldiers refused to assist him. Then the Priest destitute of Counsel, shut himself up, lamenting before the Image what much he was in danger to suffer; in the midst of his Mourning falling asleep, a God appeared to him, incouraging him that he should suffer no distress, if he would march against the Armies of the* Arabians; *for he would send him Succour. He therefore giving credit to this Dream, taking with him such Volunteers of the* Ægyptians *as followed him, pitched his Army at* Pelusium; *for there* Ægypt *is easiest invaded: Neither did any of the Soldiers follow him, but Trades-men, and Artificers, and Merchants. Coming thither by Night, an infinite number of Mice entring upon his Enemies, gnawed their Quivers and Bows, and the Leathers of their Shields, so that the next day the Enemies destitute of Arms, fled, many of them being slain. And therefore now this King stands in the Temple of* Vulcan, *in a Statue of Marble, holding in his hand a Mouse with this Inscription, He that looks upon me, let him be religious.* After *Hezekiah*, [p] *Manasses* reigned LV Years, [q] *Amon* II, [r] *Josiah* XXXI. [s] *In his Days Pharaoh Necho King of Ægypt, went up against the King of Assyria to the River Euphrates, and King Josiah went against him, and he slew him at Megiddo when he had seen him.* The same Relation we read in *Herodotus*, if we pardon him the mistake of *Magdolo* for *Megiddo*, who writes, that [t] *Necus* (the King of *Ægypt*) *fighting a Battel on Land with the* Syrians *in* Magdolo, *obtained the Victory, and after the fight he took* Cadytus, *a great City in* Syria.

[l] 2 Kings 18. 13. *Now in the fourteenth Year of King Hezekiah, did Sennacharib King of Assyria, come up against all the fenced Cities of Judah, and took them.*
[m] 2 Kings 19. 35, 36. *It came to pass that night, that the Angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the Camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand; and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead Corpses. So Sennacharib King of Assyria, departed, and went, and returned and dwelt at Nineveh.*
[n] Herod. lib. 2. *Euterpe.*
[o] Herod. lib. 2. Μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύει ἐκ τοῦ ἱρέος Ἡφαιστου, τοῦ οὔνομα ἦν Σεθών, &c.

[p] 2 Kings 21. 1. *He reigned* 55 *Years in Jerusalem.*
[q] 2 Kings 22. 1. *He reigned two Years in Jerusalem.*
[r] 2 Kings 22. 1. *He reigned* 31 *Years in Jerusalem.*
[s] 2 Kings 23. 29. and 2 Chron. 35. 20. Necho King of *Egypt*, came up to fight against *Carchemish* by *Euphrates*, and *Josiah* went out against him.
[t] Καὶ Σύ ρίοισι περὶ ἐπὶ Νεκὼς ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε μιῇ μάχῃ καὶ ἑλὼν Κάδυτιν πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην ἐστὶ Herod. lib. 2.

Next to *Josiah* succeeded [u] *Jonahaz*, [x] *Jehoiakim*, and [y] *Jechoniah* or *Jehoiakin*, reigning eleven Years and six Months. And in the eleventh Year of [z] *Zedekiah*, the next King after *Jechoniah*, was the Temple burnt by *Nebuzaradan*, *in the* [a] *nineteenth Year of* Nebuchadnezzar *King of* Babylon, *or the second of* Vaphres *King of* Ægypt, *in the computation of* Clemens Alexandrinus. *This* Zedekia,

[u] 2 Kings 23. 31. *He reigned three Months in Jerusalem.*
[x] 2 Kings 23. 36. *He reigned eleven Years in Jerusalem.*
[y] 2 Kings 24. 8. *He reigned in Jerusalem three Months.*

[z] *And the City was besieged unto the eleventh Year of King Zedekiah. And on the ninth day of the fourth Month the Famine prevailed in the City, and there was no Bread for the People of the Land: And the City was broken up, and all the Men of War fled by night.*

[a] *And in the fifth Month on the seventh day of the Month, (which is the nineteenth Year of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon,) came Nebuzaradan, Captain of the Guard, a Servant of the King of Babylon, unto Jerusalem. And he burnt the House of the Lord, and the King's House, and all the Houses of Jerusalem, and every great Man's House burnt he with Fire,* 2 Kings 25. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9. The same Relation we find in *Jeremiah*, Chap. 52. ver. 5, 6, 7, 12, 13. almost word for word, which is remarkable.

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To reassume then what hath been demonstrated by us: From the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, under the conduct of *Moses* to the building of *Solomon*'s Temple, are Four hundred seventy nine Years complete; and from the building of the Temple to the destruction of it, are Four hundred and thirty Years and six Months. But because it is not probable, that amongst so many Kings, all of them should have reigned completely so many Years as are expressed in the Text; it being the usual stile of Kings to reckon the Years current of their Reign as complete, I shall limit this uncertainty between CCCCXX and CCCCXXX Years, which is a sufficient Latitude. If any one should desire a more exact Calculation, he may compute them by comparing other places of the Scriptures with these, to be but CCCCXXV Years current, *according to the Opinion of the most Reverend and Judicious Primate of* Ireland, to which I willingly subscribe; though either computation be sufficient for my purpose.

This destruction of the Temple, by our best Chronographers, is placed *in the first Year of the forty eighth Olympiad*, and *in the hundred and sixtieth of*

[b] Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 10. cap. 10. Τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἐπὶ ἔτη ὄκτω καταλυσὼν, διέλυσε τὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πίστεις, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσέθετο, καταλύσειν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους ἠλπίσας.

[c] Ezek. 17. 15.

[d] Jer. 37. 5.

[e] Jos. Ant. l. 10. c. 10. Ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος ἀκούσας ἐν οἷς ὄστιν ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῦ Σεδεκίας ἀνεμαθὼν πολλὴν δυνάμιν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ὡς λύσων τὴν πολιορκίαν.

[f] Jer. 37. 6, 8.

[g] Jer. 44. 30.

[h] Ezek. 30. 22, 23.

[i] Herod. lib. 2.

[k] Diodor. lib. 1.

[l] Ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμιτιχὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλήων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας. Herod. l. 2.

[m] Herodot. lib. 2.

of the Epocha *of* Nabonaſſar, *and in the nineteenth* (as the Scripture often makes mention) *of* Nebuchodonoſor, *the Son of* Nabolaſſar, (as [n] *Beroſus* in *Joſephus* names him,) which *Nabolaſſar* muſt neceſſarily be the ſame with him that is called *Nabopolaſſar* in *Ptolemy*, (the XIV King of the *Babylonians* after *Nabonaſſar*,) whom *Nabocolaſſar* (or [o] *Nabuchodonozor*, or [p] *Nebuchadrezzar*, or [q] *Nebuchadnezzar*, as the Scripture alſo terms him,) in his *Canon Regnorum* ſucceeds. The nearneſs of the Names, and agreement of the Times from *Cyrus*, in whom the ſacred Scriptures and prophane Authors equally concur, do ſtrongly prove them to be the ſame. Wherefore we may conclude, that from the time of *Moſes*, or the migration of the *Iſraelites* out of *Ægypt*, or from the end of *Amenophis*, (coetaneous with *Moſes*,) the laſt King of the eighteenth *Dynaſty*, (as *Euſebius* out of *Manethos* ranks him,) to the Reign of *Apries*, or *Vaphres*, or *Hophra*, the eighth King of the twenty ſixth *Dynaſty*, (according to the ſame *Euſebius* following *Manethos*,) being coetaneous with *Zedekiah* King of *Judah*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, are IↃ CCCC IV Years, and from *Moſes* to the firſt Olympiad IↃ CC XV and not CIↃ LXXX as they who make *Moſes* as ancient as *Inachus* affirm. In which ſpace we may with much certainty, if we give credit to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, place the Kings the Founders of the three greateſt and fairſt Pyramids; which is the principal intention of this Diſcourſe. For [r] both of them deſcribe theſe to have reigned many Ages before *Apries*, and long after *Seſoſtris* the Great. Which *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſooſis*, as *Diodorus* alſo ſtiles him, muſt have been the ſame King whom *Manethos* in *Joſephus* calls *Sethoſis*, and *Rameſſes*, and [s] *Ægyptus*, Son to *Amenophis* before mentioned, and Brother to *Armais*, or *Danaus*; and *Euſebius* of *Scaliger*'s Edition in *Greek* names *Sethos*, the *Latin* Tranſlations of St. *Hierom*, both *MSS.* and printed Copies *Sethus*, and by all of them is the firſt King of the XIX *Dynaſty*. The great Acts and Conqueſts aſſigned by *Herodotus* to *Seſoſtris*, and as great attributed by *Manethos* to *Sethoſis*, or *Rameſſes*, which cannot well be applied to any other precedent or ſubſequent Kings; together with the Relation of them both, that while he was in purſuit of his Victories abroad, his Brother, whom *Manethos* names *Armais*, and [t] *Danaus* (in *Herodotus* his Name is omitted,) rebelled againſt him at home, and the nearneſs of the time, which may be collected out of both, do very much confirm the probability of this Aſſertion. *Seſoſtris* then, and *Sethoſis*, being one and the ſame, is by *Manethos* in *Joſephus* ranked immediately after *Amenophis*, (coetaneous with *Moſes*, as we have proved,) and in the ſame *Manethos* in the Tradition of *Euſebius* after *Menophis*, that is *Amenophis*, both in the *Greek* and *Latin* Copies. Wherefore the Founders of theſe Pyramids having lived after *Seſoſtris*, muſt likewiſe have been after *Amenophis*. If we will come to a greater preciſeneſs yet of time, (for this Latitude of Nine hundred and four Years, which we aſſigned from *Moſes* to the deſtruction of the firſt Temple, in the time of *Zedekiah* King of *Judah*, and *Apries* King of *Ægypt*, is ſo great, that we may loſe our ſelves in it,) we have no other poſſible means left, after the Revolution of ſo many Ages, and the loſs of ſo many of the Commentaries and Monuments of the *Ægyptians*, but by having recourſe to thoſe *Dynaſties* of *Manethos*, as they are preſerved by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*. And yet in neither of theſe ſhall we find the names

[n] Ναβυχοδονόσορ &] ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Ναβολάσσαρ &. *Beroſ. apud Joſeph. l. 1. contra Apionem.*

[o] So *Joſephus*, and the *Vetus Vulgata*, always name him.

[p] Jer. 52a 12, 28, 29.

[q] 2 Kings 25. 8. Ezra 1. 7. Ezra 2. 1.

[r] Herodot. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

[s] Ἀφ' ἧς δὴ ἔτει ὁ μὲ Σέθωσις ἐκδεξάμ Αἰγύπτ &. Ἄρμαις ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δαναός. *Manethos apud Joſ. l. 1. contra Apionem.* Where in the ſame place *Manethos* calls this Σέθωσις, alſo Ῥαμεσσῆς, and Son of *Amenophis*: And therefore *Scaliger* rightly obſerves, that *Rameſſes* with *Manethos* is *Trinominis*. *Scal. in Euſ. Chron.*

[t] This *Danaus* (for his Rebellion, being expelled by his Brother out of *Ægypt*,) failed into *Greece*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Argos*, as it is teſtified by *Joſephus*, (*lib. 1. contra Apionem.*) by *Africanus* and *Euſebius*, (*vid. Euſeb. Chron.*) by *Pauſanias*, and ſeveral others. From whoſe deſcended the *Danaidæ*, one of the Races of the Kings at *Argos*; of all which there is frequent mention in the *Greek* Hiſtorians and Chronographers: Wherefore we cannot be ignorant either of *Danaus* or of his Brother's time. I ſhall only add, for farther illuſtration, what I find in *Africanus*, Ἄρμαις ὁ καὶ Δαναὸς φεύγων ἀδελφὸν Ῥαμεσσῆν καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐπιστὰς ἡ καὶ Αἴγυπτον βασιλείας αὐτὸς εἰς Ἑλλάδα τὸ ἀρχικὸν Ῥαμεσσῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Αἰγύπτ καθιμώσ ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτ ἔτη ξη. Μεταονόμασεν ἡ χώραν Αἰγύπτον τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀνόματι, ἣ τις πρότερον Μεσραία πάρ' Ἕλλησι δὲ Αἴγυπτος ἀπὸ Δαναὸς δὲ ὁ καὶ Ἄρμαις κρατήσας Ἄργους, καὶ ἐκθήμων Σθένελον ἡ Κρῆσσα Ἀρχέαν ἐβασίλευσεν, καὶ οἱ ὑπήκοοι αὐτὸν μὲν αὐτὸν Δαναΐδαι καλούμενοι, ἐπ' Εὐρυθέα ἡ Σθενέλα ἡ Περσέως, μεθ' ἃς οἱ Πελοπίδαι. Afr. apud Euſeb. Chron.

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of *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, of *Cephren* or *Chabryis*; or of *Mycerinus*, the Authors of the three greater Pyramids, mentioned by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; or of *Asychis*, the builder of a fourth, according to *Herodotus*. Wherefore what their Writings have not supplied us with, that Reason must. For since these *Ægyptian* Kings, as we have proved, lived between *Amenophis* and *Apries*, and by [a] *Eusebius* out of *Africanus*, *Amenophis* is the last of the XVIII *Dynasty*, and *Apries* or *Vaphres*, the VIII of the XXVI *Dynasty*, we must necessarily place them in one of the intermediate *Dynasties*. But seeing all the intermediate *Dynasties* have their peculiar Kings, unless it be the XX, we have no reason to exclude them, and to bring these in their places as Usurpers: But rather, with great probability, (for I must say here with [b] *Livy*, *Quis rem tam veterem pro certo affirmet?*) we may assign to them the XX *Dynasty*. In which we find not the Name of any one King, but yet the space left vacant of CLXXVIII Years, according to *Eusebius*.

[a] Euseb. Chron.

[b] Liv. l. 1.

Here therefore we shall place,

First, *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, the Founder of the first Pramid, who began his Reign in the CIↃ CIↃ CIↃ CCCC XLVIII Year of the *Julian* Period, that is CCCCLXXXX Years before the first Olympiad, and IↃ CLXXVII before the first Destruction of the Temple, and CIↃ CCLXVI before the beginning of the Years of our Lord. He reigned Fifty Years, saith *Herodotus*, and built this Pyramid, as *Diodorus* observes, a thousand Years before his time, or the CLXXX Olympiad, whereas he might have said a thousand two hundred and seven.

Secondly, *Cephren* or *Chabryis*, the Builder of the second, who reigned fifty [c] six Years.

[c] Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. lib. 1.

Thirdly, *Mycerinus*, the Erector of the third, seven Years.

Fourthly, *Asychis* the Author of the fourth.
Fifthly, *Anysis* the Blind.
} How long these two reigned is no where expressed.

Sixthly, *Sabachus* the *Æthiopian*. He conquered *Ægypt*, and reigned [d] fifty Years.

[d] Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. lib. 1.

The Sum is CLXIII Years, this being subducted out of CLXXVIII Years, (the whole time allowed by *Eusebius* to this *Dynasty*,) the remainder is XV Years; which space we may without any inconvenience, divide between *Asychis* and *Anysis*.

If any shall question why the Names of these Kings are omitted by *Manethos*, an *Ægyptian* Priest, in the XX *Dynasty*, I can give no other reason than what we read in *Herodotus*: [a] *These Kings* (speaking of *Cheops* and *Cephren*,) *the Ægyptians out of hatred will not so much as name, but they call them the Pyramids of Philition a Shepherd, who in those times at that place, fed his Cattel.* The which hatred, occasioned by their Oppressions, as [b] *Diodorus* also mentions, might cause him to omit the rest, especially *Sabachus*, an *Æthiopian*, and an Usurper.

[a] Τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ καρτασθέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος φιλιτίωνος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. Herodot. lib. 2.

[b] Diodor. lib. 1.

Following this computation of *Eusebius* of CLXXVIII Years for the XX *Dynasty*, and not that of *Africanus*, who assigns only an CXXV, of whom [c] *Joseph Scaliger* hath this Censure, *In istis dynastis, aliquid turbasse videtur Africanus, ut consuleret rationibus suis*; it will follow by way of consequence, as the *most Reverend and Learned Primate of* Ireland, in his *Chronologiâ Sacrâ* hath singularly well observed.

[c] Scalig. in Euseb. Chron.

First, That the XVIII *Dynasty* ends with the migration of the *Israelites* out of *Ægypt*, and with the death of *Amenophis*; which is clearly signified by *Manethos*, and the Times of *Belus* and *Danaus*, noted by the *Greek* Chronographers, do evidently confirm it. I mean the Ægyptian *Belus* or *Amenophis*, the Father of *Ægyptus*, or *Sethosis* and *Danaus*, not the *Babylonian Belus* the Father of *Ninus*, whom *Mythologists* confound with this, feigning him to have transported Colonies out of *Ægypt* to *Babylon*. The time allotted by [d] *Thallus*, an ancient Chronographer, to *Belus* of CCCXX Years before the *Trojan* War, doth exactly agree with this Ægyptian *Belus* or *Amenophis*.

[d] Thallus apub Euseb.

Secondly, That the XX *Dynasty* will receive those six Kings, which out of *Herodotus* we have placed there; the number of whose Years exceed the time limited by *Africanus*.

Thirdly, That the XXII *Dynasty* will fall upon the latter time of King *Solomon*.

lomon, whereby *Sefonchis* the firſt King of it, may be the ſame with *Seſac*, or *Shiſhac*, who in the [e] fifth Year of *Reboboam*, the Son of *Solomon*, invaded *Judæa*; which was the only reaſon that moved [f] *Scaliger* to ſuſpect, that ſomething had been altered by *Africanus* in theſe *Dynaſties*.

[e] 1 Kings 14. 25, 26.

[f] Scalig. in Euſeb. Chron.

By the ſame ſeries and deduction of Times, we may conclude, that the *Labyrinth* adjoining to the *Pyramid* of *Oſymanduas*, raiſed by a common expence of the XII Kings, who [g] ſucceeded *Sethon* to have been CIↃ CIↃ CCCXXIV Years ſince, IↃ CLXXX before Chriſt. For *Sethon* living in the time of *Sennacharib*, and theſe immediately following *Sethon* in the Government of the Kingdom, they muſt have reigned either in the ſame Age the Scripture aſſigns to *Sennacharib*, or not long after.

[g] Herodot. lib. 2.

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Thoſe other Pyramids, the one of *Oſymanduas* in [h] *Diodorus*, or *Iſmandes*, in [i] *Strabo*; and thoſe two of *Mæris*, or *Myris*, in [k] *Herodotus*, and [l] *Diodorus*, it is evident they preceded *Seſoſtris* the Great, and muſt therefore have been above three thouſand Years ſince, but by how many Kings or how many Ages, is hard to be defined.

[h] Diodor. lib. 1.

[i] Strabo, lib. 17.

[k] Herodot. lib. 2.

[l] Diodor. lib. 1.

Of the End or Intention of the PYRAMIDS, *that they were for Sepulchres; where, by the way is expreſſed, the manner of Imbalming uſed by the* ÆGYPTIANS.

THAT theſe Pyramids were intended for Sepulchres and Monuments of the Dead, is the conſtant Opinion of moſt Authors, which have writ of this Argument. [a] *Diodorus* expreſly tells us, that *Chemmis* and *Cephren*, *although they deſigned* (theſe two greater) *for their Sepulchres, yet it hapned that neither of them were buried in them.* [b] *Strabo* judges all thoſe near *Memphis* to have been the Sepulchres of Kings. *Forty Stadia from the City* (Memphis,) *there is a certain Brow of an Hill in which are many Pyramids, the Sepulchres of Kings.* And in particular, he calls another near the Lake of *Mæris*, *the* [c] *Sepulchre of Imandes.* To which alſo the Writings of the *Arabians* are conſonant, who make the three greater the Monuments of *Saurid*, *Hougib*, and *Fazfarinoun*. And the *Sabæans* the firſt of them, the Sepulchre of *Seth*, the ſecond of *Hermes*, the third of *Sab*, from whom they ſuppoſe themſelves denominated *Sabæans*, as we formerly mentioned. And if none of theſe Authories were extant, yet the Tomb found in the greateſt Pyramid to this day of *Cheops*, as *Herodotus* names him, or *Chemmis*, according to *Diodorus*, puts it out of Controverſie. Which may farther be confirmed by the Teſtimony of [d] *Ibn Abd Alhokm* an *Arabian*, where he diſcourſes of the Wonders of *Ægypt*, who relates, that after *Almamon* the Calif of *Babylon*, had cauſed this Pyramid to be opened [about eight hundred Years ſince,] [e] *they found in it towards the top a Chamber, with an hollow Stone, in which there was a Statue like a Man, and within it a Man, upon whom was a Breaſt-plate of Gold ſet with Jewels, upon this Breaſt-plate was a Sword of inеſtimable price, and at his Head a Carbuncle of the bigneſs of an Egg, ſhining like the Light of the Day, and upon him were Characters writ with a Pen, which no Man underſtood.*

[a] Τῶν δ' βασιλέων τὰ κατασκευασάντων αὐτὰς ἑαυτῶν τάφου σωέβη μηδέτερον αὐτῶν τὰ συσκήσιν ἐσχῆκα. Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

[b] Τετταρακόντα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους περιβόνλε ἐρημή τις ὀρεὺς ὄζιν, ἐφ' ἧ σολλαὶ μὲν συραμίδες εἰσὶ τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων. Strab. lib. 17.

[c] Ἰμανδὴς δ' ὀνομα ὁ τάφος. Ibid.

[d] Thallus apud Euſeb.

[e] G. Almec. Hiſt. Arab. ex Edit. Erp.

Note, *In Mr.* Greaves's *Edition of this Work, printed at* London, Anno 1646. *the* Arabick *is cited at large, to which the curious Reader may have recourſe.*

But why the Ægyptian Kings ſhould have been at ſo vaſt an Expence in the building of theſe Pyramids, is an Inquiry of an higher nature. [f] *Ariſtotle* judges them to have been the Works of Tyranny: And *Pliny* conjectures, that they built them, partly out of Oſtenta-

[f] Ariſt. l. 3. Polit.

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tion, and partly out of State-policy, by keeping the People in imployment, to divert them from Mutinies and Rebellions. [g] *Regum pecuniæ otiosa, ac stulta ostentatio. Quippe cum faciendi eas causa à plerisque tradatur, ne pecuniam successoribus, aut æmulis insidiantibus præberent, aut ne plebs esset otiosa.*

Plin. l. 22. c. 1.

But the true Reason depends upon higher and more weighty Considerations; though I acknowledge these alledged by *Pliny* might be secondary Motives. And this sprang from the Theology of the Ægyptians, who, as *Servius* shews in his Comment upon these words of [h] *Virgil*, describing the Funeral of *Polydorus*,

[h] Æneid. lib. 3.

—— *Animamque Sepulchro*
Condimus. ——

believed, that *as long as the Body endured, so long the Soul continued with it*, which also was the Opinion of the [i] Stoicks. [k] *Hence the Ægyptians skilful in Wisdom, do keep their Dead imbalmed so much the longer, to the end that the Soul may for a long while continue, and be obnoxious to the Body, lest it should quickly pass to another. The Romans did the contrary, burning their Dead, that the Soul might suddenly return into the generality, that is, into its own nature.* Wherefore that the Body might not, either by Putrefaction be reduced to Dust, out of which it was first formed, or by Fire be converted into Ashes, (as the manner of the *Grecians* and *Romans* was,) they invented curious Compositions, besides the intombing them in stately Reconditories, hereby indeavouring to preserve them from Rottenness, and to make them Eternal. [l] *Nec cremare, aut fodere fas patant, verum arte medicata intra penetralia collocant*, saith *Pomponius Mela*: And *Herodotus* gives the Reason why they did neither burn nor bury. For discourting, in his Third Book, of the cruelty of *Cambyses*, and of his commanding that the Body of *Amasis*, an Ægyptian King, should be taken out of his Sepulchre, whipt, and used with all contumely, he reports, that after all he bid it to be burnt, [m] *commanding that which was not holy. For the Persians imagin the Fire to be a God, and neither of them are accustomed to burn the dead Body. The Persians for the reason before alledged, because they conceive it unfitting for a God to devour the Carcass of a Man; and the Ægyptians, because they are perswaded the Fire is a living Creature, devouring all things that it receives, and after it is satisfied with Food, dies with that which it hath devoured. Nor is it their custom of giving the dead Body* [n] *to Beasts, but of imbalming* (or salting) *it, not only for this reason, but that it may not be consumed with Worms.* The term used by *Herodotus* ταριχεύειν, *of salting* or *imbalming* the Dead, is also used by [o] *Baruch* and by [p] *Plato*, and by [q] *Lucian* in his Discourse *de Luctu*, treating of the several sorts of Burial practised by several Nations. [r] *The Grecian doth burn* [the Dead] *the Persian bury, the Indian doth anoint with the Fat of Swine, the Scythian eats, and the Ægyptian* ταριχεύει, *embalms*, (or pouders.) Which manner also is alluded to by *Antoninus* under the word ταρίχιον, [s] *that which the other day was excrementitious Matter, within few days shall either be* ταρίχιον, *an imbalmed Body, or meer Ashes:* In the one expressing the Custom of the Ægyptians, in the other of the *Romans*; where Doctor [t] *Casaubone*, the Learned Son of a Learned Father, hath rightly corrected the Errors of those who render ταρίχιον *to be a certain sort of Urn.* By this means then salting the Body, and imbalming it, (the manner of both we shall describe out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*,) the Soul was obliged (according to the belief of the Ægyptians) to abide with the Body, and the Body came to be as durable as Marble. Insomuch as *Plato*, who lived in Ægypt with *Eudoxus* no less than XIII Years, as [u] *Strabo* witnesseth, brings it for an Argument in his *Phædon* to prove the Immortality of the Soul, by the Long

[i] *Stoici medium sequentes, tam diu animam durare dicunt, quam diu durat & corpus.* Serv. Com. in lib. 3. Æneid.

[k] *Quod Ægypti periti sapientiæ condita diutius reservant cadavera, scilicet ut anima eo tempore perduret, & corpori sit obnoxia, ne cito ad aliud transeat. Romani contra faciebant cremantes cadavera, ut statim anima in generalitatem, id est, in suam naturam reciperet.* Serv. Com. in lib. 3. Æneid.

[l] Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

[m] Herodot. lib. 3. Ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐόντος ὅσιον ἐς τὸν πάντα ἄνθρωπον νόμον ἐστὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν τοιάδε· ἐπὰν τελευτήσῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ πλούσιος, &c.

[n] This barbarous Custom is still practised in the East-Indies, as Teixeira (who from his own Travels, and the Writings of *Emin Cond*, a Persian, hath given us the best Light of those Countries, truly informs us. Whereunto, we may give credit to that of Tully: *Magorum mos est, humana corpora ipsorum, nisi à feris sint antea lacerata, sepelire. Hyrcanis Plebs publicos alit canes, optimates domesticos. (Nobile autem genus canum illud censetur esse.) Armeniis quique facultate parent, condiunt mortuos, iisque lanitatur, eamque sepulturam illi esse censent optimam.* (Tusc. q. l. 1.)

[o] Baruch. 6. 71.

[p] Plat. Phædon.

[q] Lucian de Luct.

[r] Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλην κατακαίει τοὺς νεκρούς· ὁ δὲ Πέρσης θάπτει· ὁ δὲ Ἰνδὸς ἀλείφει σκάτεσι χοίρειοις· ὁ δὲ Σκύθης κατεσθίει, ταριχεύει δὲ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.

[s] M. Aurel. Anton. lib. 3. Ἐχθὲς μὲ μυξάλιον, αὔριον ἢ ταριχὸν ἢ τέφρα.

[t] Casaub. ann. in l. 3. M. Aurel. Anton.

[u] Strabo lib. 17.

long duration of these Bodies. Which surely would have been more conclusive with him, could he have imagined that to these Times, that is, till CD CD Years after him, they should have continued to solid and intire, as to this day we find many of them. Wherefore [a] St. *Augustin* truly affirms, that the *Ægyptians*, *alone believe the Resurrection, because they carefully preserve their dead Corpses. For they have a custom of drying up the Bodies, and rendring them as durable as Brass; these* [in their Language] *they call Gabbares.* Whence the Gloss of *Isidore*, *Gabares mortuorum, in Vulcanius*, his Edition; or as [b] *Spondanus* reads *Gabares mortuorum condita corpora.*

[a] *Ægyptii vero soli credunt Resurrectionem, quia diligenter custodiunt cadavera mortuorum, quæ tamdiu habent secum, & post sua reddere, quando ea vacant.* Aug. de Civit. Dei. Lib. 22. De Diversis.

[b] Spondanus de Corporibus Defunctorum, lib. 1. par. 2. c. 5.

The manner how the *Ægyptians* prepared and imbalmed these Bodies, is very copiously, and by what I observed, very truthfully described by *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and therefore I shall put down their own words: *Their Mourning*, saith [c] *Herodotus, and manner of Burial are in this kind: When any Man of Quality of the Family is dead, all the Women besmear their Heads and Faces with Dirt, then leaving the Body with their Kindred, they go lamenting up and down the City with their Kinsfolks, their Apparel being girt about them, and their Breasts naked. On the other side, the Men having likewise their Cloaths girt about them, beat themselves. These things being done, they carry it to be* [d] *imbalmed. For this there are some appointed, that profess the Art; these, when the Body is brought to them, shew to the bringers of it certain Patterns of dead Bodies in Wood, like it in painting. One of these they say is of a curious made,* (which I think it not lawful to name.) *they shew a second inferiour to it, and of an easier price, and a third of a lower. Which being seen, they ask of them according to what Pattern they will have the dead Body prepared? When they have agreed upon the price, they depart thence; those that remain, carefully imbalm the Body in this manner: First of all they draw out the Brain with a crooked Iron by the Nostrils, which being taken out, they infuse* [e] *Medicaments. Then with a sharp Æthiopick Stone they cut it about the Bowels, and take out all the Guts: these purged and washed with Wine made of Palms, they again wash with sweet Odors beaten; next filling up the Belly with pure Myrrhe beaten, and Cassia, and other Odours, except Frankincense, they sow it up again; having done this, they salt it with Nitre, hiding it seventy days, (for longer it is not lawful to salt it;) seventy days being ended, after they have washed the Body, binding it with Fillets (or* [f] *Ribbands,) and wrapping it in a Shroud of Silk Linen, they smear it with Gum, which the Ægyptians often use instead of Glue. The Kindred receiving it thence, make*

[c] Herodotus, lib. 2. Ἐπὴν δὲ τελευτήσῃ ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα λόγου ἄξιος, &c.

[d] Amongst these imbalmed Bodies, Idols, *Omni-genumque Deum monstra, & latrator Anubis* (*Virgil's* Expression, (*Æn.* 8.) Some of these are of Stone in little Portraictures, formed either of Potter's Work, or else of Stone, or Metal, or Wood, or the like; all which Kinds I have bought some. One of them is the Rarity of the Matter, and for the illustration of the Work deserves to be here mentioned; being cut out of Wood, in the form and bigness of the κάνθαρος, or *Scarabæus*; which as * *Plutarch* testifies, was worshipped by the *Ægyptians*, and was by Military Men, ingraven as an Emblem on their Seals. To which sort of Idols, it may be *Moses* alluded, when speaking of the Gods of *Ægypt* he terms them גלולים *Gillulim*, *Stercoreos Deos*, † as the Original is rendred by *Junius*, and *Tremellius*; for such Places are the unsavory Dwellings of the *Scarabæus*. That which is remarkable of it in nature is this, that the Stone, though probably two thousand Years since, taken out of its natural Bed, the Rock, yet still retains its attractive and magnetical Virtue.

* *Deus illorum.*

† Deut. 29. 17. *Ezekiels Idols.* *Vide Leviticus* 26. 30.

[e] Having caused the Head of one of the richer sort of these imbalmed Bodies to be opened, in the hollow of the Skull I found the quantity of two pounds of these Medicaments; which had the consistence, blackness, and smell of a kind of *Bitumen*, or Pitch: and by the heat of the Sun was so fast liquified, that no infusion could not well have been made any other way, than as *Herodotus* here intimates, by the Nostrils. The Tongue of this embalmed Body being weighed by me, was less than seven Ounces *English*. So light was it, as a Member, which *Sr. James* calls *a world of Moisture*, (James 3. 6.)

[f] *Plutarch* writes, that they first exposed the Belly, being opened, to the Sun, sifting the Bowels into the River (*Nilus*,) *tanquam impuramentum corporis*: This being done, they filled up the Belly, and the hollow of the Breast with Unguents and Odours, as it is manifest by those which I have seen.

[g] These Ribbands by what I observed, were of Linen, which was also the habit of the *Ægyptian* Priests. For *Herodotus* (*Lib.* 2.) writes, that it was prophane for the *Ægyptians* either to be buried in Woollen Garments, or to use them in their Temples: And *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride* expressly tells us, that *the Priests of* Isis *used Linen Vestments, and were shaved; Suetonius in Otthone, (Lib.* 7.) *Sacra etiam Isidis, atque linteâ religionique vestis propalam celebravit.* And therefore the Goddess *Isis* is called in *Ovid* (2 *Amor. Eleg.* 2.) Linigera.

Nec tu Linigeram fieri quid fugis ad Isim,
Quasi feris. ——

Of these Ribbands I have seen some so strong, and perfect, as if they had been newly made. With these they bound and swathed the dead Body, beginning with the Head, and ending with the Feet: Over these again, they wound others so often one upon another, that there could not be much less than a thousand Els upon one Body.

[h] a Coffin

* a *Coffin of Wood, in the Similitude of Greawes, a Man, in which they put the dead Body; and being thus inclosed, they place it in a Recondiory in the Houſe, ſetting it upright againſt the Wall. In this manner with great Expenſes they prepare the Funerals of their Dead. But thoſe who avoiding too great Expences deſire a mediocrity, prepare them in this manner. They take a Clyſter with the Juice of Cedar, with which they fill the Belly by the Fundament, neither cutting it, nor taking it out, and ſalt it ſo many days, as we mentioned before. In the laſt of which they take out that* (Clyſter) *of Cedar out of the Belly, which before they injected. This hath ſuch Efficacy, that it carries out with it the whole Paunch and Entrails corrupted. The Nitre conſumes the Fleſh, and there is only left the Skin and Bones of the dead Body. When they have done this, they reſtore the Body to the Kindred, doing nothing more. The third manner of preparing the Dead, is of them which are of meaner Fortune: With Lotions they waſh the Belly, and dry it with Salt ſeventy Days, then they deliver it to be carried away.*

* Theſe Coffins are faſhioned in the Similitude of a Man, or rather reſembling one of thoſe imbalmed Bodies, which as we deſcribed before, are bound with Ribbands, and wrapped in a Shroud of Linen. For as in thoſe there is the ſhape of a Head, with a kind of painted Vizard, or Face faſtned to it, but no appearance without of the Arms and Legs: So is it with theſe Coffins, the top of them hath the ſhape of the Head of a Man, with a Face painted on it reſembling a Woman, the reſidue being one continued Trunk: At the end of this Trunk is a *Pedeſtal*, ſomewhat broad; upon which it ſtood upright in the Recondiory, as *Herodotus* here mentions. Some of theſe Coffins are handſomly painted without, with ſeveral Hieroglyphicks. Opening two of them, I found within, over the Body, divers Scroles faſtned to the Linen Shrowd. Theſe were painted with ſacred Characters, for the Colours very lively, and freſh; amongſt which, were in a larger Size the Pictures of Men, or Women, ſome headed like Hawks, ſome like Dogs, and ſometimes Dogs in Chards ſtanding alone. Theſe Scroles either ran down the Belly and ſides, or elſe were placed upon the Knees, and Legs. On the Feet was a Linen Cover, (and ſo were all the Scroles before-mentioned of *Linen,*) painted with Hieroglyphicks, and faſhioned like to a high Slipper. The Breaſt had a kind of Breaſt-plate covering it, made with Folds of Linen cut Scolop-wiſe, richly painted, and guilt. In the midſt of the head at the top of it, was the Face of a Woman with her Arms expanded; on each ſide of them, at the two outmoſt ends the Head of an Hawk fairly gilt, by which they repreſented the Divine Nature, according to *Plutarch* (in his Book *De Iſide & Oſiride,*) as by a Serpent with the Tail in his Mouth, the Revolution of the Year was reſembled; in which kind alſo I have ſeen fair Sculptures in Gems, found at *Alexandria*: And as by the Sign of the Croſs they did denote *vitam æternam*, in *Ruffinus*'s expreſſion. Of theſe Croſſes I have ſeen ſeveral amongſt their Hieroglyphicks; ſome painted, and ſome ingraven in this manner ☥ and ſome others amongſt their Mummies formed of Stone (or baked Earth) in this Figure. ☨

At *Rome*, on the Statue of *Oſiris*, it is ingraven thus: T. Which may ſerve for confirmation of what *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, relate; that at *Alexandria*, the Temple of *Serapis* or *Oſiris* (for *Plutarch* judges *Serapis* and *Oſiris* to be one and the ſame) being by the command of *Theodoſius* demoliſhing *Croſſes* cut in Stone; *Men of Ægypt, ſignified* Which Diſcovery, as the Converſion to Chriſtianity of ſome of the Gentiles.

* Ἀγαλμα ξυλινον σορου ἀνθρωπου ἐχον ἐπιφανειαν γυναικος. Plut. de Iſ. & Oſir.

ed, they found Characters reſem*ſher. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 5. cap. 17. Sozomen. Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 7. cap. 15.*

Diodorus Siculus, as his manner is, more diſtinctly and clearly with ſome remarkable Circumſtances, expreſſeth the ſame thing. *If any one die amongſt the Ægyptians, all his Kindred and Friends caſting dirt upon their Heads, go lamenting about the City, till ſuch time as the Body is buried. In the mean time, they abſtain from Baths and Wine, and all delicate Meat, neither do they wear coſtly Apparel. The manner of their Burial is three fold. The one is very coſtly, the ſecond leſs, the third very mean. In the firſt, they ſay there is ſpent a Talent of Silver, in the ſecond twenty* minæ, *in the laſt there is very little Expence. Thoſe who take care to dreſs the Body are Artizans receiving this Skill from their Anceſtors. Theſe ſhewing a Bill to the Kindred of the Dead, of the Expences upon each Kind of Burial, ask them in what manner they will have the Body to be prepared. When they have agreed upon it, they deliver the Body to ſuch as are uſually appointed to this Office. Firſt, he which is called the Scribe, laying it upon the ground, deſcribes about the Bowels on the left ſide, how much is to be cut away. Then he which is called the Cutter, taking an Æthiopick Stone, and cutting away as much of the Fleſh as the Law commands, preſently flies away as faſt as he can; they which are preſent, running after him, and caſting Stones at him, and curſing him,* (hereby) *turning all the Execration upon him. For whoſoever doth offer violence, or wound, or do any kind of injury to a Body of the ſame nature with himſelf, they think him worthy of hatred. But thoſe which are called the Imbalmers, they eſteem them worthy of Honour and Reſpect. For they are familiar with their Prieſts, and they go into the Temples, as holy Men without any Prohibition. As ſoon as they meet about the dreſſing of the diſſected Body, one thruſting his Hand by the Wound of the dead Body into his Entrails, takes out all the Bowels within, beſides the Heart and Kidneys; another cleanſes all the*

Diod. Sic. lib. 1.

the Entrails, washing them with Wine made of Palms, and with Odours. Lastly, the whole Body being carefully anointed with the Juice of Cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and afterwards with Myrrhe and Cinamon, and such other things, which have power not only to keep it for a long time, but also to give a sweet Smell, they deliver it to the Kindred. This being thus finished, every Member of the Body is kept so intire, that upon the Brows and [a] *Eye lids, the Hairs remain, and the whole Shape of the Body* (continues) *unchanged, and the Image of the Countenance may be known. Hence many of the Ægyptians keeping the Bodies of their Ancestors in magnificent Houses, do see so expressly the Faces of them dead many Ages before they were born, that beholding the bigness of each of them, and the dimensions of their Bodies, and the lineaments of their Faces, it affords them wonderful content of Mind, no otherwise than as if they were now living with them.* Thus far *Diodorus*. By which Description of his, and that of *Herodotus*, we see the truth of what [c] *Tully* writes: *The Ægyptians imbalm their Dead, and keep them at home: Amongst themselves above-ground,* saith *Sextus Empericus:* And [b] *intra penetralia* in *Pomponius Mela*'s Expression: And in *lectulis*, according to *Athanasius* in the Life of *Antony*. *Lucian* adds farther in his Tract *de luctu*. [d] *They bring the dried Body (I speak what I have seen,) as a Guest to their Feasts, and Invitations, and often times one necessitous of Money is supplyed, by giving his Brother or his Father in Pledge.* The former custom is intimated by *Silius* [e] *Italicus*, speaking of the several Manners of Burial practised in divers Nations.

[a] I find in the Travels of Monsieur *de Breves*, Embassador at *Constantinople*, that at his being in *Ægypt* about forty Years since, they saw some of these imbalmed Bodies, with Hair remaining on their Heads, and with Beards; which I easily believe. *Nous en vimes aucuns la teste & les pieds descouverts (à cause que les dites bandes estoient pourries,) qui avoient encore les cheveux, la barbe & les ongles.* Les Voyages de M. de Breves.

Ægyptia tellus
Claudit odorato post funus stantia Saxo,
Corpora, & à mensis exanguem haud separat umbram.

The latter is confirmed by [f] *Diodorus Siculus*. *They have a custom of depositing for a Pledge the Bodies of their dead Parents. It is the greatest Ignominy that may be not to redeem them; and if they do it not, they themselves are deprived of Burial.* And therefore says he immediately before *Such as for any Crime or Debt, are hindred from being buried, are kept at home without a Coffin; whom afterwards their Posterity growing rich discharging their Debts, and paying Money in compensation of their Crimes, honourably bury; for the Ægyptian's Glory, that their Parents and Ancestors were buried with Honour.*

[f] *Diodor. Sic. l. 1.*

This manner of the *Ægyptians* imbalming, we find also practised by *Joseph* upon his Father *Jacob* in *Ægypt*: And if we will believe *Tacitus*, [m] *the Hebrews* (in general) *learned from the Ægyptians rather to bury their Dead than to burn them.* Where [n] *Spondanus* instead of *condere cadavera*, reads *condire*, as if it had been their custom of pouldering or imbalming their Dead. Wash them and Anoint them we know they did, by what was done to our *Saviour* and to the *Widow Dorcas*; and long before it was in use amongst the Gentiles, as well as Jews, as appears by the Funeral of *Patroclus* in [o] *Homer*, and of *Misenus* the *Trojan* in [p] *Virgil*.

[m] *Judæos ab Ægyptiis didicisse, condere cadavera, potius quàm cremare.* Tacit. Histor. lib. 5.

[n] Spondan. lib. 1. part 1 cap. 5. *de cœmeteriis sacris.*

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐπὶ πυρκαϊὴν ἔθεσαν θείην, ἀμφὶ δὲ σῶμα Πατρόκλοιο ἄνακτος ἔστησαν λιτὸν ἀκηδέα, μή τι μύωπες ἅψωνται Πατρόκλοιο, τά τε φθινύθουσι βροτοῖσιν ἁλωὰ. Iliad. lib. 19.

[p] Æneid. lib. 6

Corpusque lavant frigentis, & ungunt.

And of *Tarquinius* the *Roman* in *Ennius*:

Tarquinii corpus bona fœmina lavit, & unxit.

But certainly the *Ægyptian* manner of Imbalming, which we have described out of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, was not received by them; or if it were, *Martha* the Sister of *Lazarus* needed not to have feared, that after four days the Body should have stunk. [q] They which infer out of the Funeral of *Asa*, King of *Judah*, that it was the custom of the *Jews* as well as *Ægyptians*, have very little proba-

John 11. 39

[q] *Transtulerunt Israelitæ hunc ritum ex Ægypto secum in Cananæam, quo deinceps in sepulturis Principum & Regum usi dicuntur in Historia Asæ.* 2 Paral. 16. & alibi. D. Paræi. Com. in Gen. 50. 2.

bility

[b] Lib. 1. cap. 9.

[c] *Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, & eos domi servant.* Tuscul. qu. lib. 1.

[d] Οὕτω μὴν τοὺς (λέγω ἃ εἶδον) ξηρανας ἐν νικεῖν, ωσθ' ἑστιασιν καὶ συμπόσιον ἑτοιμάζειν, πολλάκις ἤ καὶ δεομένῳ χρημάτων ἀνδρὶ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐλυσε τὴν ἀνάγκην εἰσενεγκεῖν ἢ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὁ πατὴρ ἐνεχυρον ἐν καιρῷ. Luc. an. sit luctus.

[e] Lib. 3. Punicoum.

bility for their Aſſertion. [a] We read, that *they buried him in his own Sepulchre, which he had made for himſelf in the City of David, and laid him in the Bed, which was filled with ſweet Odors, and divers kinds of Spices prepared by the Apothecaries Art; and they made a very great burning for him.* This very great burning is ſo contrary to the practice of the *Ægyptians*, to whom it was an abomination, as appears by the Authorities before cited of *Herodotus* and *Mela*, beſides the little affinity of filling the Bed with ſweet Odors, and the *Ægyptians* filling the Body and the place of the Entrails with ſweet Odors, according both to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, that we ſhall not need to inlarge our ſelves in any other Confutation. But as for that of *Jacob* and *Joſeph*, the Father and the Son both living and dying in *Ægypt*, the Text is clear, they were imbalmed after the faſhion of the *Ægyptians*. [b] *And Joſeph commanded his Servants the Phyſicians to imbalm his Father, and the Phyſicians imbalmed Iſrael, and forty days were fulfilled for him (for ſo are fulfilled the days of thoſe which are imbalmed;) and the Ægyptians mourned for him threeſcore and ten days.* In the ſame Chapter we read, [c] *So Joſeph died being an hundred and ten Years old, and they imbalmed him, and he was put in a Coffin in Ægypt.* Both which places are very conſonant to the Traditions of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, and *may ſerve to ſhew what neceſſity there is of having oft times recourſe to the Learning of the Heathen*, for the illuſtration of the Scriptures. *Forty days were fulfilled for the imbalming of Jacob:* This [d] *Diodorus* tells us was their cuſtom, *They anointed the dead Body with the Juice of Cedar, and other things for above thirty days, and afterward with Myrrhe and Cinamon, and the like*; which might make up the reſidue of the forty Days: *And the Ægyptians mourned for him threeſcore and ten Days.* This time out of *Herodotus* may be collected to have been from the firſt Day of the Death of the Perſon, till the Body was returned by the Phyſicians after ſeventy Days perfectly imbalmed. The Text ſays, *And Joſeph was put in a Coffin*, which is very lively repreſented by [e] *Herodotus*. *The Kindred receiving the dead Body from the Imbalmers, make a Coffin of Wood in the ſimilitude of a Man, in which they put it.* This Coffin then, as it is probable, of *Joſeph*, was of Wood, and not *marmorea theca*, as *Cajetane* imagines, the former being the cuſtom of the *Ægyptians*. Beſides, that this was much eaſier, and fitter to be carried by the *Iſraelites* into *Canaan*, marching on foot, and for ought we read deſtitute of Waggons and other Carriages.

[f] The *Tradition of the ancient Hebrews* in their Commentaries, is very probable and conſonant to it. *They carried in the Deſert two Arks, the one of God, the other of Joſeph; that the Ark of the Covenant, this the Ark* (or Coffin) *in which they carried Joſeph's Bones out of Ægypt.* This Coffin (if it be lawful for me to conjecture after the Revolution of Three thouſand Years,) I conceive to have been of Sycomore, (a great Tree very plentifully growing in *Ægypt*,) of which ſort there are many found in the Mummies, very fair, intire, and free from Corruption to this day. Though I know the *Arabians* and *Perſians* have a different Tradition, that his Coffin was of Glaſs. [g] *They put his bleſſed Body, after they had waſhed it, into a Coffin of Glaſs, and buried it in the Channel of the River Nilus*, ſaith *Emir Cond*, a *Perſian*.

That Phraſe of *Joſeph*, where he takes an Oath of the Children of *Iſrael*, [h] *Ye ſhall carry up my Bones from hence*, ſurely is a *Synecdoche*, or figurative Speech. And ſo is that in *Exodus*: *And* [i] *Moſes took the Bones of Joſeph with him; for he had ſtraightly ſworn the Children of Iſrael, ſaying, God will ſurely viſit you, and ye ſhall carry up my Bones away hence with you*: For his Body being boweled, and then imbalmed, after the manner of the *Ægyptians*, not only the Bones, but the Skin, the Fleſh, and all beſides the Entrails, (which according to [k] *Plutarch*, were thrown into the River,) would have continued perfect and intire, a much longer

[a] Chron. 16. 14.

[b] Gen. 50. 2, 3.

[c] Gen. 50. 26.

[d] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Καθὰς ὁ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κέδρεία καὶ τισὶν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἐξαίσιον ἐφ' ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνῃ καὶ κινναμώμῳ, &c.

[e] Herod. l. 2.

[f] *Veteres Hebræi commentati ſunt duas fuiſſe arcas, una incedentes in deſerto, alteram Divinitatis, alteram Joſephi; illam ſcilicet arcam fœderis, hanc vero loculos quibus Joſephi oſſa ex Ægypto asportabantur in Regionem Chanaan.* Perer. Com. in 50 cap. Geneſ.

[g] *Note*, In Mr. *Greaves*'s Edition of this Work, printed at *London*, *Anno* 1646, the *Arabick* is cited at large, to which the curious Reader may have recourſe.

[h] Gen. 50. 25.

[i] Exod. 13. 19.

[k] Plutar. Sapient. convi.

longer ſpace than from his Death to their migration out of *Ægypt*.

Having thus by Art found out ways to make the Body durable, whereby the Soul might continue with it, as we ſhewed before, which elſe would have been at liberty to have paſſed *into ſome other Body*, [d] this alſo being the Opinion of the *Ægyptians*, *from whom Pythagoras borrowed his* μετεμψύχωσις, or Tranſanimation, (the which made him to forbid his Diſciples the eating of Fleſh, *Ne forte bubulam quis de aliquo proavo ſuo obſonaret*, as *Tertullian* wittily ſpeaks;) the next care of the *Ægyptians* was to provide Conditories, which might be as laſting as the Body, and in which it might continue ſafe from the injury of Time and Men. That occaſioned the ancient Kings of *Thebes* in *Ægypt* to build thoſe, which [e] *Diodorus* thus deſcribes: *There are, they ſay, the wonderful Sepulchres of the ancient Kings, which in magnificence exceed the imitation of Poſterity. Of theſe in the ſacred Commentaries, forty ſeven are mentioned; but in the time of Ptolemæus Lagi, there remained but* XVII. *Many of them at our being in Ægypt, in the hundred and eighteenth Olympiad, were decayed; neither are theſe things alone reported by the Ægyptians, out of the ſacred Books, but by many alſo of the Græcians, who in the time of Ptolemæus Lagi went to Thebes, and having compiled Hiſtories, (amongſt whom is Hecatæus,) agree with our Relations.* And this might occaſion alſo thoſe others recorded by *Strabo*, which he calls ἡμικύκλια, or *Mercuriales tumulos*, ſeen by him near *Siene*, in the upper parts of *Ægypt*, very ſtrange and memorable, [f] *Paſſing in a Chariot from Siene to Philæ, over a very even Plain, about an hundred Stadia, all the way almoſt, of both ſides, we ſaw in many places mercurial Tombs; a great Stone, ſmooth, and almoſt ſpherical, of that black and hard Marble out of which Martars are made, placed upon a greater Stone, and on the top of this another, ſome of them lying by themſelves; the greateſt of them was no leſs than twelve Feet diameter, all of them greater than the half of this.* Many Ages after, when the Regal Throne was removed from *Thebes* to *Memphis*, the ſame Religion and Opinion continuing amongſt the Ægyptians, *that ſo long as the Body indured, ſo long the Soul continued with it*, not as quickning and animating it, but as an Attendant or Guardian, and as it were unwilling to leave her former Habitation: It is not to be doubted, this incited the Kings there, togegether with their private Ambition, and thirſt after Glory, to be at ſo vaſt Expences in the Building of theſe *Pyramids*; and the *Ægyptians* of lower Quality, to ſpare for no coſt, in cutting thoſe *Hypogæa*, thoſe Caves or Dormitories in the *Libyan* Deſerts, which by the Chriſtians now a-days are called the *Mummies*. *Diodorus Siculus* excellently expreſſes their Opinion and Belief in this particular, together with their extreme coſt of building Sepulchres, in theſe words: [g] *The Ægyptians make ſmall account of the time of this Life being limited, but that which after Death is joined with a glorious Memory of Virtue they highly value: They call the Houſes of the living, Inns, becauſe for a ſhort ſpace we inhabit theſe: But the Sepulchres of the Dead they name eternal Manſions, becauſe they continue with the Gods for an infinite ſpace. Wherefore in the Structures of their Houſes they are little ſolicitous, but in exquiſitely adorning their Sepulchres they think no coſt ſufficient.*

Now why the *Ægyptians* did build their Sepulchres often in the form of Pyramids, (for they were not aways of this Figure, as appears by thoſe ἡμικύκλια, or *Mercuriales tumuli*, before cited out of *Strabo*, which were ſpherical; and by thoſe *Hypogæa*, or Caves ſtill extant in the Rocks of the Deſert,) *Pierius* in his Hieroglyphicks, or rather the *Anonymus Author* at the end of him, gives ſeveral Philoſophical Reaſons: [h] *By a Pyramid*, ſaith he, *the antient Ægyptians expreſſed the nature*

Per Pyramidem veteres (Ægyptii) rerum naturam, & ſubſtantiam illam informem formas recipientem ſignificare voluerunt: quod ut Pyramis à puncto, & ſummo faſtigio incipiens, paulatim in omnes partes dilatatur, ſic rerum omnium natura ab unico principio & fonte, qui dividi non poteſt, nempè à Deo ſummo opifice profecta, varias deinde formas ſuſcipit, & in varia genera atque ſpecies diffunditur, omniaque apici illi & puncto conjungit, à quo omnia manant & fluunt. Verum & alia hujus rei ratio nempè Aſtronomia reddi poteſt, &c.

[d] Πεῶτοι δὲ κ) τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀθάνατος μὲν ἡ ψυχὴ διαμένει, μεταβάλλει δὲ τὰ σώματα εἰς ἕτερα ζῶα, ἐπὰν ἐκ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τόπων πάλιν εἰς ἀνθρώπου γένεσιν ἔλθῃ. Herod. lib. 2.

[e] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Εἶναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγραφομένους τῶν παλαιῶν βασιλέων τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑπτά, &c.

[f] Strabo, lib. 17. Ἡθόμεν δ' ἐκ Φιλῶν ἐπὶ Συήνης ἁρμάτι δι' ὁμαλοῦ σφόδρα πεδίου σταδίους ὡσεὶ τεττάρακοντα· ἔπειτα ὄρος λίθου ἐστὶν ὅλου τοῦ ὄρους ἐκλελατομημένου πολλαχοῦ δὲ ἡμικύκλια, &c.

[g] Diod. Sic. lib. 1. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον εὐτελῆ ποιοῦνται, ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὸν βίον πρὸς ἀρετὴν μνημονευόμενον, πολὺ σπουδαῖον. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ζώντων οἴκους καταγώγια ὀνομάζουσιν, &c.

[h] Ex Eruditi cujuſd. l. 2. ſub finem Hieroglyph. Pierii.

Greaves.

of things, and that informed Subſtance receiving all Forms. Becauſe as a Pyramid having its beginning from a point at the top, is by degrees dilated on all parts; ſo the nature of all things proceeding from one Fountain and Beginning, which is indiviſible, namely from God, the chief Work-maſter; afterwards receives ſeveral Forms, and is diffuſed into various Kinds and Species, all which it conjoins to that Beginning and Point, from whence every thing iſſues and flows. There may alſo be given another Reaſon for this, taken from Aſtronomy: For the Ægyptians were excellent Aſtronomers, yea, the firſt inventors of it; theſe [dividing the Zodiack, and all things under it, into twelve Signs,] *will have each Sign to be a kind of Pyramid, the Baſis of which ſhall be in the Heaven; (for the Heaven is the Foundation of Aſtronomy,) and the Point of it ſhall be in the Centre of the Earth; ſeeing therefore in theſe Pyramids all things are made, and that the coming of the Sun, which is as it were a Point in reſpect of thoſe Signs, is the cauſe of the production of natural Things, and its Departure the cauſe of their Corruption, it ſeems very fitly that by a Pyramid, Nature the Parent of all Things, may be expreſſed. Alſo the ſame Ægyptians under the Form of a Pyramid, ſhadowed out the Soul of Man, making under huge Pyramids the magnificent Sepulchres of their Kings and Heroes, to teſtifie that the Soul was ſtill exiſtent, notwithſtanding the Body were diſſolved and corrupted, the which ſhould generate and produce another Body for it ſelf, when it ſhould ſeem good to the firſt Agent, (that is, the Circle of thirty ſix thouſand Years being tranſacted:) Like as a Pyramid (as it is known to Geometricians,) the top of it ſtanding fix'd, and the Baſe being moved about, deſcribes a Circle, and the whole Body of it a Cone; ſo that the Circle expreſſes that ſpace of Years, and the Cone that Body which in that ſpace is produced. For it was the Opinion of the Ægyptians, that in the Revolution of thirty ſix thouſand Years, all things ſhould be reſtored to their former State; Plato witneſſeth, that he received it from them; who ſeems alſo to me in his Timæus, to atteſt this thing, that is, that our Soul hath the Form of a Pyramid, which (Soul) according to the ſame Plato, is of a fiery Nature, and adhereth to the Body as a Pyramid doth to the Baſis, or as Fire doth to the Fuel.* Thus far the *Anonymus Author* in *Pierius*: Moſt of which Reaſons of his are but pretty Fancies, without any ſolid Proof from good Authors. For he might as well ſay, that the *Ægyptians* were excellent Geometricians, as well as Aſtronomers, (as they were very skilful in both,) and that they made theſe *Pyramids*, to expreſs the firſt and moſt ſimple of Mathematical Bodies; or elſe being excellent Arithmeticians, to repreſent the Myſteries of Pyramidal Numbers; or being well ſeen in the Opticks, to ſhadow out the manner of Viſion, and the emiſſion of Rays from luminous Bodies, as alſo the *effluvium* of the *ſpecies intentionales* from the Object, all which are ſuppoſed to be Pyramidal. But this were to play with Truth, and to indulge too much to Fancy. Wherefore I conceive the Reaſon why they made theſe Sepulchres in the Figure of a Pyramid, was, either as apprehending this to be the moſt permanent Form of Structure, as in truth it is; (for by reaſon of the contracting and leſſening of it at the top, it is neither overpreſſed with its own weight; nor is ſo ſubject to the ſinking in of Rain as other Buildings:) or hereby they intended to repreſent ſome of their Gods. For anciently the Gentiles expreſſed them, either by Columns faſhioned like Cones, or elſe by quadrilateral Obelisks, the *Ægyptian* manner; in which latter Kind, I have ſeen many ſtanding very intire, ſome of them plain, and ſome with Hieroglyphicks inſcribed. Now ſuch Obelisks are but leſſer Models of the Pyramids, as the Pyramids are but greater Kinds of Obelisks. The firſt Inſtitution of them, as [i] *Pliny* informs us, was by *Mitres* an *Ægyptian* King, whom [k] *Iſidore* terms *Meſphres*; both of them affirming him to have conſecrated them *Solis numini*, to the Deity of the Sun. Which Deity [l] *Diodorus* relates the *Ægyptians* to have worſhipped under the Name of *Oſiris*, as they did the Moon by the Goddeſs *Iſis*, (whom the *Libyans* bordering on the *Ægyptians*, termed *Urania*, and the *Phœnicians Aſtroarches*, according

[i] *Trabes ex eo fecere Reges quodam certamine, obeliſcos vocantes Solis numini ſacratos. Radiorum ejus argumentum in effigie eſt*; & *ita ſignificabatur nomine Ægyptio. Primus omnium id inſtituit Mitres, qui in Solis urbe regnabat, ſomnio juſſus.* Plin. lib. 36. cap. 8.

[k] *Obeliscum Meſphres Rex Ægypti primus feciſſe ferunt — qui poſt cæcitatem viſo recepto, duos obeliſcos Soli conſecravit.* Iſid. lib. 18. cap. 31.

[l] Τροπαιοῦσιν δὲ δύο τοῦτον, αἰδίῳ τε καὶ πυρώδει τῇ φύσει ὄντα, καὶ τὸ σῶμα· ὃν τὸν μὲν Ὄσιριν καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον ὀνομάζουσι. Diod. Sic. lib. 1

according to [m] *Herodian:*) And therefore as *Isis Cornigera*, in which Portraicture I have observed her Statue at *Alexandria* to be formed,) did represent the Horns of the Moon, or *Luna Falcata*; so these quadrilateral Pyramids, or Obelisks, might not unfitly resemble the Rays of the Sun, or their God *Osiris*: A God denominated, as [n] *Plutarch* testifies, from *Os*, signifying in the *Ægyptian* Language, *many*, and *Iri Eyes*. For which reason, both [o] *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, term *Osiris* in *Greek* πολυόφθαλμον, *many Eyes*, or *many Rayes*; the which being emitted, as the Opticks demonstrate, in Pyramidal or Conical Forms, might not unaptly by the Gentiles be represented in either Figure. Hence the *Phœnicians*, next Neighbours to the *Ægyptians*, and probably first imitators of this their Idolatry, worshipped the Sun, whom they named *Elæagabalus*, or as ancient Coins render him, *Alegabalus*, and some Inscriptions *Heliogabalus*, an Idol, in the Similitude of a Cone. [p] *Herodian* (*l.* 5.) *The Phœnicians worship the Sun, calling him in their Language Elæagabalus; to whom there is erected a very spacious Temple, adorned with Gold, plenty of Silver, and precious Stones. It is not only worshipped by the Natives, but likewise the great Men, and Kings of the Barbarians every Year, with a kind of Emulation, send honourable Presents to the God. There is no Statue, as among the Greeks and Romans, which polished by hand, may express the Image of the God. But there is a certain great Stone circular below, and ending with a sharpness above, in the Figure of a Cone, of black Colour. They report it to have fallen from Heaven, and to be the Image of the Sun.* This Idolatry by commerce with the *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians*, came afterward to be communicated to the *Græcians*, and other Nations; and from these what at the first Institution was proper to the Sun, came by Superstition to be applyed to their other Gods. Thus [q] *Tacitus* (*Lib.* 2. *Hist.*) at *Cyprus* in the Temple of *Venus*, at *Paphos*, *The Image of the Goddess is not of human Shape, but a Figure rising continually round, from a larger bottom to a small top in conical fashion; the reason thereof is not known.* Though what *Tacitus* rendreth *meta modo exurgens*, or conical, *Maximus Tyrius* termeth Pyramidal: [r] *In Paphos, Venus hath the chiefest honour; how beit, her Image you can liken to nothing so well as to a white Pyramid.* In like manner we find in [s] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that *Callithoe* the Priestess of *Juno*, decked *the Column of the Goddess* with Crowns, and Garlands; that is, saith [t] *Joseph Scaliger*, *the Image of the Goddess with Crowns and Garlands*; *for at that time the Statues of the Gods were* κίονες του ἐμπυραύλεις, *Pyramidal Columns*, or Obelisks. And Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς, was nothing else with the *Grecians* but κίων ἐς ὀξὺ λήγων, *a Column ending in a Point*, as [u] *Suidas* witnesseth: *Which kind of Columns some make proper to Apollo, others to Bacchus, and others to them both.* In *Pausanias* also we read, that in the City *Corinth*, *Jupiter Melichius*, *and Diana surnamed Patroa*, *were made with little or no Art: Melichius being represented by a Pyramid, and Diana by a Column.* Whence not improbably the same [x] *Pausanias*, in his *Corinthiacis*, conjectures, this manner of representation of the Gods, to have been the first and most ancient among the *Grecians*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus*, deriving the beginning of it much higher, imagines it to have been the first kind of Idolatry in the World, (and therefore well agreeing with the Antiquity of the *Ægyptians*:) [y] *Before the exact Art of making Statues was found out, the Ancients erected*

[m] Λίθους δὲ ἔν τινι ἱλαὸν τινὰ κελοῦσι, φοίνικες ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον, σεβόμενοι δὲ Ἐλαγάβαλον. Herodian. lib. 5.

[n] Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὀσίριν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πολυωπίᾳ γνώμονα· Ἑνὶ γὰρ τὸ πολύ, ᾧ δὴ ἴρι τὸ πολυώπιον Αἰγυπτίοις γελοίᾳ γραφόμενοι. Plut. de Iſid. & Osir.

[o] Ἕνιοι δὲ Ὀσίριν πολυόφθαλμον, εἰκότως, κάτωθι σπειλλοειδῆ τὰς ἀκτῖνας, ὥσπερ ὀρθομοιῶς πολλοὺς ἀλέτην ἔχας γνῶ καὶ διαλάμπειν. Diod. lib. 1.

[p] Τὸν [ἥλιον] οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι θεσσαλοὶ τὸν Διὰ καλοῦσιν· Φοίνικες δὲ τὸν Ἐλαγάβαλον καλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τούτου μέγιστον ἱερὸν ἵδρυται, &c. Λίθον δὲ τινα ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν, καὶ τοῦτον σέβεσθαι τὸν θεόν· καθάπερ ἀγάλματος οὐκ ὄντος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, λιθῶνος ἐξυπτίου καὶ ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπολήγοντος κώνου μέλανος τὴν χρόαν. Herodian. lib. 5.

[q] *Simulacrum Deæ non effigie humanâ, continuus orbis latitudo initio tenuem in ambitum meta modo exurgens: dy ratio in obscuro.* Tacit. lib. 2. Histor.

[r] Παφίοις μὲν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τὰς τιμὰς ἔχει, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἀλλῳ τῳ ἢ πυραμίδι λευκῇ. Max. Tyr. Διμέξ. λα'.

[s] Clem. Alexandr. lib. 1. Stromatum ex auctore Phoronide.

[t] Scaliger in Eusebii Chronicon.

[u] Ἀπόλλων] Ἀγυιεύς δ᾽ ἐστὶ κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων. Οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν. Suidas.

[x] Ἐστὶ δὲ Διὸς Μειλιχίου, καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐπονομαζομένης πατρῴας, σφῶν τέχνη σεσημασμένη οὐδεμία· Πυραμὶς δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονι ἐοικυῖα. Pausan. Corinthiaca.

[y] Πρὶν γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὑρεθῆναι τὴν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων πλαστικὴν, ἀρχαῖοι ἔτι ὄντες ἀνέθεσαν ἀντὶ ἀγαλμάτων κίονας ἰσάξονας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐποίουν τότε, ὡς ἀφιερώματα τοῦ Θεοῦ. Clem. Alex. lib. 1. Stromatum.

ing Columns, [Pyramidal or Conical Columns,] *worſhipped theſe as the Images of God.*

Greaves.

This Practice of the *Ægyptians*, I mean of erecting Pyramids for Sepulchres, was but rarely imitated by other Nations; though *Servius* ſeems to make it frequent in his Comment upon theſe Verſes of *Virgil*:

——— *Fuit ingens monte ſub alto*
Regis Dercenni, terreno exaggere buſtum
Antiqui Laurentis, opacaque ilice tectum.

[z] *Apud majores, Nobiles aut ſub montibus, aut in montibus ſepeliebantur; unde natum eſt, ut ſupra cadavera, aut Pyramides fierent, aut ingentes collocarentur Columnæ.* Serv. in Virgil.

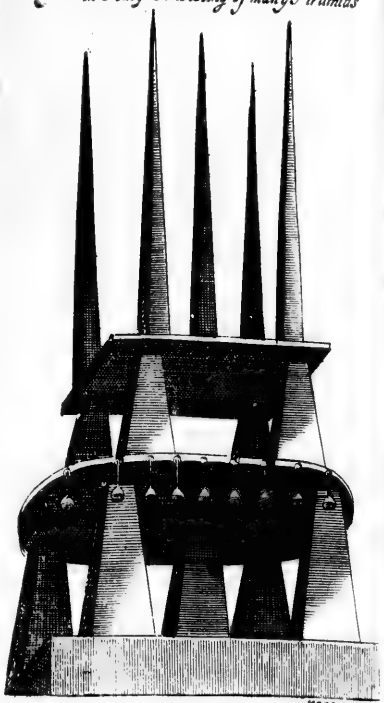
[z] *With the Ancients* (ſaith *Servius*,) *Noble Men were buried, either under Mountains, or in Mountains; whence the cuſtom came, that over the Dead, either Pyramids were made or huge Columns erected.* In imitation of the latter cuſtom, it may be [a] *Abſalom* erected his Pillar; and *Pauſanias* deſcribing the manner of Burial amongſt the ancient Nation of the *Sicyonians*, tells us, [b] *that they covered the Body with Earth, and raiſed Pillars over it.* But for the former of the Pyramids, I find none out of *Ægypt* accounted miraculous, unleſs it be the Sepulchre of *Porſena* King of *Hetruria*, (with which I thall concude,) deſcribed by *Pliny* out of *Varro*; being more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the Pyramids, than for any exceſſive Magnitude. [c] *We ſhall ſet down M. Varro's own words in the Deſcription of it.*

[a] 2 Sam. c. 18. v. 18.

[b] Pauſaniæ Corinth. ſive lib. 2. Αὐτοὶ δὲ Σικυώνιοι τὰ πολλὰ ἐσικότι τρόπῳ θάπτουσι· τὸ μὲν σῶμα χῶ κεφάλαιον λίθῳ δὲ ἐποικοδομήσαντες κρηπῖδα, κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι.

[c] Plin. l. 36. c. 13. *Ipſe M. Varro's in expoſitione ejus verbis. Sepultus eſt, inquit, ſub Urbe Cluſio, in quo loco monumentum reliquit lapide quadrato, ſingula latera pedum lata tricenum, alta quinquagenum: Inque baſi quadratâ intus labyrinthum inextricabilem: Quo ſiquis improperet ſine ſi more lini, exitum invenire nequeat. Supra id quadratum Pyramides ſtant quinque, quatuor in angulis, & in medio una; in imo lata pedum ſeptuagenum quinum, aliæ centum quinquagenum: Ita ſaſtigatæ, ut in ſummo orbis æneus, & petaſus unius cuiuſque ſit impoſitus, ex quo pendeant excepta catenis tintinnabula, quæ vento agitata longè ſonitus referant, ut Dodonæ olim factum. Supra quem orbem quatuor Pyramides inſuper ſingulæ exſtant altæ pedum centenum. Supra quas uno ſolo quinque Pyramides, quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adjicere. Fabulæ Hetruscæ tradunt eandem fuiſſe quàm totius operis: Adeò vetus dementia quæſiſſe gloriam, impendio nulli profuturo. Præterea fatigaſſe regni vires, ut tamen laus major artificis eſſet.* Plin. l. 36. c. 13.

Porſena's Tomb at Cluſium in Italy Conſiſting of many Pyramids



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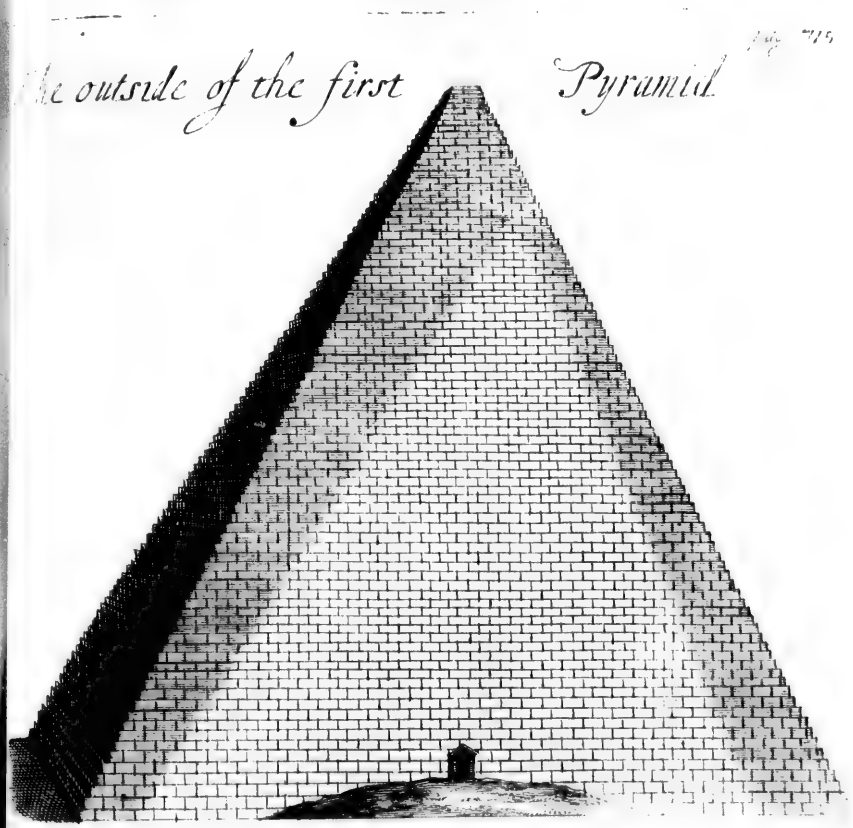
He was buried, ſaith he, *without the City Cluſium, in which place he left a Monument of ſquare Stone. Each ſide of it is three hundred Feet broad, and fifty Feet high. Within the ſquare Baſis there is an inextricable Labyrinth, whither whoſo adventures without a Clue can find no paſſage out. Upon this Square there ſtand five Pyramids, four in the Angles, and one in the Middle; in the bottom they are broad ſeventy five Feet, and high an hundred and fifty. They are pointed in ſuch a manner, that at the top there is one Braſs Circle, and Covering for them all, from which there hang Bells, faſtned to Chains: Theſe being moved by the Wind, give a Sound a-far off, as at Dodona it has formerly been. Upon this Circle there are four other Pyramids, each of*

of them an hundred Feet high. Above which, upon one Plain, there are five Pyramids, the altitude of which Varro *was aſhamed to add. The Hetruſcan Fables report that it was as much as that of the whole Work. With ſo vain a madneſs he ſought Glory by an Expence uſeful to no Man, waſting beſides the Wealth of his Kingdom, that in the end the commendation of the Artificer ſhould be the greateſt.* Greaves.

A Deſcription of the PYRAMIDS *in* ÆGYPT, *as I found them in the* ↀ xl viii *Year of the* Hegira, *or in the Years* ↀ Ↄ cxxxviii, *and* ↀ Ↄ cxxxix *of our Lord, after the* Dionyſian *Account.*

HAVING diſcovered the Founders of theſe Pyramids, and the time in which they were erected, and laſtly, the End for which theſe Monuments were built: Next, in the Method we propoſed, the *Sciography* of them is to be ſet down: Where, we ſhall begin with the Dimenſions of their Figure without, and then we ſhall examine their ſeveral Spaces and Partitions within.

A Deſcription of the Firſt and Faireſt PYRAMID.



Greaves. THE first and fairest of the three greater Pyramids, is situated on the top of a rocky Hill, in the sandy Desert of *Libya*, about a quarter of a Mile distant to the West, from the Plains of *Ægypt*: Above which, the Rock riseth an hundred Feet or better, with a gentle and easie Ascent. Upon this advantageous Rise, and upon this solid Foundation the Pyramid is erected; the heighth of the Situation adding to the Beauty of the Work, and the Solidity of the Rock giving the Superstructure a permanent and stable Support. Each side of the Pyramid, computing it according to [d] *Herodotus* contains in length DCCC *Grecian* Feet; and in [e] *Diodorus Siculus*, account DCC; [f] *Strabo* reckons it less than a Furlong, that is, less than DC *Grecian* Feet, or six hundred twenty five *Roman*; and [g] *Pliny* equals it to DCCC LXXXIII. That of *Diodorus Siculus* in my judgment comes nearest to the truth, and may serve in some Kind to confirm those Proportions, which in another Discourse I have assigned to the *Grecian* Measures. For measuring the North-side of it, at the *Basis*, by an exquisite *Radius* of ten Feet in length, taking two several Stations, as Mathematicians use to do, when any Obstacle hinders their approach, I found it to be Six hundred ninety three Feet, according to the *English* Standard; which quantity is somewhat less than that of *Diodorus*. The rest of the Sides were examined by a Line, for want of an even Level, and a convenient Distance to place my Instruments, both which the *Area* on the former side afforded.

[d] Herodot. l. 2.

[e] Diod. l. 1. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μεγίστη τετράπλευρον ἔσα πᾶσι σχήμασι, τὸ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν βάσεως πλευρὸν ἐκάστου ἔχει πλέθρων ὀκτώ.

[f] Strabo, l. 17.

[g] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Amplissima Memphi regia obtinet sola, quatuor angulorum paribus intervallis, per octingentos & viginti tres pedes, singulorum latorum.*

The Altitude of this Pyramid was long since measured by *Thales Milesius*, who according to [h] *Tatianus Assyrius* lived about the fiftieth Olympiad; But his Observation is no where by the Ancients expressed. Only [i] *Pliny* tells us of a course proposed by him, how it might be found and that is by observing such an hour, when the Shadow of the Body is equal to its heigth: A way at the best, by reason of the Faintness, and scattering of the Extremity of the Shadow, in so great an Altitude, uncertain and subject unto Errour. And yet [k] *Diogenes Laertius* in the Life of *Thales*, hath the same Story from the Authority of *Hieronymus*. *Hieronymus* reports, *that he measured the Pyramids by their Shadow, marking when they are of an equal Quantity.* Wherefore I shall pass by his, and give my own Observations. The Altitude is something defective of the Latitude; tho' in [l] *Strabo*'s Computation it exceeds; but [m] *Diodorus* rightly acknowledges it to be less; which, if we measure by its Perpendicular, is 499 Feet; but if we take it as the Pyramid ascends inclining (as all such Figures do,) then is it equal, in respect of the Lines subtending the several Angles, to the Latitude of the *Basis*, that is, to Six hundred ninety three Feet. With reference to this great Altitude [n] *Statius* calls them,

[h] Tatianus Assyrius Oratio contra Græcos.

[i] Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Mensuram altitudinis earum, omnium miratus similium deprehendere invenit Thales Milesius, umbram metiendo, quâ hora par esse corpori solet.*

[k] Diog. Laert. in vitâ Thaletis, l. 1. Ὁ δ' Ἱερώνυμός φησι καὶ ἐμέτρησεν αὐτὸν, φησὶν οὗτος τὰς πυραμίδας, ἐκ τῆς σκιᾶς παρατηρήσας τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἴσον ἐστὶ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῦ.

[l] Strabo, lib. 17. Εἶτ' ἐπιβάσεως ἐστὶ τὸ ὕψος. Where as the breadth he reckons less than a Stadium.

[m] Diodor. lib. 1. Τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἔχει πλέθρα τὰ ἓξ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τριακόσια. But to the Breadth he assigns VII Plethra.

[n] Stat. l. 4. Silv. 3.

——— *audacia saxa*
Pyramidum ———

And [o] *Tacitus*, *Instar montium adultæ Pyramides.*

[o] Tacit. Annal. l. 2.

[p] *Julius Solinus* goes farther yet: *The Pyramids are sharp pointed Towers in Ægypt, exceeding all height, which may be made by hand.* [q] *Ammianus Marcellinus* in his Expression ascends as high: *The Pyramids are Towers erected altogether, exceeding the height which may be made by Man, in the bottom they are broadest ending in sharp Points at top, which I suppose it therefore by Geometricians called Pyramidal, because in the similitude of Fire it is sharpned into a Cone, as we speak.* [r] *Propertius* with the liberty of a Poet, in an Hyperbole, strains higher yet:

[p] *Pyramides sunt turres acutæ Ægypti, altitudinem humanæ cujusque molis egressæ.* Jul. Solin. c. 45.

[q] Amm. Marcell. l. 22.

[r] Propertius, l. 3 Eleg. 1.

Pyramidum sumptus ad sidera ducit.

And

And the [t] *Greek Epigrammatist* in a tranſcendent Expreſſion, is no way ſhort of him:

Ἡραμίδες σ' ἴτι φωὶ Ναΐδες ἄσεμα μίτωπα.
Κυβέσι Χρυσέες ἄσεμαι πλάδεων.

[t] Græc. Epigram. vid. Francisc. Iunii Annot. Brodæi.

What exceſſive Heighths theſe fancied to themſelves, or borrowed from the Relations of others, I ſhall not now examine: This I am certain of, that the Shaft or Spire of *Paul's* in *London*, before it was caſually burnt, being as much, or ſomewhat more than the Altitude of the Tower now ſtanding, did exceed the height of this Pyramid. For [u] *Camden* deſcribes it in his *Eliza betha*, to be in a perpendicular Five hundred and twenty Feet from the Ground: And in his [w] *Britannia*, to have been ſomewhat more, DXXXIV Feet; whereof the Tower CCLX, and the Pyramid on the top CCLXXIV. See *Godw. de Præſul.* 229.

[u] *Pyramis celberrima Cathedralis Eccleſiæ S. Pauli, quæ ſingulari Urbis ornamento in ſpeciem adhuc edita altitudinem* DXX *ſcilicet pedes à ſolo & CCLX à turre quadratâ, cui impoſita erat è materiâ ligneâ plumbo veſtita, de cœlo prope fastigium tecta deflagravit.* Camdeni Elizabetha.

[w] Camd. Britan. *in* Middleſex.

If we imagine upon the ſides of the *Baſis*, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral Triangles mutually inclining, till they all meet on high as it were in a point, (for ſo the top ſeems to them which ſtand below,) then ſhall we have a true Notion, of the juſt dimenſion and figure of this Pyramid; the Perimeter of each Triangle comprehending Two thouſand ſeventy nine Feet, (beſides the Latitude of a little Plain or Flat on the top,) and the Perimeter of the Baſis Two thouſand ſeven hundred ſeventy two Feet. Whereby the whole Area of the Baſis (to proportion it to our Meaſures,) contains Four hundred eighty thouſand two hundred forty nine ſquare Feet, or eleven Engliſh Acres of Ground, and 1089 of 43560 parts of an Acre. A proportion ſo monſtrous, that if the Ancients did not atteſt as much, and ſome of them deſcribe it to be more, this Age would hardly be induced to give credit to it. But *Herodotus* deſcribing each ſide to contain eight hundred Feet, the *Area* muſt of neceſſity be greater than that by me aſſigned, the Sum amounting to Six hundred and forty thouſand; or computing it as *Diodorus Siculus* doth, the *Area* will comprehend Four hundred and ninety thouſand Feet: And in the calculation of *Pliny*, if we ſhall ſquare Eight hundred eighty three, (which is the number allotted by him to the meaſure of each ſide,) the product Seven hundred ſeventy nine thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, will much exceed both that of *Herodotus* and this of *Diodorus*. Tho' certainly, *Pliny* is much miſtaken in aſſigning the meaſure of the ſide to be Eight hundred eighty three Feet, and the Baſis of the Pyramid to be but eight *Jugera*, or Roman Acres. For if we take the Roman *Jugerum* to contain in length Two hundred and forty Feet, and in breadth One hundred and twenty, as may be evidently proved out of [x] *Varro*, and is expreſſly affirmed by [y] *Quintilian*, then will the Superficies or whole Extenſion of the *Jugerum* be equal to Twenty eight thouſand eight hundred Roman Feet; with which, if we divide Seven hundred ſeventy nine thouſand ſix hundred eighty nine, the reſult will be twenty ſeven Roman *Jugera*, and 2089 of 28800 Parts of an Acre. Wherefore, if we take thoſe Numbers Eight hundred eighty three of *Pliny* to be true, then I ſuppoſe he writ twenty eight *Jugera* inſtead of eight, or elſe in his proportion of the Side to the Area of the Baſis, he hath erred.

Greaves

[x] *Jugerum quadrat ædus actus habet. Actus quadratus qui & tarus eſt pedes* CXX, *& lingua totidem. Is modus ac mina appellatur.* Varro de Re. R. l. 1. c. 10.

[y] *Jugeri mensio in* CCXL. *longitudinis pedes eſſe definiique in latitudinem pedes* CXX. *ſerè quisquam eſt qui ignoret.* Quinct. l. 1. c. 10.

The Aſcent to the top of the Pyramid is contrived in this manner: From all the Sides without we aſcend by degrees; the lowermoſt degree is near four Feet in height, and three in breadth; this runs about the Pyramid in a Level; and at the firſt, when the Stones were intire, which are now ſomewhat decayed, made on every ſide of it a long, but narrow Walk. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, each Stone amounting to almoſt four Feet in height, and three in breadth; it retires inward from the firſt near three Feet, and thus runs about the Pyramid in a Level, as the former. In the ſame manner is the third row placed upon the ſecond, and ſo in order the reſt, like ſo many Stairs riſing one above another to the top. Which ends not in a Point, as Mathematical Pyramids do, but in a little Flat or Square. Of this, *Herodotus* hath no where left us the Dimenſions: But [z] *Henricus Stephanus*, an able and deſerving Man, in his Comment hath ſupplied it for him.

[z] Hen. Steph. in 2 lib. Herodoti.

For

Greaves.

For he makes it to be eight *Orgyiæ*. Where, if we take the *Orgyia* as both [a] *Hesychius* and [b] *Suidas* do, for the distance between the Hands extended at length, that is, for the Fathom or six Feet, then should it be forty eight Feet in breadth at the top. But the truth is, *Stephanus* in this particular, whilst he corrects the Errours of *Valla*'s Interpretation, is to be corrected himself. For that Latitude which *Herodotus* assigns to the admirable Bridge below, (of which there is nothing now remaining,) he hath carried up, by a mistake, to the top of the Pyramid. [c] *Diodorus Siculus* comes nearer to the truth, who describes it to be but nine Feet. [d] *Pliny* makes the breadth at the top to be twenty five Feet. *Altitudo* (I would rather read it *Latitudo*,) *à cacumine pedes* XXV. By my measure it is XIII Feet, and 280 of 1000 parts of the English Foot. Upon this Flat, if we assent to the Opinion of [e] *Proclus*, it may be supposed that the Ægyptian Priests made their Observations in Astronomy; and that from hence, or near this place, they first discovered, by the rising of *Sirius*, their *annus* κυνικὸς, or *Canicularis*, as also their *periodus Sothiaca*, or *annus magnus* κυνικὸς, or *annus Heliacus*, or *annus Dei*, as it is termed by [f] *Censorinus*, consisting of 1460 sidereal Years; in which space their *Thoth Vagum*, and *Fixum*, came to have the same beginning: That the Priests might near these Pyramids, make their Observations I no way question; this rising of the Hill being, in my judgment, as fit a place as any in *Ægypt* for such a design; and so much the fitter by the vicinity of *Memphis*. But that these Pyramids were designed for Observatories, (whereas by the Testimonies of the Ancients I have proved before, that they were intended for Sepulchres,) is no way to be credited upon the single Authority of *Proclus*. Neither can I apprehend to what purpose the Priests with so much difficulty should ascend so high, when below with more ease, and as much certainty, they might from their own Lodgings hewn in the Rocks, upon which the Pyramids are erected, make the same Observations. For seeing all *Ægypt* is but as it were one continued Plain, they might from these Cliffs have, over the Plains of *Ægypt*, as free and open a Prospect of the Heavens, as from the tops of the Pyramids themselves. And therefore *Tully* writes more truly: [g] *Ægyptii, aut Babylonii, in camporum patentium æquoribus habitantes, cùm ex terrâ nihil emineret, quod contemplationi cœli officere posset, omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt.* The top of this Pyramid is covered not with [h] one or [i] three massy Stones, as some have imagined, but with nine, besides two which are wanting at the Angles: The degrees by which we ascend up, (as I observed in measuring many of them,) are not all of an equal depth, for some are near four Feet, others want of three, and these the higher we ascend, do so much the more diminish: Neither is the breadth of them alike; the difference in this kind being, as far as I could conjecture, proportionable to their depth. And therefore a right Line extended from any part of the Basis without to the top, will equally touch the outward Angle of every degree. Of these it was impossible for me to take an exact Measure, since in such a Revolution of time, if the inner Parts of the Pyramid have not lost any thing of their first Perfection, as being not exposed to the injury of the [k] *Air and fall of Rains*; yet the outward Parts, that is, these degrees or rows of Stone, have been much wasted and impaired by

[a] Ὀργυαὶ ἡ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων χειρῶν ὄκτασις. Hesych.

[b] Ὀργυαὶ τά με τὰ τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν. Suid.

[c] Diodor. l. 1.

[d] Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

[e] Procl. Comm. l. 1. in Timæum Platonis.

[f] Censorin. de die Natali. *Quem Græci* κυνικὸν, *Latine canicularem vocamus. Hic annus etiam heliacus à quibusdam dicitur, & ab aliis,* ὁ θεοῦ ἐνιαυτός.

[g] Cicer. de Divin. l. 1.

[h] Les Voyages de Seign. Villamont.

[i] Sand's *Travels*.

[k] The Air of *Ægypt* is confessed by the Ancients to be often full of Vapours.

Which appears both by the great Dews, that happen after the Deluge of *Nilus* for several Months; as also in that I have discovered at *Alexandria*, in the Winter time, several obscure Stars in the Constellation of *Ursa major*, not visible in *England*; the which could not be discerned, were there not a greater Refraction at that place than with us, and consequently a greater condensation of the *Medium*, or Air, as the Opticks demonstrate. But I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Ancients, who generally deny the fall of Rain in *Ægypt*. *Plato* in his *Timæus*, speaking of *Ægypt*, where he had lived many Years, writes thus: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν οὔτε τότε οὔτε ἄλλοτε, ἄνωθεν ὅστι τὰς ἀρούρας ὕδωρ ἐπιῤῥεῖ. *Pomponius Mela* in express terms, relates, that *Ægypt* is *terra expers imbrium, mirè tamen fertilis*. Whereas for two Months, namely *December* and *January*, I have not known it Rain so constantly and with so much violence at *London*, as I found it do at *Alexandria*, the Winds continuing North North-West, which caused me to keep a Diary as well of the Weather, as I did of my Observations in Astronomy: And not only there, but also at Grand *Cairo*, my very noble and worthy Friend, Sir *William Paston*, at the same time observed, that there fell much Rain. And so likewise about the end of *March* following, being at the *Mummies*, somewhat beyond the Pyramids, to the South, there fell a gentle Rain for almost an whole day: But it may be the Ancients mean the upper Parts of *Ægypt* beyond *Thebes*, about *Siene*, and near the *Catadupa*, or Cataracts of *Nilus*, and not the lower Parts; where I have been told by the *Ægyptians*, that it seldom rains. And therefore *Seneca* (*lib.* 4. *Natur. Quæst.*) seems

...ce writ true, *In eâ parte quæ in Æthiopiam vergit (speaking of Ægypt) duo nubi imbres sunt, aut vix ulli.* But where he after says, *Alexandria nives non cadunt*, it is falſe: For at my being there in *January*, at Night it ſnowed. However, farther to the South than *Ægypt*, between the Tropicks, and near the Line, in *Habaſſia*, or *Æthiopia*, every Year, for many Weeks, there falls ſtore of Rain, as the *Habaſſines* themſelves at *Gran Cairo* relate. Which may be confirmed by *Joſephus Scaliger*. *Lib.* 2. *de Naturâ Orbis novi*, where he obſerves in *Peru*, and ſome other places (lying in the ſame Parallel with that of *Æthiopia*) that they have abundance of Rains. This then is the true Cauſe of the Inundation of *Nilus* in the Summer time, being then higheſt, when other Rivers are loweſt; and not thoſe which are alledged by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Plutarch*, *Achilides*, *Heliodorus*, and others: Who are extremely troubled to give a Reaſon of the Inundation, imputing it either to the peculiar Nature of the River, or to the Obſtruction of the Mouth of it by the *Eteſiæ*; or to the melting of Snows in *Æthiopia*, (which I believe ſeldom fall in thoſe hot Countries, where the Natives, by reaſon of the extream Heats, are all black; and where, if we credit *Seneca*, *Argentum replumbatur, Saxa ſe melted*, by the ſcorching Heats) or to ſome ſuch other Reaſons of little weight. In *Diodorus* I find *Agatharchides Cnidius*, to give almoſt the ſame Reaſon aſſigned by me: But thoſe Times gave little Credit to his Aſſertion. Yet *Diodorus* ſeems to aſſent to it, (*Diod. Lib.* 1.) *Agatharchides Cnidius hath come neareſt to the Truth; for he ſaith: Every Year in the Mountains about* Æthiopia, *there are continual Rains from the Summer Solſtice, to the Autumnal Equinox, which cauſe the Inundation.* The time of this is accounted generally ſo certain, that I have ſeen the *Ægyptian* Aſtronomers to put it down many Years before, in their Ephemerides: *That ſuch a Day, ſuch a Month, the* Nilus *begins to riſe.*

[a] *Ἡ δὲ τῶν λίθων τελευταία τεσσάρων ὀργυιέων ἐλάσσων.* Herod. l. 2.

[b] *Pyramides tricenum pedum lapidibus, exſtruêtæ.* Pomp. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

by both. And therefore they cannot conveniently now be aſcended, but either at the South-ſide, or at the Eaſt-angle, on the North: They are well ſtiled by *Herodotus*, Βαθμοὶ, that is, little Altars: For in the form of Altars they riſe one above another to the top. And theſe are all made of maſſy, and poliſhed Stones, hewen according to *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, out of the *Arabian* Mountains, which bound the upper part of *Ægypt*, or that above the *Delta*, on the Eaſt, as the *Lybian* Mountains terminate it on the Weſt, being ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every Step, is one ſingle and entire Stone. The Relation of [a] *Herodotus*, and [b] *Pomponius Mela*, is more admirable, who make *the leaſt Stone in this Pyramid to be thirty Feet.* And this I can grant in ſome, yet ſurely it cannot be admitted in all, unleſs we interpret their words, that the leaſt Stone is thirty Square, or to ſpeak more properly, thirty Cubical Feet; which Dimenſion, or a much greater, in the exteriour ones, I can without any difficulty admit. The number of theſe Steps is not mentioned by the Ancients, and that cauſed me, and two that were with me, to be the more diligent in computing them, becauſe by modern Writers, and ſome of thoſe too of Repute, they are deſcribed with much diverſity and contrariety. The Degrees, ſaith [c] *Bellonius*, are about two hundred and fifty, each of them ſingle contains in height forty five Digits, at the top it is two Paces broad. For this I take to be the meaning of what *Claſſius* renders thus: *A baſi autem ad cacumen ipſius ſaſpatationem facientes, comperimus circiter* CCL *gradus, ſingulî altitudinem habent* V *ſolearum calcei* IX *pollicum longitudines, in faſtigio duos paſſus habet.* Where I conceive his *paſſus* is in the ſame ſenſe to be underſtood here above, as not long before he explains himſelf in deſcribing the *baſis* below, which in his Account is CCCXXIV *paſſus pedalium extenſis cruribus.* [d] *Albertus Lewenſtainius* reckons the Steps to be two hundred and ſixty, each of them a Foot and a half in depth. *Johannes Helfricus* counts them to be two hundred and thirty. [e] *Sebaſtius Serlius*, upon a Relation of *Grimano*, *the Patriarch of* Aquileia, *and afterwards Cardinal*, (who in his Travels in *Ægypt* meaſur'd theſe Degrees) computes them to be two hundred and ten; and the height of every Step to be equally three Palms and an half. It would be but loſt Labour, to mention the different and repugnant Relations of ſeveral others: That which by Experience, and by a diligent Calculation, I, and two others found, is this, that the Number of Degrees from the bottom to the top, is two hundred and ſeven; tho' one of them in deſcending reckoned two hundred and eight.

[c] Bellonius, lib. 2. obſerv. c. 42.

[d] *Albertus Lewenſtainius gradus ad cacumen numerat* CCLX, *ſingulos ſeſquipedali altitudine, Johannes Helfricus* CCXXX. *Radevus in Martial. Epigr. Barbara Pyramidum ſileat miracula Memphis*, &c.

[e] *Il numero de pezzidalla baſa ſino alla ſommità ſono da* CCX, *i ſomo turtid' una altezza talmente che l'altezza di tutta la maſſa è quanto laſua baſa.* Sebaſt. Serl. lib. 3. delle Antichità.

Such as pleaſe, may give Credit to thoſe fabulous Traditions of [f] ſome, That a Turkiſh Archer ſtanding at the top, cannot ſhoot beyond the bottom, but that the Arrow will neceſſarily fall upon theſe Steps. If the Turkiſh Bow (which by thoſe Figures that I have ſeen in ancient Monuments, is the ſame with that of the *Parthians*, ſo dreadful to the *Romans*) be but as ſwift, and ſtrong, as the *Engliſh*: As ſurely it is much more, if we conſider with what incredible

[f] Bellon. Obſerv. lib. 2. cap. 42. & alii. *Peritiſſimus atque validiſſimus Sagittarius in ejus faſtigio exiſtens, atque ſagittam in aerem emittens, tam validè eam ejaculari non poterit, ut extra molis baſim decidat, ſed in ipſos gradus cadet, adeo vaſtæ magnitudinis, uti diximus, eſt hæc moles.* Bellon.

force ſome of them will pierce a Plank of ſix Inches in thickneſs, (I ſpeak what I have ſeen) it will not ſeem ſtrange, that they ſhould carry twelve Score in length; which diſtance is beyond the *Baſis* of this Pyramid. *Greaves.*

The ſame Credit is to be given to thoſe Reports of the Ancients, that this *Pyramid*, and the reſt, caſt no Shadows. [a] *Solinus* writes expreſly, *Menſuram umbrarum egreſſæ nullas habent umbras.* And [b] *Auſonius*: [a] Jul. Solin. Polyh. c. 45. [b] Auſon. Edyllio 2.

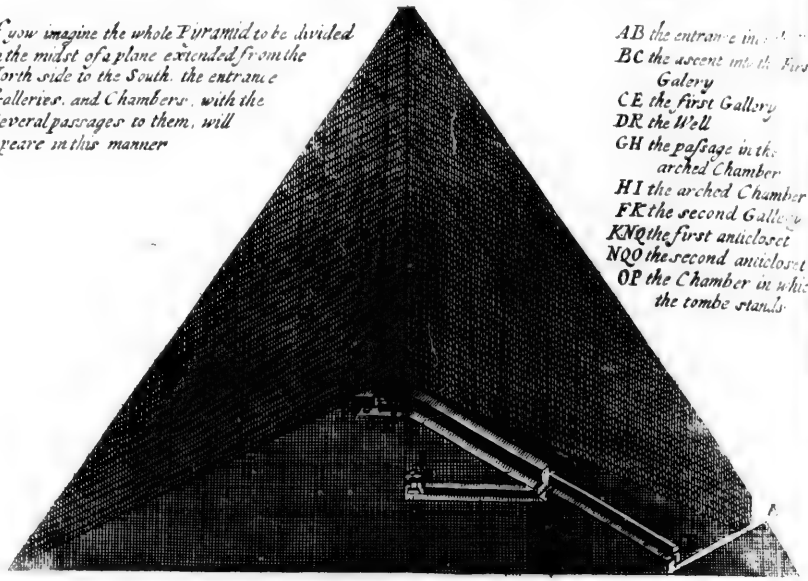
——*Quadro cui in faſtigia cono*
Surgit & ipſa ſuas conſumit Pyramis umbras.

Ammianus Marcellinus hath almoſt the ſame Relation, *Umbras quoque mechanicâ ratione conſumit.* Laſtly, [d] *Caſſiodorus* confirms the ſame, *Pyramides in Ægypto, quarum in ſuo ſtatu ſe umbra conſumens, ultra conſtructionis ſpacia nullâ parte reſpicitur.* All which in the Winter Seaſon I can in no ſort admit to be true: For at that time I have ſeen them caſt a Shadow at Noon. And if I had not ſeen it, yet Reaſon, and the Art of meaſuring Altitudes by Shadows, and on the contrary, of knowing the length of Shadows by Altitudes, doth neceſſarily infer as much. Beſides, how could *Thales Mileſius*, above two thouſand Years ſince, have taken their height by Shadows, according to *Pliny*, and *Laertius*, as we mentioned before, if ſo be theſe *Pyramids* have no Shadows at all? To reconcile the Difference, we may imagine, *Solinus*, *Auſonius*, *Marcellinus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, mean in the Summer-time; or which is nearer the Truth, that almoſt for three Quarters of the Year, they have no Shadows: And this I grant to be true at Mid day. Ammia. Marcel. lib. 22. [d] Caſſiodor. Var. 7. Formula 15.

A Deſcription of the Inſide of the Firſt PYRAMID.

The inside of the first and fairest Pyram

If you imagine the whole Pyramid to be divided in the midst of a plane extended from the North side to the South, the entrance Galleries, and Chambers, with the Several passages to them, will appeare in this manner



AB the entrance in
BC the ascent into the First Galery
CE the first Gallery
DR the Well
GH the passage in the arched Chamber
HI the arched Chamber
FK the second Gallery
KNQ the first anticloset
NQO the second anticloset
OP the Chamber in which the tombe stands

HAving finiſhed the Deſcription of the greater *Pyramid*, with the Figure, and Dimenſions of it, as they preſent themſelves to the View without: I ſhall now look inwards, and lead the Reader into the ſeveral Spaces, and Partitions within: Of which, if the Ancients have been ſilent, we muſt chiefly impute it to a reverend and awful Regard, mixed with Superſtition, in not preſuming to enter thoſe Chambers of Death, which Religion, and Devotion, had conſecrated to the Reſt, and Quiet of the Dead. Wherefore *Herodotus* mentions no more, but only in general, that *ſome ſecret Vaults are hewn in the Rock under the Pyramid.* *Diodorous Siculus* is ſilent; tho' both enlarge themſelves in other Particulars leſs neceſſary. *Strabo* alſo is very conciſe, whoſe whole Deſcription both of this, and of the Second *Pyramid*, is included in this ſhort Expreſſion: *Forty Stadia from the City* (Memphis,) *there is a certain Brow of an Hill, in which are many* Pyramids, *the Sepulchres of Kings: Three of them are memorable, Two of theſe are accounted amongſt the Seven Miracles of the World; each of theſe are a Furlong in height: The Figure is Quadrilateral, the Altitude ſomewhat exceeds each ſide, and the one is ſomewhat bigger than the other. On high, as it were, in the midſt between the ſides, there is a Stone that may be removed, which being taken out, there is an oblique* (or ſhelving) *Entrance* (for ſo I render that which by him is termed εἴσοδος σκολιὰ) *leading to the Tomb. Pliny* expreſſes nothing within, but only *a Well* (which is ſtill extant) *of eighty ſix Cubits in depth*; to which he probably imagins, by ſome ſecret Aquæduct, the Water of the River *Nilus* to be brought. *Ariſtides*, in his Oration, entituled, Αἰγύπτιος, upon a Miſinformation of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts, makes the Foundation of the Structure, to have deſcended as far below, as the Altitude aſcends above. Of which I ſee no neceſſity, ſeeing all of them are founded upon Rocks.

Herodot. l. 2.

Strabo, l. 17.

Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

His words are theſe: *Now as with admiration we behold the tops of the Pyramids, but that which is as much more under Ground oppoſite to it, we are ignorant of,* (*I ſpeak what I have received from the Prieſts.*) And this is that which hath been delivered to us by the Ancients; which I was unwilling to pretermit, more out of Reverence of Antiquity, than out of any ſpecial Satisfaction. The *Arabian* Writers, eſpecially ſuch as have purpoſely treated of the Wonders of *Ægypt*, have given us a more full Deſcription of what is within this *Pyramid*: But that hath been mixed with ſo many Fictions of their own, that the Truth hath been darkned, and almoſt quite extinguiſhed by them. I ſhall put down that which is confeſſed by them, to be the moſt probable Relation, as it is reported by *Ibn Abd Alhokm*, whoſe Words out of the *Arabick* are theſe: *The greateſt part of Chronologers agree, that he which built the Pyramids, was,* Saurid Ibn Salhouk, *King of* Ægypt, *who lived three hundred Years before the Flood. The occaſion of this was, becauſe he ſaw in his Sleep, that the whole Earth was turned over with the Inhabitants of it, the Men lying upon their Faces, and the Stars falling down, and ſtriking one another, with a terrible Noiſe; and being troubled, he concealed it. After this he ſaw the Fix'd Stars falling to the Earth, in the ſimilitude of white Fowl, and they ſnatched up Men, carrying them between two great Mountains; and theſe Mountains cloſed upon them, and the ſhining Stars were made dark. Awaking with great Fear, he aſſembled the chief Prieſts of all the Provinces of* Ægypt, *an hundred and thirty Prieſts, the chief of them was called* Aclimun: *Relating the whole Matter to them, they took the Altitude of the Stars, and making their Prognoſtication, foretold of a Deluge. The King ſaid, Will it come to our Country? They anſwered, Yea, and will deſtroy it. And there remained a certain number of Years for to come, and he commanded in the mean ſpace to build the Pyramids, and a Vault to be made, into which the River* Nilus *entring, ſhould run into the Countries of the* Weſt, *and into the Land* Al-Said; *and he filled them with* * Teleſmes, *and with ſtrange Things, and with Riches, and Treaſures,* uſed by the *Arabians* is derived from the *Greek*, τελέσμα, by an *Aphæreſis* of τε. By the like *Aphæreſis*, together with an *Epenthejis*, the *Arabians* call him *Bochtonaſſar*, whom *Ptolemy* names *Nabonaſſar*: As by an *Aphæreſis*, and *Syncope*, the *Turks* call *Conſtantinople*, *Stanpol*, or *Iſtanbol*; from whence ſome of our Writers term it *Stambol*; tho' the *Arabians* more fully expreſs it by *Coſtantiniya*, and *Buzantiya*; that is, *Conſtantinopolis*, and *Byzantium*. The various ſignifications of τελίσματα, and ἀποτελέσματα, ſee in Mr. *Selden*'s learned Diſcourſe, *de Diis Syris*; and in *Scaliger*'s Annotations, *In Apoteleſmaticum Manilii*. That which the *Arabians* commonly mean by *Teleſmes*, are certain *Sigilla*, or *Amuleta*, made under ſuch and ſuch an Aſpect, or Configuration of the Stars and Planets, with ſeveral Characters accordingly inſcribed.

Greaves.

Νῦν δ' ἅπερ τὰ πυραμίδων τὰς ἀκορυφὰς θεωμένοις ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοῦ ἀδήλου καὶ τοσούτου γε μᾶλλον ὑπεστιν ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν) (λέγω δ' ἃ ἱερέων ἠκουσα) &c. Ariſtid. Αἰγύπτιος.

* Teleſmes] The word

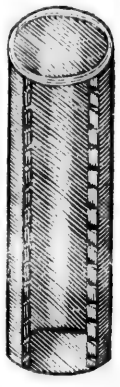
and the like. He ingraved in them all Greaves. Things that were told him by wiſe Men, and alſo all profound Sciences, the Names of Alakakirs, *the Uſes and Hurts of them. The Science of Aſtrology, and of Arithmetick, and of Geometry, and of Phyſick. All this may be interpreted by him that knows their Characters, and Language. After he had given Order for this Building, they cut out vaſt Columns, and wonderful Stones. They fetch maſſy Stones from the Æthiopians, and made with theſe the Foundations of the three Pyramids, faſtning them together with Lead and Iron. They built the Gates of them forty Cubits under Ground, and they made the height of the Pyramids one hundred Royal Cubits, which are fifty of ours in theſe times; he alſo made each ſide of them an hundred Royal Cubits. The beginning of this Building was in a fortunate Horoſcope. After that he had finiſhed it, he covered it with coloured Satten, from the top to the bottom, and he appointed a Solemn Feſtival, to which were preſent all the Inhabitants of his Kingdom. Then he built in the Weſtern Pyramid thirty Treaſuries, filled with ſtore of Riches, and Utenſils, and with Signatures made of precious Stones, and with Inſtruments of Iron, and Veſſels of Earth, and with Arms which ruſt not, and with Glaſs which might be bended, and yet not broken, and with ſtrange Spells, and with ſeveral kinds of* Alakakirs, *ſingle and double, and with deadly Poiſons, and with other things beſides. He made alſo in the Eaſt Pyramid, divers Celeſtial Spheres and Stars, and what they ſeverally operate, in their Aſpects, and the Perfumes which are to be uſed to them, and the Books which treat of theſe Matters. He put alſo in the Coloured Pyramid, the Commentaries of the Prieſts, in Cheſts of black Marble, and with every Prieſt a Book, in which were the Wonders of his Profeſſion, and of his Actions, and of his Nature, and what was done in his Time, and what is, and what ſhall be, from the beginning of Time, to the end of it. He placed in every Pyramid a Treaſurer: The Treaſurer of the Weſterly Pyramid was a Statue of Marble ſtone, ſtanding upright with a Lance, and upon his Head a Serpent wreathed. He that came near it, and ſtood ſtill, the Serpent bit him of one ſide, and wreathing round about his Throat, and killing him, returned to his place. He made the Treaſurer of the Eaſt Pyramid, an Idol of black Agate, his Eyes open and ſhining, ſitting upon a Throne with a Lance; when any look'd upon him, he heard of one ſide of him a Voice, which took away his Senſe, ſo that he fell proſtrate upon his Face, and ceaſed not till he died. He made the Treaſurer of the Coloured Pyramid a Statue of Stone, (called)* Albut, *ſitting: He which looked towards it was drawn by the Statue, till he ſtuck to it, and could not be ſeparated from it, till ſuch time as he died. The* Coptites *write in their Books, that there is an Inſcription engraven upon them, the Expoſition of which in* Arabick *is this: I King* Saurid, *built the Pyramids in ſuch and ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix Years: He that comes after me, and ſays that he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred Years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pluck down, than to build up. I alſo covered them, when I had finiſhed them, with Satten; and let him cover them with Mats. After that,* Almamon *the Calif, entred* Ægypt, *and ſaw the Pyramids: He deſired to know what was within, and therefore would have them opened: They told him, It could not poſſibly be done: He replied, I will have it certainly done. And that Hole was opened for him, which ſtands open to this Day, with Fire and Vinegar. Two Smiths prepared and ſharpned the Iron, and Engines, which they forced in, and there was a great Expence in the opening of it: The Thickneſs of the Wall was found to be twenty Cubits; and when they came to the end of the Wall, behind the place they had digged, there was an Ewer* (or Pot) *of green Emrauld; in it were a thouſand Dinars very weighty, every Dinar was an Ounce of our Ounces: They wondred at it, but knew not the meaning of it. Then* Almamon *ſaid, Caſt up the Account, how much hath been ſpent in making the Entrance: They caſt it up, and lo it was the ſame Sum which they found, it neither exceeded, nor was defective. Within they found a ſquare Well, in the Square of it there were Doors, every Door opened into an Houſe* (or Vault), *in which there were dead Bodies wrapped up in Linnen. They found towards the top of the Pyramid, a Chamber, in which there was an hollow Stone: In it was a Statue of Stone like a Man, and within it a Man, upon whom was a Breaſt-plate of Gold, ſet with Jewels, upon his Breaſt was a Sword of unvaluable Price, and at his Head*

* *Alakakir*] Amongſt other ſignifications, is the name of a precious Stone; and therefore in *Aboulfeda* it is joyned with *Yacut*, a *Ruby*. I imagine it here to ſignifie ſome Magical Spell, which it may be was engraven in this Stone.

Head a Carbuncle of the bigness of an Egg, shining like the Light of the Day and upon him were Characters written with a Pen, no Man knows what they signifie. After Almamon *had open'd it, Men entred into it for many Years, and descended by the slippery passage, which is in it; and some of them came out safe, and others died.* Thus far the *Arabians*; which Traditions of theirs, are little better than a *Romance*, and therefore leaving these, I shall give a more true and particular Description, out of mine own Experience, and Observations.

On the North-side ascending thirty eight Feet, upon an artificial Bank of Earth, there is a square and narrow passage leading into the Pyramid, thorough the Mouth of which (being equi-distant from the two sides of the Pyramid) we enter, as it were, down the Steep of an Hill, declining with an Angle of twenty six Degrees. The breadth of this Entrance is exactly three Feet, and 463 Parts of 1000 of the *English* Foot: The length of it beginning from the first declivity, which is some ten Palms without, to the utmost extremity of the Neck, or straight within, where it contracts it self almost nine Feet continued, with scarce half the depth it had at the first entrance (tho' it keep still the same breadth) is ninety two Feet and an half. The Structure of it hath been the Labour of an exquisite hand, as appears by the smoothness and evenness of the Work, and by the close knitting of the Joints. A Property long since observed, and commended by *Diodorus*, to have run thorough the Fabrick of the whole Body of this Pyramid. Having passed with Tapors in our Hands this narrow Straight, tho' with some difficulty, (for at the farther end of it we must creep upon our Bellies) we land in a place somewhat larger, and of a pretty height, but lying incomposed; having been dug away, either by the Curiosity, or Avarice of some, in hope to discover an hidden Treasure; or rather by the Command of *Almamon*, the deservedly Renowned Calif of *Babylon*. By whomsoever it were, it is not worth the enquiry, nor doth the place merit describing, but that I was unwilling to pretermit any thing: Being only an Habitation for Bats, and those so ugly, and of so large a size, (exceeding a Foot in length) that I have not elsewhere seen the like. The length of this obscure and broken Space, containeth eighty nine Feet, the breadth and height is various, and not worth consideration. On the left hand of this, adjoining to that narrow Entrance thorough which we passed, we climb up a steep and massy Stone, eight or nine Feet in height, where we immediately enter upon the lower-end of the first Gallery. The Pavement of this rises with a gentle acclivity, consisting of smooth and polished Marble, and where not smeared with Filth, appearing of a White and Alabaster Colour: The Sides and Roof, as *Titus Livius Burretinus*, a *Venetian*, an ingenious young Man, who accompanied me thither, observed, was of impolished Stone, not so hard and compact as that on the Pavement, but more soft and tender: The breadth almost five Feet, and about the same quantity the height, if he have not mistaken He likewise discovered some irregularity in the breadth, it opening a little wider in some places than in others; but this inequality could not be discerned by the Eye, but only by measuring it with a careful Hand: By my Observation with a Line, this Gallery contained in length an hundred and ten Feet. At the end of this begins the Second Gallery; a very stately Piece of Work, and not inferiour, either in respect of the Curiosity of Art, or Richness of Materials, to the most sumptuous and magnificent Buildings. It is divided from the former by a Wall, through which stooping, we passed in a square Hole, much about the same bigness, as that by which we entred into the Pyramid, but of no considerable length. This narrow passage lieth level, not rising with an acclivity, as doth the Pavement below, and Roof above, of both these Galleries. At the end of it, on the right hand, is the Well mentioned by *Pliny*; the which is circular, and not square, as the *Arabian* Writers describe: The Diameter of it exceeds three Feet, the Sides are lined with white Marble, and the Descent into it is by fastning the Hands and Feet in little open spaces cut in the sides within, opposite, and answerable to one another in a perpendicular. In the same manner are almost all the Wells

Diodor. Sic. lib. 8.



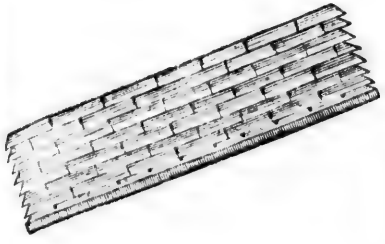
Wells and Paſſages into the Ciſterns at *Greaves.* *Alexandria* contrived, without Stairs or Windings, but only with Inlets, and ſquare Holes on each ſide within; by which, uſing the Feet and Hands, one may with eaſe deſcend. Many of theſe Ciſterns are with open and double Arches, the lowermoſt Arch being ſupported by a Row of Speckled and Thebaick Marble Pillars, upon the top of which ſtands a ſecond Row, bearing the upper and higher Arch: The Walls within are covered with a ſort of Plaiſter, for the Colour white; but of ſo durable a ſubſtance, that neither by Time, nor by the Water, is it yet corrupted and impaired. But I return from the Ciſterns and Wells there, to this in the Pyramid; *which in Pliny's Calculation, is eighty ſix Cubits in depth*; and it may be was the paſſage to thoſe ſecret Vaults mentioned, but not deſcribed by *Herodotus*, that were hewn out of the Rock, over which this Pyramid is erected. By my Meaſure, ſounding it with a Line, it contains twenty Feet in depth. The Reaſon of the difference between *Pliny*'s Obſervation and mine, I ſuppoſe to be this, that ſince his time it hath almoſt been dammed up, and choaked with Rubbiſh, which I plainly diſcovered at the bottom, by throwing down ſome combuſtible Matter ſet on fire. Leaving the Well, and going on ſtraight upon a Level, the diſtance of fifteen Feet, we entred another ſquare paſſage, opening againſt the former, and of the ſame bigneſs. The Stones are very maſſy, and exquiſitely jointed, I know not whether of that gliſtering and ſpeckled Marble, I mentioned in the Columns of the Ciſterns at *Alexandria*. This leadeth (running in length upon a Level an hundred and ten Feet) into an arched Vault, or little Chamber; which by reaſon it was of a Grave-like Smell, and half full of Rubbiſh, occaſioned my leſſer ſtay. This Chamber ſtands Eaſt and Weſt; the length of it is leſs than twenty Feet, the breadth about ſeventeen, and the height leſs than fifteen. The Walls are entire, and plaſtered over with Lime, the Roof is covered with large ſmooth Stones, not lying flat but ſhelving, and meeting above in a kind of Arch, or rather an Angle. On the Eaſt ſide of this Room, in the middle of it, there ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place. Whither this way the Prieſts went into the hollow of that huge *Sphinx*, as *Strabo* and *Pliny* term it, or *Andro-ſphinx*, as *Herodotus* calls ſuch kinds (being by *Pliny*'s Calculation CII Feet in compaſs about the Head, in height LXII, in length CXLIII: And by my Obſervation made of one entire Stone) which ſtands not far diſtant without the Pyramid, South-Eaſt of it, or into any other private Retirement, I cannot determine; and it may be too this ſerved for no ſuch purpoſe, but rather as a *Theca* or *Nichio*, as the *Italians* ſpeak, wherein ſome Idol might be placed; or elſe for a Piece of Ornament (for it is made of poliſhed Stone) in the Architecture of thoſe Times, which ours may no more underſtand, than they do the Reaſon of the reſt of thoſe ſtrange Proportions, that appear in the Paſſages and Inner rooms of this Pyramid. Returning back the ſame way we came, as ſoon as we are out of this narrow and ſquare Paſſage, we climb over it, and going ſtraight on, in the trace of the ſecond Gallery, upon a ſhelving Pavement (like that of the firſt) riſing with an Angle of twenty ſix Degrees, we at length came to another Partition. The length of the Gallery, from the Well below to this Partition above, is an hundred fifty and four Feet; but if we meaſure the Pavement of the Floor, it is ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity (ſome fifteen Feet in length) as we deſcribed before, between the Well and the ſquare Hole we climbed over. And here to reaſſume ſome part of that which hath been ſpoken, if we conſider the narrow entrance at the Mouth of the Pyramid by which we deſcend; and the length of the firſt and ſecond Galleries by which we aſcend, all of them lying as it were in the ſame continued Line, and leading to the middle of the Pyramid, we may eaſily apprehend a Reaſon of that ſtrange Ecchoe within of four or five Voices, mentioned by *Plutarch in his Fourth Book, De placitis Philoſophorum*: Or rather of a long continued Sound; as I found by Experience, diſcharging a Musket at the entrance. For the Sound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe cloſe and ſmooth paſſages, like as in ſo many Pipes or Trunks, finding no iſſue out, reflects upon it ſelf, and cauſes a confuſed Noiſe and Circulation of the Air, which by degrees vaniſhes, as the Motion of it ceaſes. This Gallery, or *Corridore*, (or

In Pyramide maximâ eſt intus puteus LXXXVI *cubitorum, flumen illo admiſſum arbitrantur.* Plin. 36. cap. 12.

Plin. l. 36. cap. 12.

Ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῆς Αἰγυπτίου συριγμῶσιν ἠχοῦσι φωνὴ μία βαρυτέρα τῶν ἑπτὰ φθόγγος ἢ τῶν πάντα ἤχους ἀπεργαζέσθαι. Plut. lib. 4. de Philoſ. plac. cap. 20.

(or whatsoever elſe I may call it) is built of white and poliſhed Marble, the which is very evenly cut in ſpacious Squares, or Tables. Of ſuch Materials as is the Pavement, ſuch is the Roof, and ſuch are the Side walls, that flank it: The coagmentation, or knitting of Joints, is ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernable to the Eye; and that which adds a Grace to the whole Structure, tho' it makes the paſſage the more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the Aſcent. The height of this Gallery is 26 Feet, the breadth is 6 Feet, and 870 parts of the Foot divided into a 1000, of which three Feet, and 436 of 1000 parts of a Foot, are to be allowed for the way in the midſt; which is ſet and bounded on both ſides with two Banks (like Benches) of ſleek and poliſhed Stone; each of theſe hath one Foot 717 of 1000 parts of a Foot in breadth, and as much in depth. Upon the top of theſe Benches near the Angle, where they cloſe, and joyn with the Wall, are little Spaces cut in right angled parallel Figures, ſet on each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than Ornament. In the caſting and ranging of the Marbles in both the Side-walls, there is one Piece of Architecture, in my Judgment, very graceful; and that is, that all the Courſes, or Ranges, which are but ſeven (ſo great are thoſe Stones) do ſet and flag over one another about three Inches; the bottom of the uppermoſt Courſe overſetting the higher part of the ſecond, and the lower part of this overflagging the top of the third, and ſo in order the reſt, as they deſcend. Which will better be conceived by the repreſentation of it to the Eye in this Figure, than by any other Deſcription.

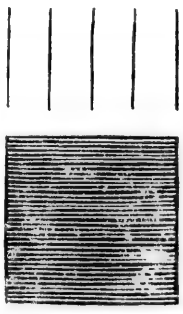


Having paſſed this Gallery, we enter another ſquare Hole, of the ſame Dimenſions with the former, which brings us into two *Anticamerette*, as the *Italians* would call them, or *Anti-cloſets* (give me leave in ſo unuſual a Structure to frame ſome * unuſual Terms) lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of Thebaick Marble. The firſt of theſe hath the Dimenſions almoſt equal to the ſecond: The ſecond is thus proportioned, the *Area* is level, the Figure of it is oblong, the one ſide containing ſeven Feet, the other three and an half, the height is ten Feet. On the Eaſt and Weſt ſides, within two Feet and an half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three Cavities or little Seats, in this manner:

Greaves.

* *Sunt enim rebus novis, nova ponenda nomina.* Cicero lib. 1. de Naturâ Deorum.

This inner *Anti cloſet* is ſeparated from the former, by a Stone of red ſpeckled Marble, which hangs in two Mortices (like the Leaf of a Sluce) between two Walls, more than three Feet above the Pavement, and wanting two of the Roof. Out of this Cloſet we enter another ſquare Hole, over which are five Lines cut parallel, and perpendicular in this manner:



Beſides theſe I have not obſerved any other Sculptures, or Engravings, in the whole Pyramid: And therefore it may juſtly be wondred, whence the *Arabians* borrowed thoſe Traditions I before related, *that all Sciences are inſcribed within Hieroglyphicks*: And as juſtly it may be queſtioned, upon what Authority *Dio*, or his Epitomizer *Xiphilinus*, reports that *Cornelius Gallus* (whom * *Strabo* more truly names *Ælius Gallus*, with whom he travelled into *Ægypt*, as a Friend and Companion)

* Strabo, lib. 17.

Greaves.

panion) * *engraved in the Pyramids his Victories*, unless we understand some other Pyramids not now existent. This square Passage is of the same wideness and dimensions as the rest, and is in length near nine Feet, (being all of Thebaick Marble, most exquisitely cut) which lands us at the North-end, of a very sumptuous and well-proportioned Room. The distance from the end of the second Gallery to this Entry, running upon the same Level, is twenty four Feet. This rich and spacious Chamber, in which Art may seem to have contended with Nature, the curious Work being not inferiour to the rich Materials, stands as it were in the Heart and Centre of the Pyramid, equi-distant from all the Sides, and almost in the midst between the *Basis* and the top. The Floor, the Sides, the Roof of it, are all made of vast and exquisite Tables of Thebaick Marble, which if they were not veiled and obscured by the Steam of Tapots, would appear glistering and shining. From the top of it descending to the bottom, there are but six Ranges of Stone, all which being respectively sized to an equal height, very gracefully in one and the same Altitude, run round the room. The Stones which cover this place, are of a strange and stupendious length, like so many huge Beams lying flat, and traversing the Room, and withal supporting that infinite Mass and Weight of the Pyramid above. Of these there are nine, which cover the Roof; two of them are less by half in breadth than the rest; the one at the East-end, the other at the West. The length of this [b] Chamber on the South-side, most acurately taken at the Joint, or Line, where the first and second Row of Stones meet, is thirty four *English* Feet, and 380 parts of the Foot divided into a thousand (that is 34 Feet, and 380 of 1000 parts of a Foot.) The breadth of the West side at the Joint, or Line, where the first and second Row of Stones meet, is seventeen Feet, and an hundred and ninety parts of the Foot divided into a thousand (that is 17 Feet, and 190 of 1000 parts of a Foot.) The height is nineteen Feet and an half.

Within this glorious Room (for so I may justly call it) as within some consecrated Oratory, stands the Monument of *Cheops*, or *Chemmis*, of one piece of Marble, hollow within, and uncovered at the top, and sounding like a Bell. Which I mention not as any Rarity, either in Nature, or in Art (for I have observed the like Sound, in other Tombs of * Marble cut hollow like this) but because I find modern Authors to take notice of it as a wonder. Some write, that the Body hath been removed hence; whereas † *Diodorus* hath left above sixteen hundred Years since, a memorable passage concerning *Chemmis*, the Builder of this Pyramid, and *Cephren*, the Founder of the next adjoyning. *Altho'* (saith he) *these Kings intended these for their Sepulchres, yet it hapned that neither of them were buried there: For the People being exasperated against them, by reason of the Toilsomness of these Works, and for their Cruelty and Oppression, threatned to tear in pieces their dead Bodies, and with Ignominy to throw them out of their Sepulchres: Wherefore both of them dying, commanded their Friends privately to bury them, in an obscure place.* This Monument, in respect of the nature and quality of the Stone, is the same with which the whole Room is lined; as by breaking a little fragment of it, I plainly discovered, being a speckled kind of Marble, with black, and white, and red Spots, as it were equally mix'd, which some Writers call Thebaick Marble: Tho' I conceive it to be that sort of Porphyry which *Pliny* calls *Leucostictos*, and describes thus: *Rubet Porphyrites in eadem Ægypto, ex eo candidis intervenientibus punctis Leucostictos appellatur. Quantislibet molibus cædendis sufficiunt lapidicinæ.* Of this kind of Marble there was,

* Xiphil. in Cæs. Aug. Τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποιήκει, ἐς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε.

[b] These Proportions of the Chamber, and those which follow, of the length and breadth of the hollow part of the Tomb, were taken by me with as much exactness as it was possible to do: Which I did so much the more diligently, as judging this to be the fittest place for the fixing of Measures for Posterity. A thing which hath been much desired by Learned Men, but the manner how it might be exactly done, hath been thought of by none. I am of Opinion, that as this Pyramid hath stood three thousand Years almost, and is no whit decayed within, so it may continue many thousand Years longer: And therefore that After-times measuring these Places by me assigned, may hereby not only find out the just Dimensions of the *English* Foot, but also the Feet of several Nations in these Times; which in my Travels abroad I have taken from the Originals, and have compared them at home with the *English* Standard. Had some of the ancient Mathematicians thought of this way, these Times would not have been so much perplexed, in discovering *the Measures of the Hebrews, Babylonians, Ægyptians, Greeks, and other Nations.* Such Parts as the *English* Foot contains a 1000. The *Roman* Foot, on *Cossutius* Monument (commonly called by Writers, *Pes Colatianus*) contains 967. The *Paris* Foot 1068. The *Spanish* Foot 920. The *Venetian* Foot 1062. The *Rhinland* Foot, or that of *Snellius*, 1033. The *Bracio* at *Florence* 1913. The *Bracio* at *Naples* 2100. The *Derah* at *Cairo* 1824. The greater *Turkish Pike* at *Constantinople* 2200.

* As appears by a fair and ancient Monument brought from *Smirna*, to my very worthy Friend, *Edward Rolt*, Esq; which stands in his Park at *Woolwich*.

† Diod. Sic. lib [illegible] βασιλέων τῶν [illegible] αὐτὰς ἑαυτοῖς τάφους, συνέβη μεδέτερον αὐτῶν τῶν πυραμίσιν ἐνταφῆναι, &c.

Plin. lib. 36 cap. 7.

was, and ſtill is, an infinite quantity of Columns in *Ægypt*. But a *Venetian*, a Man very curious, who accompanied me thither, imagined that this ſort of Marble came from Mount [b] *Sina*, where he had lived among the Rocks; which he affirmed to be ſpeckled with Party-colours of Black and White, and Red, like this: And to confirm his Aſſertion, he alledged, that he had ſeen a great Column, left imperfect amongſt the Cliffs, almoſt as big as that huge and *admirable* [c] Corinthian *Pillar*, *ſtanding to the South of* Alexandria; which, by my Meaſure, is near four times as big as any of thoſe vaſt *Corinthian* Pillars, in the *Porticus* before the *Pantheon* at *Rome*; all which are of the ſame coloured Marble with this Monument, and ſo are all the Obelisks with Hieroglyphicks, both in *Rome* and *Alexandria*. Which Opinion of his doth well correſpond with the Tradition of *Ariſtides*, who reports, that *in* Arabia *there is a Quarry of excellent Porphyry*. The Figure of this Tomb without, is like an Altar, or more nearly to expreſs it, like two Cubes finely ſet together, and hollowed within; it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any Sculpture and Engraving, or any Relevy and Emboſſiment. The exteriour Superficies of it contains in length ſeven Feet, three Inches, and an half. [a] *Bellonius* makes it twelve Feet, and [b] Monſieur *de Breves* nine; but both of them have exceeded. In depth it is three Feet, three Inches, and three Quarters, and is the ſame in breadth. The hollow part within, is in length on the Weſt-ſide, ſix Feet, and four hundred eight parts of the *Engliſh* Foot divided into a thouſand parts (that [c] is 6 Feet, and 488 of 1000 parts of a Foot) in breadth, at the North-end, two Feet, and two hundred and eighteen parts of the Foot divided into a thouſand parts (that [d] is 2 Feet, and 218 of 1000 parts of a Foot.) The depth is 2 Feet, and 86 of 1000 parts of the *Engliſh* Foot. A narrow ſpace, yet large enough to contain a moſt potent and dreadful Monarch, being dead, to whom living, all *Ægypt* was too ſtreight and narrow a Circuit. By theſe Dimenſions, and by ſuch other Obſervations as have been taken by me from ſeveral embalmed Bodies in *Ægypt*, we may conclude, that there is no Decay in Nature; (*tho' the Queſtion is as old as* Homer) but that the Men of this Age are of the ſame ſtature they were near three thouſand Years ago; notwithſtanding St. * *Auguſtine*, and others, are of a different Opinion. *Quis jam ævo iſto non minor ſuis Parentibus naſcitur?* Is the Complaint of *Solinus* above fifteen hundred Years ſince. And yet in thoſe *Cryptæ Sepulchrales*, at *Rome*, of the Primitive Chriſtians, reſembling Cities under Ground: Admired anciently by St. *Hierom*, and very faithfully of late deſcribed by *Boſius*, in his *Roma Subterranea*, (for I took ſo much Pains for my own Satisfaction, as to enter thoſe wonderful Grots, and compare his Deſcriptions) I find the Bodies entombed, ſome of them being as ancient as *Solinus* himſelf, no way to exceed the Proportions of our Times.

It may be juſtly queſtioned how this Monument of *Cheops* could be brought hither, ſeeing it is an impoſſibility that by thoſe narrow paſſages, before deſcribed, it ſhould have entred. Wherefore we muſt imagine, that by ſome *Machina* it was raiſed and conveyed up without, before this Oratory or Chamber was finiſhed, and the Roof cloſed. The

6 Feet $\frac{488}{1000}$

2 Feet $\frac{218}{1000}$

In the Reiteration of theſe Numbers, if any ſhall be offended, either with the novelty or tediouſneſs of expreſſing them ſo often, I muſt juſtifie my ſelf by the Example of *Ulug Beg*, Nephew to *Tamerlane* the Great, (for ſo is his Name, and not *Tamerlane*) and Emperor of the *Mogals*, or *Tatars*, (whom we term amiſs the *Tartars*.) For I find in his Aſtronomical Tables (the moſt accurate of any in the Eaſt) made about 60 Years ſince, the ſame Cycle obſerved by him, when he writes of the *Grecian*, *Arabian*, *Perſian*, and *Gelalean Epocha's*; as alſo of thoſe of *Cataa* and *Turkiſtan*. He expreſſeth the Numbers at large, as I have done, then in Figures, ſuch as we call *Arabian*, becauſe we firſt learned theſe from them; but the *Arabians* themſelves fetch them higher, acknowledging that they received this uſeful Invention from the *Indians*; and therefore, from their Authors, they name them *Indian Figures*. Laſtly, He renders them again in particular Tables: Which manner I judge worthy the imitation, in all ſuch Numbers as are *radical*, and of more than ordinary uſe. For if they be only twice expreſſed, if any difference ſhall happen by the neglect of Scribes, or Printers, it may often ſo fall out, that we ſhall not know which to make choice of; whereas if they be thrice expreſſed, it will be a rare chance but that two of them will agree; which two we may generally preſume to be the truth.

[a] *Perscribitur in elegans cubum quadrangulum ſex paſſuum, & quatuor latum, altum vel VI orgyis altum, ex quo marmor nigrum ſolidum in hanc formam excisum invenimus XII pedes longum, V latum, & totidem latum, ſine operculo.* Bellon. Obſer. Lib. 2. Cap. 42.

[b] *Les Voyages de Monſieur de Breves.*

[c] The Compaſs of the Scapus of this Column at *Alexandria*, near the *Tertis*, is XXIV *Engliſh* Feet: The Compaſs of the Scapus of thoſe at *Rome*, XV *Engliſh* Feet, and three Inches. By theſe Proportions, and by thoſe Rules which are expreſſed in *Vetruvius*, and in other Books of Architecture, the ingenious Reader may compute the true Dimenſions of thoſe before the *Pantheon*, and of this at *Alexandria*; becauſe, in my Calculation, the moſt magnificent Column that ever was made, of one entire Stone.

* *Jam verò ante annos propè mille, ut ait ille Homerus non ceſſavit minora corpora mortalium quam priſca conqueri.* Plin.

Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero. Terra malos homines nunc educat atque puſillos. Juven. Sat. 15.

* Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. Lib. 15 cap. 9.

Greaves.

Position of it is thus: It stands exactly in the Meridian, North and South, and is, as it were, equidistant from all sides of the Chamber, except the East, from whence it is doubly remoter than from the West. Under it I found a little hollow space to have been dug away, and a large Stone in the Pavement removed, at the Angle next adjoyning to it: Which [f] *Sands* erroneously imagins to be a passage into some other Compartiment: Dug away, no doubt, by the Avarice of some, who might not improbably conjecture an hidden Treasure to be reposited there. An expenceful Prodigality, out of Superstition used by the Ancients, and with the same blind Devotion taken up, and *continued to this Day in the* East Indies. And yet it seems by *Josephus*'s Relation, that by the wisest King, in a time as clear and unclouded as any, it was put in practice, who thus describes the Funeral of [illegible] *David*: [g] *His Son* [illegible]*mon buried him magnificently in Hierusalem, who, besides the usual Solemnities at the Funerals of Kings, brought into his Monument very great Riches, the multitude of which we may easily collect by that which shall be spoken. For, thirteen hundred Years after, Hyrcanus the High-Priest being besieged by Antiochus, surnamed Pius, the Son of Demetrius, and being willing to give Money to raise the Siege, and to lead away his Army, not knowing where to procure it, he opened one of the Vaults of the Sepulchre of David, and took thence three thousand Talents; part whereof being given to Antiochus, he freed himself from the danger of the Siege, as we have elsewhere declared. And again, after many Years, King Herod opening another Vault, took out a great quantity of Money; yet neither of them came to the Coffins of the Kings; for they were with much Art hid under Ground, that they might not be found by such as entred into the Sepulchre.*

[f] *Sands*'s Travels.

[g] Jos. Lib. 7. Ant. Judaic. cap. 12. Ἔθαψε δ' αὐτὸν, ὁ παῖς Σολομὼν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις διαπρεπῶς, τοῖτ' ἄλλοις οἷς περὶ κηδείαν νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἅπασι, καὶ πλοῦτον αὐτῷ πολὺν καὶ ἄφθονον συνεκήδευσεν, &c.

The ingenious Reader will excuse my Curiosity, if before I conclude my Description of this Pyramid, I pretermit not any thing within, of how light a consequence soever. This made me take Notice of two Inlets, or Spaces, in the South, and North-sides of this Chamber, just opposite to one another; that on the North was in breadth 700 of 1000 parts of the *English* Foot, in depth 400 of 1000 parts; evenly cut, and running in a straight Line six Feet, and farther, into the thickness of the Wall. That on the South is larger, and somewhat round, not so long as the former; by the blackness within, it seems to have been a Receptacle for the burning of Lamps. *T. Livius Burretinus*, would gladly have believed, that it had been an Hearth for one of those Eternal Lamps, such as have been found in *Tulliola*'s Tomb in *Italy*; and, if *Camden* be not misinformed, in *England*, in the *Cryptoporticus* of *Fl. Valerius Constantius*, Father to *Constantine* the Great, dedicated to the Urns and Ashes of the Dead; but I imagine the Invention not to be so ancient as this Pyramid. However, certainly a Noble Invention; and therefore pity it is it should have been smothered by the negligence of Writers, as with a Damp. How much better might *Pliny*, if he knew the Composition of it, have described it, than he hath done the *Linum Asbestinum*, a sort of Linen spun out of the Veins, as some suppose, of the *Carystian*, or *Cyprian* Stone? (Which in my Travels I have often seen:) Tho' *Salmasius*, with more probability, contends the true *Asbestinum* to be the *Linum Vivum*, or *Linum Indicum*; in the Folds and Wreaths of which, they inclosed the dead Body of the Prince; (for saith *Pliny*, *Regum inde funebres tunicæ*: And no wonder, seeing not long after he adds, *Æquat pretia excellentium margaritarum*) committing it to the Fire and Flames till it were consumed to Ashes: While in the same Flames this Shrowd of Linen, as if it had only been bathed and washed (to allude to his Expression) by the Fire, became more white and refined. Surely a rare and commendable Piece of Skill, which *Pancirollus* justly reckons amongst the *Deperdita*; but infinitely inferiour either in respect of Art, or Use, unto the former. And thus I have finished my Description of all the Inner Parts of this Pyramid: In which I could neither borrow Light to conduct me from the Ancients; nor receive any Manuduction from the uncertain Informations of modern Travellers, in those dark and hidden Paths. We are now come abroad into the Light and Sun, where I found my Janizary, and an *English* Captain, a little impatient, to have waited above * three Hours without, in expectation of my return; who imagin'd what they understood not, to be an *impertinent* and *vain Curiosity*

Camden Brit. ubi agit de Brigantibus.

Salmasii exercit. Plinian.

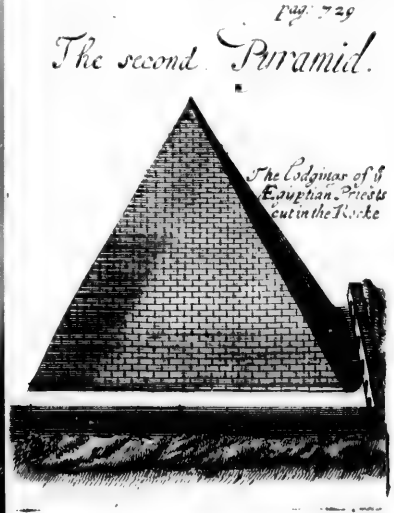
Plin. lib. 18. cap. 1.

Pancirol. Titul. 4. rerum deperditarum.

* That I and my Company should have continued so many Hours in the Pyramid, and live (whereas we found no inconvenience) was much wondred at by Dr. *Harvey*, his

his Majesty's learned Physician: For said he, seeing we never breathe the same Air twice, but still new Air is requisite to a new Respiration, (the *Succus Alibilis* of it being spent in every Respiration) it could not be but by long Breathing we should have spent the Aliment of that small Stock of Air within, and have been stifled: Unless there were some secret Tunnels conveying it to the top of the Pyramid, whereby it might pass out, and make way for fresh Air to come in, at the entrance below. To which I returned him this Answer: That it might be doubted whether the same numerical Air could not be breathed more than once; and whether the *Succus*, and Aliment of it, could be spent in one single Respiration: Seeing the *Urinatores*, or Divers under Water, for Spunges in the *Mediterranean* Sea, and those for Pearls in the *Sinus Arabicus*, and *Persicus*, continuing above half an Hour under Water, must needs often breathe in and out the same Air. He gave me an ingenious Answer, That they did it by help of Spunges filled with Oil, which still corrected and fed this Air. The which Oil being once evaporated, they were able to continue no longer, but must ascend up, or die. An Experiment most certain and true. Wherefore I gave him this Second Answer: That the fuliginous Air we breathed out in the Pyramid, might pass thorough those Galleries we came up, as it were through the streight Neck, or Entrance, leading into the Pyramid, and by the same fresh Air might enter in, and come upto us. Which I illustrated with this Similitude: As the Streights of *Gibraltar*, the Sea is reported by some to enter in on *Europe* side, and to pass out on *Africa* side; so in this streight passage, being not much above three Feet broad, at the one side Air might pass out, and at the other side fresh Air might enter in. And this might no more mix with the former Air, than the *Rhodanus*, as *Pomponius Mela*, and some others report, passing through the *Lacus Lemanus*, or Lake of *Geneva*, doth mix and incorporate with the Water of the Lake. For as for any *Tubuli*, to let out the fuliginous Air at the top of the Pyramid, none could be discovered within, or without. He replied, They might be so small, as that they could not easily be discerned, and yet might be sufficient to make way for the Air, being a thin and subtile Body. To which I answered, That the less they were, the sooner they would be obstructed with those Tempests of Sands, to which these Desarts are frequently exposed: And therefore the narrow Entrance into the Pyramid, is often so choaked up with Drifts of Sand, that there is no entrance into it: Wherefore we hire *Moors* to remove them, and open the passage, before we can enter into the Pyramid: With which he rested satisfied. But I could not so easily be satisfied with that received Opinion. That at the Streights of *Gibraltar*, the Sea enters in at the one side, and at the same time passes out at the other. For besides that, in twice passing those Streights I could observe no such thing, but only an In-let, without any Out-let of the Sea: I enquired of a Captain of a Ship, being Captain of one of the six that I was then in Company with, and an understanding Man, who had often passed that way with the Pirates of *Algier*, whether ever he observed any Out-let of the Sea on *Africa* side? He answered, No. Being asked, Why then the Pirates went out into the *Atlantick* Sea on *Africa* side, if it were not, as the Opinion is, to make use of the Current? He answered, It was rather to secure themselves from being surprised by the Christians, who had near the Mouth of the Streights the Port of *Gibraltar*, on the other side, to harbour in. Wherefore, when I consider with my self the great Draught of Waters that enter at this Streight, and the swift Current of Waters which pass out of the *Pontus Euxinus*, by the *Bysphorus Thracius*, into the *Mediterranean* Sea, (both which I have seen) besides the many Rivers that fall into it, and have no visible passage out: I cannot conceive, but that the *Mediterranean* Sea, or *Urinal* (as the *Arabians* call it, from its figure) must long since have been filled up, and swelling higher, have drowned the Plains of *Ægypt*; which it hath never done. Wherefore I imagine it to be no Absurdity in Philosophy, to say that the Earth is tubulous, and that there is a large passage under Ground, from one Sea to another. Which being granted, we may easily thence apprehend the Reason why the *Mediterranean* Sea rises no higher, notwithstanding the Fall into it of so many Waters: And also know the Reason why the *Caspian* Sea, tho' it hath not, in appearance, any Commerce with other Seas, continues salt, (*For so it is, whatsoever* Pelicetus, *in* Strabo, *says to the contrary*) and swells not over its Banks, notwithstanding the Fall of the great River *Volga*, and of others, into it. That which gave me occasion of entring into the Speculation was this: In the Longitude of eleven Degrees, and Latitude of forty one Degrees, having borrowed the Tackling of six Ships, and in a calm Day sounded with a Plummet of almost twenty Pounds weight, carefully steering the Boat, and keeping the Plummet in a just perpendicular, at a thousand forty five *English* Fathoms; that is, at above an *English* Mile and a quarter in depth, I could find no Land, or Bottom

A Description of the Second PYRAMID.



FROM the First Pyramid we went to the Second, being scarce distant the Flight of an Arrow. By the way I observed, on the West side of the First, the Ruines of a Pile of Building, all of square and polished Stone; such as *Pliny* calls *Basaltes*, and describes to be, *Ferrei coloris, & durities: Of an Iron colour and hardness*: Formerly, it may be, some Habitation of the Priests, or some Monument of the Dead. To the Right Hand of this, tending to the South, stands this Second Pyramid; of which, besides the Miracle, the Ancient and Modern Writers have delivered little. *Herodotus* relates, that *Cephren*, in imitation of his Brother *Cheops*, built this; but that he fell short in respect of the Magnitude. *For* (saith he) *we have measured them.* It were to be wished for fuller Satisfaction of the Reader, he had expressed the quantity, and also the manner how

Plin. l. 36 cap. 7.

Herodot. lib. 2

Greaves.

he took his Measure. He adds, *It hath no subterraneous Structures, neither is the* Nilus *by a Channel derived into it, as in the former. Diodorus* somewhat more particularly describes it thus: That *for the Architecture it is like unto the former, but much inferiour to it in respect of Magnitude; each side of the Basis contains a* Stadium *in length.* The same Measure, by *Strabo*, is assigned to the Altitude: *Each of these,* [discoursing of the First and Second Pyramids] *is a Furlong in height.* That is, to comment on their words, of *Grecian* Feet six hundred, of *Roman* six hundred twenty five: So that by the Computation of *Diodorus*, each side should want an hundred *Grecian* Feet of the former Pyramid. *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater, for assigning eight hundred eighty three Feet to the former, he allows to the side of the Basis of this, but seven hundred thirty seven. By my Observation, the Stones are of colour white, nothing so great and vast as those of the first and fairest Pyramid; the Sides rise not with degrees like that, but are all of them plain and smooth; the whole Fabrick (except where it is opposed to the South) seeming very entire, free from any deformed Ruptures or Breaches. The height of it, taken by as deliberate a Conjecture as I could make (which it was easie to do by reason of the nearness of this, and the former, being both upon the same Plain) is not inferiour to it; and therefore *Strabo* hath rightly judged them to be equal. The Sides also of the *Basis* of both are alike; as, besides the Authority of *Strabo*, the *Venetian* Doctor assured me, who measured it with a Line. There is no Entry leading into it, and therefore what may be within, whether such Spaces and Compartiments, as I observed in the former, or whether different, or none, I must leave to the Conjecture of Travellers, and to the Discovery of After-times.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. Τῇ μὲν, κατὰ τὴν τέχνην χειρουργία παραπλησίαν τῇ προειρημένῃ, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ λειπομένην ὡς ἂν τὴν ἐν τῇ βάσει πλευρᾶς ἑκάστης οὔσης σταδιαίας.

Εἰσὶ γὰρ σταδιαῖαι τὸ ὕψος. Strabo, lib. 17.

Plin. l. 36. cap. 12. *Alterius intervalla singula per quatuor angulos pares* IOCCXXXVII [pedes] *comprehendunt.*

Strabo, l. 7.

This Pyramid is bounded on the North and West-sides, with two very stately and elaborate Pieces; which I do not so much admire, as that by all Writers they have been pretermitted. About thirty Feet in depth, and more than a thousand and four hundred in length, out of the hard Rock, these Buildings have been cut in a perpendicular, and squared by the Chissel, as I suppose, for Lodgings of the Priests. They run along at a convenient distance, parallel to the two Sides we mentioned of this Pyramid, meeting in a right Angle, and making a very fair and graceful Prospect. The Entrance into them is by square Openings, hewn out of the Rock, much of the same bigness with those I described in the first Pyramid. Whether these were symbolical (as the Theology of the *Ægyptians* consisted much in mysterious Figures) and the depressure and lowness of these, were to teach the Priests Humility; and the squareness and evenness of them, an uniform and regular Deportment in their Actions, I leave to such as have written of their Hieroglyphicks to determine. The hollow space within, of them all, is somewhat like to a square and well-proportioned Chamber, covered, and arched above with the Natural Rock: In most of which (as I remember) there was a Passage opening into some other Compartiment, which the Rubbish and Darkness hindred me from viewing. On the North-side without, I observed a Line, and only one, engraven with Sacred and *Ægyptian* Characters, such as are mentioned by [a] *Herodotus*, and [b] *Diodorus*, to have been used by the Priests, and were different from the vulgar Characters in Civil Affairs: In which former kind [c] *Justin Martyr* makes *Moses* to have been skilful; as the Scripture shews him to have been * *learned in all the Wisdom of the Ægyptians.* These ran not downwards, as the *Chinese* in our times write, but were continued in a streight Line, as we use to write: And are to be read (if any understand those mysterious Sculptures) by proceeding from the Right Hand to the Left, and as it were imitating the Motion and Course of the Planets. For so [d] *Herodotus* expresly informs us, That *the* Grecians *write and cast account, going from the Left Hand to the Right; the* Ægyptians *from the Right Hand to the Left.* And this is that which in an obscure Expression is also intimated by [e] *Pomponius Mela:* [*Ægyptii*] *suis literis*

[a] Herodot. lib. 2.

[b] Παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττά. Τάτε ἱερὰ καλούμενα, καὶ κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. Diod. l. 1.

[c] Ὧν ὁ προφήτης εἰ καὶ τὴν εἴδησιν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔτι καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, &c. Just. Martyr. Quæst. & Resp. ad Orthodoxos.

* Acts 7. 22.

[d] Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζουσι ψήφοισι, Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά. Herodot. lib. 2.

[e] Pompon. Mel. l. 1. c. 9.

literis perversè utuntur. A manner practised by the *Hebrews*, *Chaldæans*, and *Syrians*, to this Day: And not unlikely to have been borrowed by them from the *Ægyptians*; to whom the *Chaldæans* also owed their first Skill in Astrology, as the *Grecians* did their Knowledge in Geometry; the former being attested by [f] *Diodorus*, and the latter confessed by [g] *Proclus*, and other *Grecians*. And surely in imitation of these, or of the *Jews*, the *Arabians* neighbouring upon both, have taken up this manner of writing, and continued it to our Times; communicating it also by their Conquests, to the *Persians* and *Turks*.

[f] Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

Greaves.

[g] 2 Lib. Commen. Procli, in 1 Lib. Eucl.

A Description of the Third PYRAMID.

THE Third Pyramid stands distant from the Second about a Furlong, upon an advantageous height, and rising of the Rock, whereby a far off it seems equal to the former; tho' the whole Pile is much less, and lower. The time was so much spent with my other Observations, that I could not take so exact a View as I desired, and the Work deserved; yet I took so much of both, as to be able to confute the Errors of others. But before I perform this, I shall relate what the Ancients, and some one or two of our best Writers, which have travelled thither, have delivered concerning this. *Herodotus* discoursing of it, tells us, That (*Mycerinus*) *left a Pyramid much less than that of his Father, wanting of all sides (for it is quadrangular) twenty Feet: It is three hundred Feet on every side, being to the middle of it built with* Æthiopick *Marble. Diodorus Siculus* is somewhat larger and clearer. *Every side of the Basis* (Mycerinus) *caused to be made three hundred Feet in length, he raised the Walls fifteen Stories, with black Stone, like* Thebaick *Marble, the rest of it he finished with such Materials as the other Pyramids are built. This Work, altho' it is exceeded by the rest in Magnitude, yet for the Structure, Art, and Magnificence of the Marble, it very far excels them. In the side towards the North,* Mycerinus, *the Name of the Founder is engraven.* To *Diodorus* I shall adjoyn the Testimony of *Strabo*: *Farther, upon a higher rise of the Hill, is the Third (Pyramid) much less than the two former, but built with a greater Expence: For almost from the Foundation of it to the middle, it consists of black Stone, with which they make Mortars, brought from the remotest Mountains of* Æthiopia, *which being hard, and not easie to be wrought, hath made the Work the more costly. Pliny* also, not as a Spectator, and Eye-witness, as the former, but as an Historian writes thus: *The third* (Pyramid) *is less than the former we mentioned, but much more beautiful: It is erected with* Æthiopick *Marble, and is three hundred sixty three Feet between the Angles.* And this is all that hath been preserved of the Ancients concerning this Pyramid. Amongst modern Writers, none deserve to be placed before *Bellonius*, or rather P. *Gillius*: For * *Thuanus* makes the other to have been a *Plagiarius*, and to have published in his own Name the Observations of P. *Gillius*: A Man very curious and inquisitive after Truth, as appears by his *Topography of Constantinople*, and his *Bosphorus Thracius*, to whom

Herodot. lib. 2. Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τῶν πατρός, ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσ, κῶλον ἑκάστου τρίων πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ.

Diodor. Sic. l. 1.

Strabo, l. 17. Geog.

Plin. l. 36. c. 12. *Tertia minor prædictis, sed multò spectatior, Æthiopicis lapidibus assurgit* CCCLXIII *pedibus inter angulos.*

* Thuan. Hist. l. 16.

whom *Bellonius* served as an *Amanuensis*. *The third* * *Pyramid is much less than the former two, but is a third part greater than that which is at* Rome, *near the* Mons Testaceus, *as you pass to St.* Paul's *in the* Ostian *way. It is still perfect, and no more corrupted than as if it had been newly built: For it is made of a kind of Marble, called* Basaltes, *or* Æthiopick *Marble, harder than Iron it self.*

* Bellon. Observ. l. 2. c. 44. *Tertia Pyramis duabus superioribus longè minor, tertia est autem parte major, ea quæ apud Testaceum montem est Romæ, qua ad D. Pauli eundum est, itinere Ostiensi. Adhuc integra est, nec magis rimis corrupta, quàm si jam recens exstructa esset. Marmoris enim genere constat, quod Basaltes nuncupatur, vel lapis Æthiopicus, ipso ferro duriore.*

It will be in vain to repeat the Traditions and Descriptions of several others: All which, by a kind of Confederacy, agree in the same Tale for the Substance, only differing in some Circumstances. So that I shrewdly suspect, that *Diodorus* hath borrowed most of his Relation from *Herodotus*; and *Strabo* and *Pliny* from *Diodorus*, or from them both; and the more learned Moderns from them all: For else how can it be imagined, they should so constantly agree in that, which if my Eyes, and * Memory, extreamly fail me not, is most evidently false? And therefore I have a strong Jealousie, that they never came near this Third Pyramid; but that they did, as I have observed all Travellers, in my time, in *Ægypt* to do, fill themselves so full, and as it were so surfeit with the sight of the greater and fairer Pyramid, that they had no Appetite to be Spectators of the rest; where they should only see the same Miracle (for the Pyramids are all of the same Figure) the farther they went, decreasing and presented in a less Form: Or if they did view this, it was *Quasi per transennam*; very perfunctorily, and slightly; and that through a false and coloured Glass: For they have mistaken both in the Quality of the Stone, and Colour of the Pyramid. I begin with *Herodotus*, who by a notable piece of Forgetfulness, if it be not a σφάλμα in the Copies, makes the Dimensions of each of the sides, in the *Basis* of this, to be three hundred Feet, and yet to want but twenty of the first Pyramid, to which he assigned before eight hundred Feet, an impossibility in Arithmetick: And therefore it will be no presumption to correct the place, and instead of ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαι, to write πεντεκοσίων ποδῶν καταδέουσαι. I know not how to palliate or excuse his other Error, where he makes this Pyramid to be built as far as to the middle of it, with *Æthiopick* Marble. If this sort of Marble be *ferrei coloris*, as it is described by *Pliny*, and granted by *Diodorus* and *Strabo*, both of these expressing the Colour to be black, and the latter bringing it from the remotest Mountains of *Æthiopia*, where the Marble hath the same Tincture and Colour with the Inhabitants; then can this Relation of *Herodotus* no way be admitted: For the whole Pyramid seems to be of clear and white Stone, somewhat choicer and brighter, than that in either of the two other Pyramids. And therefore I wonder that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*; and amongst latter Authors, *Bellonius*, *Gillius*, and several others, should have all followed *Herodotus*; when with a little Pains and Circumspection, they might have reformed his and their own Error. It may perhaps be alledged in their Defence, that they mean, the Buildings within are erected with Black and *Æthiopick* Marble: And yet if this be granted, since there is no Entrance leading into this, no more than is into the Second Pyramid, what may be within, depends upon the Incertainty of Tradition or Conjecture, both which are very fallible. Tho' it cannot be denied, but close by, on the East-side of it, there are the Ruins of a Pile of Building, with a sad and dusky Colour, much like that we described in passing to the Second Pyramid, which might be the ground and occasion of this Error. I cannot excuse the Ancients, but *Bellonius*, or *Gillius*, (for it is no matter which of them owns the Relation, when both of them have erred) are far more inexcusable: Because it might have been expected from them, what *Livy* supposes, *Novi semper scriptores, aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se, aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt.* Whereas these on the contrary, have depraved what hath been in this particular, with truth delivered by the Ancients. For whereas *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, equal the side of the *Basis* to three hundred Feet, and *Pliny* extends it to three hundred sixty three, they only make it a third part greater than the Pyramid at *Rome*, of *C. Cæstius*, near the *Mons Testaceus*: So that either they have much enlarged that at *Rome*, or shrunk and contracted this.

* I have since conferred with an *English* Captain, who having been four times at *Alexandria*, and as often at the Pyramids, assures me that I am not mistaken.

Herodot. lib. 2.

Plin. l. 35. c. 7.

Diodor. l. 1. Strabo, l. 7. Geog.

T. Liv. lib. 1.

For

For the Pyramid at *Rome*, exactly measured on that side which stands within the City, is compleatly seventy eight Feet *English* in breadth; to which if we add a third part of it, the result will be an hundred and four; which should be equal to this *Ægyptian* Pyramid, in the notion and acception of *Bellonius*. An unpardonable Oversight, no less than two hundred Feet, in a very little more than three hundred. For so much, besides the Authority of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, before cited, I take the side of this Pyramid to be, and the Altitude to have much the same proportion.

I would gladly have seen in this, the Name of *Mycerinus*, the Founder of it, engraven, as [a] *Diodorus* mentions: Or that other Inscription in the first, whereof *Herodotus* procured the Interpretation: But both have been defaced by Time. His Words are these: [b] *In the Pyramid there are* Ægyptian *Characters inscribed, which shew how much was expended upon the Workmen, in Radishes, Onions, and Garlick; which an Interpreter (as I well remember) said, was the Sum of a thousand and six hundred Talents of Silver; which if it be so, how much is it credible was spent in Iron, and in Meat, and in Cloaths for the Labourers?* Hereby I might have known what to determine of the ancient *Ægyptian* Letters: I mean not the Sacred Ones (for those were all symbolical, expressing the abstractest Notions of the Mind, by visible Similitudes of * Birds and Beasts, or by Representations of some other familiar Objects) but those used in Civil Affairs. By such Sculptures, which I have seen in Gems found at *Alexandria*, and amongst the Mummies, I can no way subscribe to the Assertion of *Kircherus*, tho' an able Man, who, in his *Prodromus Coptus*, contends, that the present *Ægyptian* or *Coptite* Character (which certainly is only a corruption and distortion of the *Greek*) is the same with that of the ancient *Ægyptians*. But surely the *Ægyptian* Character is of a much higher Descent: And if we believe *Tacitus*, (whose Opinion is very probable) they were the first Inventers of Letters; tho' some ascribe the Honour of this Invention to the *Phœnicians*.

[a] Diodor. l. 1.

[b] Herodot. l. 2. Σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι, ὅσα ἔστε συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμυα, καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι, καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι, &c.

Greaves.

* *Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi, Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris. Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos. Noverat, & saxis tantùm volucresque feræque. Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.* Lucan. lib. 3.

Primi per figuras animalium Ægyptii sensus mentis effingebant: Et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur: Et literarum semet inventores perhibent. Inde Phœnicas, quia mari præpollebant, intulisse Græciæ, gloriamque adeptos, tanquam repererunt, quæ acceperant. Tacit. 2 Lib. Annal.

Of the rest of the PYRAMIDS *in the* Libyan *Desart.*

I Have done with these Three Pyramids, each of them being very remarkable, and the two first reckoned amongst the Miracles of the World. The rest in the *Libyan* Desart lying scattered here and there, are (excepting one of them) but lesser Copies, and as it were Models of these: And therefore I shall neither much trouble my self, nor the Reader, with the Description of them. Tho' to speak the truth, did not the three first standing so near together, obscure the lustre of the rest, which lie far scattered, some of them were very considerable. And therefore I cannot but tax the omission of the Ancients, and the inadvertency of all Modern Writers and Travellers, who with too much supineness have neglected the Description of one of them; which in my Judgment is as worthy of Memory, and as near a Miracle, as any of those three which I have mentioned. And this stands from these South and by West, at twenty Miles distance, more within the Sandy Desart, upon a Rocky Level like these, and not far from the Village whence we enter the *Mummies*. This, as the *Venetian* Doctor assured me, and as I could judge by Conjecture at a distance, hath the same Dimensions that the first and fairest of these; hath Graduations, or Ascents without, and of the same Colour like that, (but more decayed, especially at the top) and an Entrance into it on the North-side, which is barred up within; and therefore whatsoever is spoken of the first, in respect of the exteriour Figure, is appliable to this Section.

Section. [a] *Bellonius* extreamly exceeds in his Computation of the Number of them, who thus writes: *Above an hundred others are seen dispersed up and down in that Plain.* I could not discover twenty. And long since, *Ibn Almatoug*, in his Book of the Miracles of *Ægypt*, reckons them to be but XVIII. *There are in the West-side no more famous Buildings than the Pyramids, the number of them is* XVIII. *Of these, there are three in that part which is opposite to* Foſtat (*or* [b] Cairo.)

Greaves.

[a] *Pluſquàm centum per eam planiciem hinc indè ſparſæ conſpiciuntur.* Bellon. l. 2. c. 44.

[b] That Foſtat, Metra, and Cahira, (or as we uſually term it, *Cairo*) are three diſtinct Names, as it were of one and the ſame City, appears by the *Geographia Nubiensis*, and *Abulfeda*, in *Arabick*; tho' *Abulfeda* more particularly deſcribes *Alkahira* to be on the North-ſide of *Foſtat*, and *Foſtat* to be ſeated upon the River *Nilus*.

In what Manner the PYRAMIDS *were built.*

WE had ended our Diſcourſe of the Pyramids, but that I find one Scruple touch'd upon by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pliny*, which is worth the Diſcuſſion, as a Point of ſome Concernment in Architecture: And that is, in what manner theſe Pyramids were built, and with what Art and Contrivance the Stones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were conveyed up. [c] *Herodotus* who firſt raiſed the Doubt, gives this Solution: *They carried up the reſt of the Stones with little Engines made of Wood, raiſing them from the Ground upon the firſt Row: When the Stone was lodged upon this Row, it was put into another Engine, ſtanding upon the firſt Step, from thence it was conveyed to the Second Row by another. For ſo many Rows, and Orders of Steps as there were, ſo many Engines were there: Or elſe they removed the Engine which was one, and eaſie to be carried to every particular Row as often as they moved a Stone. We will relate that which is ſpoken of either part. Therefore thoſe in the Pyramid were firſt made, which were the higheſt, then by degrees the reſt; laſt of all thoſe which are neareſt to the Ground, and are the loweſt.* The firſt part of this Solution of *Herodotus* is full of difficulty. How in erecting and placing of ſo many *Machinæ*, charged with ſuch maſſy Stones, and thoſe continually paſſing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they muſt either unſettle them, or endanger the breaking of ſome Portions of them; which Mutilations would have been like Scars, in the Face of ſo magnificent a Building? His ſecond Anſwer is the founder; but I conceive the Text to be imperfect. [d] *Diodorus* hath another Fancy: *The Stones* (ſaith he) *at a great diſtance off were prepared in* Arabia: *And they report, that by the help of* Ageres (*Engines not being then invented*) *the Work was erected. And that which begets the greateſt admiration is, that ſo vaſt a Structure was perfected in that place, which is all about repleniſhed with Sand, where there appears not any Relicks, either of the* Ageres, *or of the hewing and poliſhing of the Stones. So that it ſeems not piece-meal, by the Induſtry of Men, but all together, and at once, the whole Pile, as it were, by ſome God, was erected in the midſt of the Sands. Some of the* Ægyptians *relate Wonders of it, and endeavour to obtrude I know not what Fables; namely, that theſe* Ageres *conſiſting of Salt and Nitre, were diſſolved by letting in the River, which wholly conſumed them without the Labour of Hands, leaving this Structure* (entire.) *But the truth of the Buſineſs is not ſo, but that thoſe multitudes of Men, which were employed in raiſing the* Ageres, *carried them away unto their former*

[c] Ἡσσὸν μὲν ὦν ὑπὸ λοίπης λίθους μηχανήσι ξύλων βραχίων μετοιν μένης, &c. Herod. l. 2.

[d] Λίθος δὲ τὰ μὲν λιθον τὰ Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ πολλὰ διαστήμα τὰ κομισθῆναι, τὰ δὲ καλασιρίδα δὲ χωμάτων γενέσις μήπω τῶν μηχανῶν εὑρημένων τότε ἐκείνης τῆς χρείας. Καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, τὸ τηλικοῦτον ἔργον καλασκευασθὲν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ τὰ πάντα ἄμμωδες ὄν, ὡδὲν ἴχνος ὕστερ τῶν χωμάτων, ὅτε τὰ λίθων ξεσκευάσεως ἢ λαξεύσεως ἀπολείπεται, ἀλλ' ὅσον μὴ τὴν ὁλόκληρον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐργασίαν ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα θεοῦ τινὸς τὸ καλασκεύασμα τεθῆναι πᾶν ὡς τὰ πολύχνιον ἄμμου. Ἐπιχωρεῖσι δέ τινες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων τερατολογεῖν καὶ μυθεύειν οὐδὲ, περὶ τῶν λεγομένων ὡς ἔστ' ἀλλαχοῦ, καὶ νίτρου τὰ χώματα γεγονότων, ἐπαγγελθεὶς ὁ σελαμὸς ἔπηξεν, καὶ διέλυσεν, οὐδὲ καὶ παντελῶς πεποίησεν, ἀνὰ τὴν χειροποίητα πυραμίδας δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ παλαιὰς ἔστας ἔχει διὰ τὴν πολυχρονίας τὰ χώματα βαθμὸς παλιὸν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον εἰς τὴν περιπάσχηθ' ὑπαλεσάθη τάξιν. Τετρακοσίαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ὡς φασι, τὴν ἔργων ἀναβεγγίας περιεπλέσθ', τὸ δὲ πᾶν καλασκεύασμα τελεῖν ἐτῶν μάλιστα εἴκοσι. Diodor. Bibloth. Hiſtor. lib. 1. *Queſtionum ſumma eſt quanam ratione in tantam altitudinem, ſubvecta ſint cementa. Alii enim nitro ac ſale adaggerato cum creſcente opere, ac penetrante fluminis irrigatione diluto. Alii lateribus è luto fabrefactis extructos pontes, peractoque opere in privatas domos diſtributos. Nilum enim non putant vigare potuiſſe multo humiliorem.* Plin. l. 36. c. 12.

former places. For, as they report, three hundred and sixty thousand Men were employed in these Offices, and the whole Work was scarce finished in the space of twenty Years. Pliny partly agrees with him, and partly gives another Answer. *The Question is, by what means the Cement was conveyed up to such a height,* (he rather might have questioned, how those vast Stones were conveyed up) *some say, that Banks of Nitre and Salt were made up, as the Work rose, which being finished, they were washed away by the River* (Nilus.) *Others imagine, that Bridges were made with Brick: Which, the Work being ended, were distributed into private Houses. For they conceive, that the* Nilus *being much lower, could not come to wash them* (away.) If I may assume the Liberty of a Traveller, I imagine, that they were erected, neither as *Herodotus* describes, nor as *Diodorus* reports, nor as *Pliny* relates; but that first they made a large and spacious * Tower in the midst, reaching to the top; to the sides of this Tower, I conceive, the rest of the Building to have been applied, piece after piece, like so many Buttresses, or Supporters, still lessening in height, till at last they came to the lowermost degree. A difficult Piece of Building, taken in the best and easiest Projection: And therefore it is no wonder, if it were not often imitated by the Ancients, and no where expressed, or commended, by the Great Master of Architecture *Vitruvius*. Yet surely, if we judge of Things by the Events, and if we reflect upon the Intention of Monuments, which are raised by the Living to perpetuate the Memory of the Dead, then is this as commendable a way as any. And therefore we see at *Rome*, that tho' by the Revolution of so many Ages, the *Mausoleum of Augustus* be almost decayed, and the *Septizonium of Severus* be utterly lost, both intended for lasting and stately Sepulchres; yet *the Pyramid of* C. Cæstius *stands fair, and almost entire*: Which is no more to be compared, either for the vastness of the Stones, or the whole Bulk and Fabrick of it, with these, than are the Limbs and Body of a Dwarf, to the Dimensions of a Giant, or some large *Colossus*.

I have done with the Work, but the Artizans deserve not to be pretermitted; concerning whom, the Observation of * *Diodorus* is as true, as it is boldly delivered by him. *It is confessed, that these Works* (speaking of the Pyramids) *far excel the rest in* Ægypt, *not only in the Massiness of the Structures, and in the Expences, but also in the Industry (and Skill) of the Artificers. The* Ægyptians *think, the Architects are more to be admired than the Kings who were at the Expence: For they by their Abilities and Study, these by their Wealth received by Inheritance, and by the Labours of others erected them.*

* Admitting this Supposition, we may easily apprehend, how those huge Stones might, by Engines, be raised in a perpendicular, as the Work rose, with less Difficulty and Expence, than either in a Slope or Traverse Line, upon Banks of Nitre, or Bridges of Brick, according to the Traditions of *Diodorus* and *Pliny*: Both which must have been of a stupendious and almost incredible height. *Suetonius in Augusto. Spartianus in Severo.*

* Diodor. Sic. l. 1. Ὁμολεγεῖται δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔργα πολυ περέχειν τὰ κατ' Αἴγυπτον οὐ μόνον τῷ βάρει τῶν καλασκευασμάτων καὶ τῇ δαπάνῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ σοφιστεχνίᾳ τῶν ἐργασαμένων. καὶ φασὶ δεῖν θαυμάζειν μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν ἔργων ἢ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς ἀφειμένους τὰς εἰς ταῦτα χορηγίας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδίαις ψυχαῖς καὶ φιλοτιμίαις, τοὺς δὲ τῷ κληρονομηθέντι πλούτῳ καὶ ἀλλοτρίαις κακίαις ἐπὶ τελῶν ἀγασθῆναι τὰ σκευάσματα.

The CONCLUSION.

AND thus much of the *Sciography*, or of the Artificial and *Architectonical* part: I shall shut up all with one Observation in Nature, for the Recreation of the Reader, recited by *Strabo*, in these words: *We ought not to omit one of the strange things seen by us at the Pyramids. Some Heaps of Stone, being Fragments hewn off, lie before the Pyramids, amongst these are found little Stones, some in the similitude and bigness of Lentils, some as of Grains of Barly, which appear half unscaled: They report these are some Relicks of the Provisions which were given to the Workmen, and have been petrified; which seems probable enough.*

Ἓν δέ τι τῆς θεωρίας ἄξιον οὐ δεῖ παραλιπεῖν. Ἐκ γὰρ τῶν λατόμων σωροί τινες κεῖνται τῶν τυφομένων κατ' ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέρη, ἐν τούτοις δ' εἶδος κριθῆς, ἡμίψυχα καὶ μεγέθη γεγονότα ἐνίοις· ἃ, ὡς ἂν πίσμα εἶναι τῶν ἐμπλεκομένων τοῖς ἐργάταις, λέγουσι· τὰ δ' ἐργαζομένων τεκμήρια καὶ ἀτέλειαι δέ. Strabo, l. 17. Geog.

These, if there were ever any such, are either consumed by Time, or scattered

Greaves.

tered by the Winds, or buried with thoſe Tempeſts of Sand, to which the Deſarts are perpetually expoſed: But *Diodorus*, who not long preceded him, was not ſo curious as to deliver this Relation. And were not *Strabo* a Writer of much Gravity and Judgment, I ſhould ſuſpect that theſe petrified Grains (tho' I know ſuch Petrefactions to be no impoſſibility in Nature: For I have ſeen, at *Venice*, the Bones and Fleſh of a Man, and the whole Head, except the Teeth, entirely tranſmuted into Stone: And at *Rome*, clear Conduit-Water, by long ſtanding in Aquæducts, hath been turned into perfect Alabaſter) are like thoſe Loaves of Bread, which are reported to be found by the Red Sea, converted into Stone, and by the Inhabitants ſuppoſed to be ſome of the Bread the *Iſraelites* left behind them, when they paſſed over for fear of *Pharaoh*. They are ſold at *Grand Cairo*, handſomly made up, in the manner of the Bread of theſe Times; which is enough to diſcover the Impoſture. For the Scripture makes them to have been unleavened Cakes: * *They baked unleavened Cakes of the Dough which they brought forth out of Ægypt.* Or elſe *Strabo*'s Relation may be like the Tradition of the riſing of dead Mens Bones every [a] Year,

* Exod. 12. 39.

[a] *Sands* in his Travels writes, *that they are*

and dried like that of the Mummies. He obſerved the Miracle to have been always behind him; once caſually looking back, he diſcovered ſome Bones carried privately by an *Æthian*, under his Veſt, whereby he underſtood the Myſtery.

ſeen to riſe on Good-Friday. A *French-man*, at *Grand Cairo*, who had been preſent at the Reſurrection, ſhewed me an Arm which he brought from thence; the Fleſh ſhrivelled,

in *Ægypt*: A thing ſuperſtitiouſly believed by the Chriſtians; and by the Prieſts, either out of Ignorance, or Policy, maintained, as an Argument of the Reſurrection. The poſſibility and truth of it, *Metrophanes, the Patriarch of Alexandria*, thought (but very illogically) might be proved out of the Prophet Eſay, [b] *And they ſhall go forth* [illegible] *upon the carcaſes of the men* [illegible] *tranſgreſſed againſt me, for their worm ſhall not die, neither ſhall their Fire be quenched; and they ſhall be an abhorring unto all Fleſh.*

[b] Eſay 66. 24.

But I have digreſſed too far. The Confutation of theſe, and the Deſcription of the *Mummies*, or of the reſt of the *Ægyptian* Sepulchres (for from thence comes the matter of this their ſuppoſed Reſurrection) and that infinite Maſs, and variety of Hieroglyphicks, which I have either ſeen there, or bought, or tranſcribed elſewhere, may be the * *Argument* of another Diſcourſe.

* An Argument intended by me, and for

which I made a Collection of ſever[illegible]ities in my Travels abroad; but theſe (and would [illegible]ſe!) have unfortunately periſhed at home, amidſt [illegible]ad Diſtractions of the Time.

A

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

ROMAN FOOT

AND

DENARIUS:

From whence, as from two Principles, the

MEASURES and WEIGHTS

Used by the ANCIENTS, may be deduced.

By JOHN GREAVES, *Professor of Astronomy in the University of* OXFORD.

Σπουδαστέον ὅπως ὀρθῶσι κοινῶς αἱ ἀρχαί, μεγάλην γὰρ ἔχουσι ῥοπὴν πρὸς ἑπόμενα.

Una fides, pondus, mensura, moneta sit una,
Et status illæsus totius Orbis erit.

Budelius de monetis.

To his truly Noble and Learned FRIEND,

JOHN SELDEN, Esq;

Burgeſs of the Univerſity of *OXFORD*,

In the Honourable HOUSE of COMMONS.

SIR,

THAT I ſhould preſent you, who have ſo honourably deſerved of Antiquity, and of your Country; and, if I may add mine own Obligations, in particular of me, with ſo ſmall a Retribution as a Roman Foot, *and* Denarius, *may ſeem more proportionable to mine Abilities, than to the Eminency of your Place and Worth. But you, who, to the Honour of your Profeſſion, have joined the Wiſdom of the Ancients, and juſtly have merited this Eloge,*

——Anglorum gloria gentis
Selldenus.

An Eloge long ſince given you by a Man, who is deſervedly eſteemed, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄριστον, *the learned* Hugo Grotius; *you are beſt able to judge of what Importance theſe two are, in the Diſcovery of the Weights and Meaſures uſed by the Ancients.*

And firſt, for Meaſures, the אמה *or* Cubit of the Sanctuary, *in the* Scriptures, Joſephus, *and the* Rabbins: *The* Αἰγυπτιακὸς, *and* Βαβυλώνιος πῆχυς, *in* Herodotus (*the former equal to that of* Samos: *The latter mis-rendred by* Pliny *as* Julius, Pes Babylonius): *The* Περσικὸς Ἡρακλῆος, *in* Herodotus, *containing* XXX. *in* Strabo, *ſometimes* LX. *ſometimes* XL. *and ſometimes* XXX. (*but in* Hyſychius, ὁ πέντε παλαιστῶν τετράπους; *and in* Abulfeda, *three Miles: With* Adam, *and with the* Perſians, *to this Day it is called the* Farſich) *the* ἀρχαῖος Αἰγύπτιος *in* Herodotus, Artemidorus, *and* Strabo: *The* πῆχυς Βασιλικὸς καὶ Φιλεταίρειος, *in* Hero: *The* Pes Ptolemaicus, *and* Druſianus, *in* Hyginus: *beſides infinite others depending upon the Proportions of ſome of theſe: I ſay, theſe cannot, after the Deſtruction of thoſe ancient Monarchies and Republicks, any other way be reſtored, than from ſuch Monuments, as, by Divine Providence, have eſcaped the Hands of Rome, and continued to theſe later Ages. For were it not that the* Pes Romanus, *or* Monetalis, *as* Hyginus *terms it, were* [illegible] *in* Rome, *on the Monuments* [illegible] *of* Tit. Statilius Vol. Aper (*for theſe two Columns, the one with the Inſcription* ΠΟΔ. Θ. *mentioned by* Marlianus, *and* Philander: *The other with* ΠΟΔ. ΙΒ. *ſeen by the ſame* Philander, *are both loſt*) *we might utterly deſpair of knowing the Meaſures of the* Hebrews, Babylonians, Perſians, Ægyptians, Grecians, Romans, *and of all others deſcribed in Claſſical Authors, who could not tranſmit to Poſterity the individual Meaſures themſelves, but only the Proportions they reſpectively had to one another: Which Proportions being pure Habitudes, cannot, as Mathematicians obſerve, be reduced to the Meaſures of theſe Times, unleſs either ſome of the* ἀρχέτυπα *themſelves were exiſtent; or elſe exact Copies taken from the Originals were derived to us.*

In like manner it is for Weights, the סבה *the* נכר *the* שקל, *or* σίκλος *of the* Hebrews, *or* סלעא *of the* Chaldeans, *which* Aruck *renders by four* זוזים Zuzim; *that is,* 4 Denarii (*from whence the* Perſian σίκλος, *in* Xenophon, *and* Heſychius, *may have received its denomination*): *The* Τάλαντα τὰ Βαβυλώνια, *containing* 7000 Attick *Drachms; the* Τάλαντον Αἰγιναῖον 1000; *the* Τάλαντον Σύρον 1500; *the* Τάλαντον Ἀττικὸν 6000, *all mentioned by* Julius Pollux; *the* Talentum Ægyptium, *in* Varro, *containing* 80 Pondo, *or Pounds; the* Talentum Euboicum *in* Feſtus 40 Denarii: *Theſe, with infinite others, both* Menſuræ *and* Pondera, *whether conſidered as* Medica, *or* Georgica, *or* Veterinaria, *cannot in our times be reſtored, but only by ſuch Weights of the Ancients as are ſtill extant; that is, either by the* Denarius *of the* Romans, *or* Δραχμὴ *of the* Grecians, *or by the* Congius *of* Veſpatian, *or by the* Libræ, *and* Unciæ Romanæ, *and the like, that have been preſerved by Antiquaries.*

Seeing therefore the Denarius *is of ſo great moment for the diſcovery of Weights, as the* Roman Foot *for the knowledge of Meaſures, I have taken theſe two, as two irrefragable Principles, from whence the reſt uſed by the Ancients may be deduced. And becauſe the* Denarius *may be conſidered in a double reſpect, either as*

Num-

Nummus, *or as* Pondus: *The first Acception conducing to the Valuation of Coins, the second to the Certainty of Weights: It was therefore necessary that both the Weight, and Valuation of the* Denarius, *should be exactly known. To which purpose, in* Italy, *I examined with a Balance (the Scale of which the eightieth part of a Grain would sensibly turn) many hundred fair* Denarii, *both* Consulares *and* Cæsarei, *as also* Quinarii, *or* Victoriati *in Silver; several* Aurei *of the former and later Emperors; besides the Original Standard of the* Congius, *placed by* Vespatian *in the Capitol; and many* Unciæ, *and* Libræ, *in Brass. From whence I collected the Weight of the* Denarius Consularis, *and* Cæsareus; *that to be the seventh part of the* Roman *Ounce, as* Celsus, Scribonius Largus, *and* Pliny, *rightly describe; and this to be sometimes the eighth part, and sometimes the seventh, but most frequently in a middle proportion betwixt eight and seven, till* Severus's *and* Gordianus's *Times; under whom, and the succeeding Emperors, it recovered the Weight of the* Denarius Consularis; *but lost much of its fineness by the mixture of Allay.*

With these Denarii, *for the greater certainty, I compared such* Grecian *Coins (especially* Athenian) *as I had either seen in choice Cabinets, or bought of mine own; and these were the* χρυσοῖ, *or* στατῆρες, *absolutely taken; which, as* Julius Pollux *and* Hesychius, *out of* Polemarchus *testifie, weighed two Drachms: The* τριώβολον, *or* τριώβολα, *or* στατῆρες δίδραχμοι, *four Drachms: The* ἑξάχαλκα, *the* τριώβολα, *or as* Pollux *names them, the* ἡμιδράχμια, *with several others.*

By which Comparison I first discover'd, that howsoever the Romans, *as* Pliny, *and* A. Gellius *expressly;* Valerius, *and* Suetonius, *by way of consequence, equal the* Denarius *to the* Drachma: *And tho' the* Greeks, *as* Strabo, Cleopatra, Plutarch, Galen, Dio, *and many more, equal the* Drachma *to the* Denarius, *speaking in a popular estimation, and as they vulgarly passed in way of Commerce; yet if we shall put on the Resolution of him in the Comedy,*

Oculatæ nostræ sunt manus, credunt quod vident:

We may evidently discern in the Scale, the Drachma Attica *to be heavier than the* Denarius: *And therefore all such Writers of the Ancients, as equal them, if we speak strictly of Weight, and not of Estimation, have been deceived; and consequently, all Modern Writers following their Traditions, in Discourses* de ponderibus, & de re nummariâ, *have erred.*

But because it is not probable, that the Ancients, both Greeks *and* Romans, *should be deceived in their own Coins, and in their own Times; it occasioned me by observing the Practice abroad of the* κερματισταὶ *in Exchanges, with whom the same specifical Coins, in different States, pass with different Estimations, to think of some means how I might reconcile the Traditions of the* Greeks *and* Romans, *concerning the Weight and Valuation of the* Drachma Attica *and* Denarius; *notwithstanding the difference in the Ballance, of such as are now found at* Athens, *and at* Rome.

And this drew from me that Discourse which I have inserted at the end of this Book: Of some Directions to be observed in comparing the Valuations of Coins: *Which may serve, not only to reconcile the* Greek *and* Roman *Writers, but especially the Traditions of* Philo, Josephus, Epiphanius, *St.* Hierom, *and* Hesychius; *who make the* Hebrew שקל *Sheker, equal to the* Attick *Tetradrachm; whereas in the Scale, which is the best Judge of this Controversie, I find them manifestly unequal; the* Hebrew, *or* Samaritan *Sheker, being much less than the* Attick *Tetradrachm.*

But it may be questioned, Why after the Labours of Portius, Budæus, Alciatus, Agricola, Montanus, Mariana, Budelius, Alcafar, Villalpandus, Jo. Scaliger, Capellus, Snellius, *and of many other eminent Men who have writ, either* dedità operâ, *or* ἐν παρέργῳ, de ponderibus & mensuris, *I should undertake any thing of this nature? My Answer is, that observing in them so great a variety, and contradiction of Opinions, I was willing to use mine own Judgment, how mean soever, in giving my self private Satisfaction. And tho' I intended this Work, as a* παράργειον *to other Employments; yet having, by the advantage of travelling in Foreign Parts, perused in* Italy, Greece, *and* Ægypt, *more Antiquities than I think any of them above-named single, I thought it would not be unacceptable, if I did, as it is the manner of Travellers, publish at home, such Observations and Discoveries as I made abroad. The which I humbly Dedicate to you, as out of a Desire to express my Gratitude for many Noble Favours: So out of an assurance, that if they receive your Approbation, I need not to fear the Censure of others.*

Your most obliged Friend, and humble Servant,

JOHN GREAVES.

Of the Roman *FOOT.*

Greaves.

THAT the Foot was the moſt received and uſual Meaſure amongſt the *Romans*, as the Cubit amongſt the *Jews*, is a thing not controverted by any: For [a] *Polybius* deſcribing their *Scutum*, makes it *in breadth over the bend, two* [Roman] *Feet and an half, and in length four Feet: Or, if it be of a greater ſort, a Palm more is to be added to this Meaſure.* And not long after, expreſſing the manner of their Caſtrametation, or Encamping, he * writes: That *as often as a place is deſigned for the Camp, the* Prætorium (or General's Lodging) *takes up that part, which is fitteſt for Proſpect and Direction. Setting therefore up the Standard, where they intend to fix the* Prætorium, *they ſo meaſure out a Square about the Standard, that each ſide may be diſtant from it an hundred Feet, and the whole Area contain four Jugera.* In like manner [b] *Cæſar*, in the Deſcription of his Bridge over the *Rhine*, makes the Binders, or Tranſverſary Beams, to be *Bipedales*. [c] *Tully* alſo judges the quantity of the apparent Diameter of the Sun to be *Pedalis*. And not to produce more Authorities, [d] *Suetonius* relates, That *Auguſtus preſented before the People of* Rome, Lucius, *a young Gentleman, well deſcended, only for to ſhew that he was leſs than two Feet in height, ſeventeen Pounds in weight, and of an immenſe Voice.* But concerning the preciſe quantity of this Foot, there is not any one thing after which learned Men have more enquired, or in which they do leſs agree: For *Budæus* equals it to the *Paris* Foot; *Lutinus Latinius*, *Muſſæus*, *Urſinus*, and others, deduce it from an ancient Monument in the Vatican of *T. Statilius Vol. Aper. Portius Vicentinus*, *Philander*, *Georgius Agricola*, *Ghetaldus*, *Donatus*, and ſeveral others, contend the Foot on *Coſſutius* Monument in *Rome*, to be the true *Roman* Foot: *Marlianus* deſcribes it out of a Porphyry Column, with this Inſcription, ΠΟΔ. Θ: *Lucas Petus* defines it from ſome Braſs Feet found amongſt the *Rudera* in *Rome*: *Villalpandus* derives it from the Meaſure of the *Congius*, placed by *Veſpatian* in the Capitol (the Original Standard being ſtill extant): *Willebrordus Snellius* equals it to the *Pes Rhinlandicus*; and ſeveral others have had ſeveral Fancies and Conjectures. In ſuch a variety and incertainty of Opinions, we have no more ſolid Foundation of our Enquiry, than either to have recourſe to the Writings of the Ancients; or elſe to ſuch other Monuments of Antiquity, as having eſcaped the Injury and Calamity of Time, have continued entire to this preſent Age.

[a] Polyb. l. 6.

[*] Polyb. *Ibid.* Τεθείσης δ' ἡ σημαίας, ἃ μέλλουσι πηγνύναι τοὔτῳ, διαμετροῦσι περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σημεῖον τετράγωνον, ἀπέχοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ μὲν πάσας τὰς πλευρὰς ἑκατὸν ἀπέχειν πόδας ἑκάστην τὸ σημείου, &c.

[b] Cæſ. Com. lib. 4.

[c] Cicero, l. 2. Academ quæſt.

[d] Suetonius in Auguſto. *Adoleſcentulum Lucium honeſto natum exhibuit, tantum ut duodecim pedes, quod erat bipedali minor, libratum XVII. ac vocis immenſæ.*

And firſt for the Ancients: [e] *Vitruvius* in his Third book of Architecture, gives this Deſcription of the *Roman* Foot: *E cubito cum dempti ſunt palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum. Palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur uti pes habeat* XVI *digitos, & totidem aſſes æreos denarius.* [f] *Columella* ſhews, that it was the Baſis and Foundation to all their other Meaſures: *Modus omnis areæ pedali menſurâ comprehenditur, qui digitorum eſt* XVI. *Pes multiplicatus in paſſus, & actus, & climata, & jugera, & ſtadia, centuriaſque, mox etiam in majora ſpatia procedit. Paſſus pedes habet* V. [g] *Frontinus* more clearly and diſtinctly expreſſeth the ſeveral Parts and Diviſions of it. *Pes habet palmos* IV. *uncias* XII. *digitos* XVI. *Palmus habet digitos* IV. *uncias* III. *Sextans, quæ eadem dodrans appellatur, habet palmos* III. *uncias* IX. *digitos* XII. From which Authority of *Frontinus*, and the place before cited of *Vitruvius*, we may collect ſome analogy to have been obſerved in the Proportions of the *Roman* Foot, and of the *Roman* Coins: For as the *Denarius* contained XVI *aſſes*, ſo the Foot contained XVI *digitos*: And as the *aſſis* was divided in XII *uncias*, ſo likewiſe the Foot was divided in XII *uncias*; and therefore the *dodrans* is uſed by *Frontinus*, and the *ſemuncia* and *ſicilicus* by *Pliny*, for proportionable parts of the *Roman* Foot; as the ſame are uſed by other Claſſical Authors for proportionable parts of the *Roman aſſis*, and *uncia*. From which analogy, the *Pes Romanus*, I ſuppoſe, is termed by * *Hygius*, *Pes Monetalis*. Likewiſe in the ancient Laws of the XII Tables (which *Tully* calls

[e] Vitruvius, l. 3.

[f] Columella, l. 5. de R. Ruſt.

[g] Frontin. de limitibus agrorum.

* Hygin. de limit. conſtit.

calls the Fountains of the Civil Law) the *Seſtertius Pes* hath the ſame proportion with the *Seſtertius* in *Coins*: For as the *Seſtertius*, according to * *Arruntius*, was *Olim dupondius & ſemis*, anciently *two Pounds of Braſs and an half*; ſo the *Seſtertius Pes* was two Feet and an half. * *Voluſius Mætianus*, "*Seſtertius duos aſſes & ſemiſſem, quaſi ſemis tertius; Græca figura* "*ἡδόμεν ἡμιδέκατον. Nam ſex talenta & ſemitalentum eo verbo ſignificantur. Lex etiam* XII *Tabularum argumento eſt, in qua duo pedes & ſeſquiſſis, ſeſtertius pes vocatur.* But to return to *Frontinus*, who farther diſcourſing of the *Roman* Foot, gives a Diſtinction of three ſorts of Feet: And thoſe were firſt, *pes porrectus*; next, *pes conſtratus*, or as [b] *Agricola* reads it, *contractus*; and laſtly, *pes quadratus*. The firſt was the Meaſure of Longitudes, the other two of Superficies. There were, writes * *Frontinus*, *In pede porrecto ſemipedes duo, in pede conſtrato ſemipedes quatuor, in pede quadrato ſemipedes octo.* Which words of his are to be thus explicated; the *pes porrectus* was the *Roman* Foot extended in length, and therefore there were in it *ſemipedes duo*: The *pes conſtratus*, was the ſquare of the *ſemipes*, and therefore the perimeter of it contained *ſemipedes quatuor*; or, which is all one, two entire *Roman* Feet: The *pes quadratus*, was the ſquare of the *Roman* Foot; wherefore of neceſſity there muſt be four Feet in the perimeter, or in *Frontinus*'s Expreſſion, eight *ſemipedes*. The ſame [c] Author likewiſe in his Book *de Aquæductibus*, deſcribing the Digit and *uncia* of this, (*Eſt autem digitus*, (ſays he) *ut convenit, ſexta decima pars pedis, uncia duodecima*) uſeth a diſtinction of Digits, as he did of Feet before, not mentioned by any other Author, *Quemadmodum autem inter unciam, & digitum diverſitas, ita & ipſius digiti ſimplex obſervatio non eſt, nam alius vocatur quadratus, alius rotundus. Quadratus tribus quartis decimis ſuis rotundo major: Rotundus tribus undecimis ſuis quadrato minor eſt.* The proportions here aſſigned by him to the *digitus quadratus*, and *rotundus*, are the ſame which [d] *Archimedes* long before uſed: And thoſe are, that a Circle hath the ſame proportion to the Square of the Diameter, that XI. hath to XIV. *Hero* alſo, diſcourſing of ſeveral ſorts of Meaſures, informs us thus concerning the Foot: Ὁ μὲν ἀλλοῦ, μέτρον ὂν σωματικὸν γράλιον, ἤτοι μέτρον ἢ δακτυλοδόχμη καὶ παλαιστὴ καὶ δῶρον καλεῖ). ἡ δὲ λιχὰς ὅτι δακτύλων ι', τὸ δὲ δεκάτημόριον ια', ἡ δὲ σπιθαμὴ ιβ', ὁ δὲ πῆχυς δ' χειρῶν δ', ἤτοι δακτύλων ις', ἡ δὲ ὀργυιὰ δακτύλων ιη', ὁ δὲ ὀργυιὰν κ', ὁ δὲ πῆχυς κδ', ἤτοι δ' χειρῶν ς', ἡ δὲ ὄργυια πήχεων δ', ἤτοι ποδῶν ς', *The Digit is the leaſt Meaſure, the Palm conſiſts of* IV *Digits, and is called Dactylodochme, and Palaiſte, and Doron. The Lichas is ten Digits, the Orthodoron eleven, the Span* XII. *The Foot hath* IV *Palms, or* XVI *Digits, the Pygme* XVIII *Digits, the Pygon* XX, *the Cubit* XXIV, *or* VI *Palms, the Orgya* IV *Cubits, or* VI *Feet.* Moſt of which Meaſures the *Romans* borrowed from the *Greeks*; as on the contrary, the *Greeks* borrowed the ἰσπεγὸν, and μίλιον, from the *Roman Jugerum* and *Miliare*. The ſame *Hero* deſcribes another ſort of Foot uſed in *Italy*: Ὁ δ' Ἰταλικὸς ποῦς δακτύλους ἔχει τρεῖς καὶ δέκα καὶ τρίτον. *The Italian Foot contains thirteen Digits, and one third.* Whence [m] *Salmaſius* concludes, that the *Romans* uſed one ſort of Foot in *Rome*, conſiſting of XVI *Digits*; and in ſome parts of *Italy* another, being but XIII Digits, and one third. Which might be granted, did not [n] *Hyginus*, who is much ancienter, in his Tract, *de Limitibus conſtituendis*, contradict it. His words are theſe: *Item dicitur in Germaniâ in Tungris pes Druſianus, qui habet monetalem, & ſeſcunciam, ità ut ubicunque extra fines, legeſque Romanorum, id eſt, ut ſolicitius proferam, ubicunque extra Italiam aliquid agitatur inquirendum; & de hâc ipſa conditione diligenter præmoneo, ne quid ſit, quod præteriiſſe videamur.* Where ſpeaking immediately before of the *Pes Romanus*, or as he alſo calls it, the *Pes Monetalis*, by which he meaſures and defines the *Limites*, he gives us this Caution, That out of *Italy* (for in *Italy* he ſuppoſes one Meaſure to be generally received) we are to obſerve the Quantity of the Foot, or Meaſure of the Country. And for this Reaſon, to avoid ambiguity, he aſſigns the Proportions of the *Pes Druſianus*, at *Tongeren* in *Germany*, to be a *Seſcuncia*, more than the *Pes Monetalis* uſed at *Rome*, and in *Italy*. And ſo in another part about *Cyrene*, which *Ptolemy* gave to the *Romans*: ° *Pes cyrenaicus qui Ptolemaicus appellatur habet monetalem pedem, & ſeſunciam.* But to omit the *Pes Ptolemaicus*, (for our enquiry is only of the *Roman* Foot) I cannot but wonder at the miſtake of [p] *Joſeph Scaliger*, concerning the *Pes Druſianus*,

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* Arruntius ex editione Gotafredi.

* Vol. Mæt. de aſſis diſtrib.

[b] Agricola de menſuris quibus intervalla metimur.

* Frontinus de limitibus agrorum.

[c] Frontinus de aquæductibus.

[d] Archim. de circ. dimenſ. prop. 2.

* Vitruvius, l. 3.

* Columella, l. 5. de R.

* Frontin de limitibus agrorum.

* Hygin. de limit. conſtit.

[m] Salmaſii Exercit. Plinianæ. p. 684.

[n] Hyginus de limit. conſtit.

° Hyginus, ibid.

[p] Joſ. Scaliger de re nummariâ.

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ſianus, and *Romanus*, who thus writes: *Pes igitur ille Druſianus major eſt Romano ſeſcunciâ, fuit enim* XXII *digitorum, quantorum* XVI *eſt pes Romanus.* If it were but a *ſeſcuncia*, greater than the *Roman* Foot, as *Hyginus*, and he alſo make it, how can it poſſibly be XXII *digitorum?* Or how can he excuſe his words, which immediately follow? *Ex quo colligimus pedem Druſianum omnino eſſe eum, qui hodie in Gallia, & Belgio in uſu eſt, qui profectò major eſt* VI *digitis, quantorum* XVI *eſt pes, qui Romæ in hortis Angeli Colotii ſculptus in ſaxo viſitur. Eum enim nos cum pede Gallicano comparantes, id veriſſimum eſſe deprehendimus.* Neither is the Error of ſome others much leſs, in making the *Pes Monetalis*, or *Romanus*, and *Pes Regius Philetærius*, to be equal. Becauſe the *Roman* Foot conſiſted of XVI Digits, as *Frontinus* writes, and the *Pes Philetærius* of as many, as [p] *Hero* ſhews: Ὁ μὲν ὁ βασιλικὸς, καὶ φιλεταίρειος λεγόμενος ἔχει παλαιστὰς δ', δακτύλους ιϛ'. Therefore both theſe are equal. The Error is in ſuppoſing all Digits to be alike; and therefore the ſame number of Digits being in both, that both are equal. By the ſame Argument we may conclude the *Roman* Foot, and *Arabian* Foot, and the Derah, or Cubit of theſe, to be equal to the Cubit, or *Seſquipes* of the *Romans*; ſeeing [q] *Abulfeda*, an *Arabian* Geographer, defines the Derah to conſiſt of XXIV Digits, and ſo many alſo did the *Roman Seſquipes* contain. But the Obſervation of [r] *Rhemnius Fannius* in this particular, is much better; which he applies to Weights, and we may by analogy aſſign to Meaſures.

[p] Hero in Iſagoge.

[q] Abulfedæ Geogr. Arab. MS.

[r] Rhemnii Fannii Fragmentum.

Semina ſex alii ſiliquis latitantia curvis
Attribuunt ſcripulo, lentes veraciter octo,
Aut totidem ſpeltas, numerant, triſtéſve lupinos
Bis duo; ſed ſi par generatim his pondus ineſſet,
Servarent eadem diverſæ pondera gentes:
Nunc variant. Etenim cuncta non fædere certo
Naturæ, ſed lege valent, hominúmque repertis.

But to return to the *Roman* Foot: Laſtly, We may alledge, [s] *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis. Palmus autem, quatuor habet digitos, pes* XVI *digitos, Paſſus pedes quinque, Pertica paſſus duos, id eſt decem pedes.* And this is that which I find delivered by ſuch of the Ancients as are extant. Out of which bare and naked Deſcriptions, it is as impoſſible to recover the *Roman* Foot, as it is for Mathematicians, to take either the Diſtance, or Altitude of Places, by the Proportions of Triangles alone, or by Tables of Sigris and Tangents, without having ſome certain and poſitive Meaſure given, which muſt be the Foundation of their Enquiry. All that can be collected by theſe Deſcriptions, is this, that we may know into how many parts the *Romans* uſually divided their Feet; and all theſe Diviſions I have ſeen in ſome ancient ones. But ſuppoſe there were no *Roman* Foot extant; how by XVI Digits, or by IV Palms, or by XII *Unciæ*, (which is the moſt uncertain of all; ſeeing whatſoever hath Quantity, how great or ſmall ſoever it is, may be divided in XII *Uncias*) could it be preciſely reſtored? For if that of [t] *Protagoras* be true, as well in Meaſures, as in Intellectual Notions, that Man is ἀνδρῶν χρημάτων μέτρον: Whence [u] *Vitruvius* obſerves, that the *Latines* denominated moſt of their Meaſures, as *their Digit, Palm, Foot, and Cubit*, from the Parts and Members of a Man: Who ſhall be that perfect and ſquare Man, from whom we may take a Pattern of theſe Meaſures? Or if there be any ſuch, how ſhall we know him? Or how ſhall we be certain the Ancients ever made choice of any ſuch? Unleſs, as ſome fancy, that the Cubit of the Sanctuary was taken from the Cubit of *Adam*, he being created in an excellent State of Perfection: So we ſhall imagin theſe Digits, and Palms, to have been taken from ſome particular Man of completer Lineaments than others. On the other ſide, if this Foot may be reſtored by the Digits, and Palms of any Man at pleaſure, ſince there is ſuch a difference in the Proportions of Men, that it is as difficult to find two of the ſame Dimenſions, as two that have the ſame likeneſs of Faces; how will it be poſſible, out of ſuch a diverſity, to produce a certain and poſitive Meaſure, conſiſting in an indiviſibility, not as a Point doth in reſpect of Parts, but in an indiviſibility of application, as all Originals and Standards ſhould do? The *Arabians*,

[s] Iſid. Hiſpal. l. 15. c. 15.

[t] Protagoras apud Ariſtot. l. 13. cap. 5. Metaphyſ. Πάντων εἶναι χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπον.

[u] *Nec minus menſurarum rationes, quæ in omnibus videntur neceſſariæ eſſe, ex corporis membris collegerunt: Uti digitum, palmum, pedem, cubitum.* Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.

to

to avoid this difficulty, ſhew us a more certain way, as they ſuppoſe, how to make this commenſural Digit, and conſequently the Foot: And that is by the breadth of ſix Barly-corns laid one contiguous to another: For thus[a] *Muhammed Ibn Meſoud*, in his Book, entituled in *Perſian*, *Gehandaniſh*, relates: That *in the time of* Almamon (the learned Calif of *Babylon*) *by the Elevation of the Pole of the Æquator, they meaſured the Quantity of a Degree upon the Globe of the Earth, and found it to be fifty ſix Miles, and two thirds of a Mile: Every Mile containing four thouſand Cubits, and each Cubit twenty four Digits, and every Digit ſix Barly-corns.* The ſame Proportions are aſſigned in the *Geographia Nubienſis*, printed in *Arabick* at *Rome: The Cubit is twenty four Digits, and every Digit is ſix Barly-corns.* But this is as uncertain as the former, and is built upon a ſuppoſition, that all ſuch are of the ſame Dimenſion: Whereas thoſe of one Country differ much from thoſe of another; and thoſe of the ſame Country (as I have made trial in *Ægypt*, more out of Curioſity, than as hoping this way to give my ſelf Satisfaction) are not all of the ſame bigneſs: And not only ſo, but in the ſelf-ſame Ear, there is a ſenſible difference, as Experience doth ſhew. And yet *Snellius*, a Man much to be commended for his Abilities in the Mathematicks, and to be blamed for his ſupine Negligence, both in his Meaſure of the Magnitude of the Earth, and in his Dimenſions of the *Roman* Foot, upon theſe ſlight and weak Principles, deduces the *Arabian* Foot,[2] *This containing ninety ſix Grains, ſuch as his* Roman *Foot* (for none beſides himſelf will own it) *contains ninety.* Wherefore ſome other *Arabians* to mend the matter, limit the breadth of one of them, [a] *by ſix Hairs of a Camel, evenly joyned one by another:* By which Invention their Derah being almoſt anſwerable to the *Roman Seſquipes*, or Cubit, ſhall conſiſt of twenty four Digits, and every Digit of ſix Barly-corns, and every Barly-corn of ſix Hairs of a Camel. So that in concluſion the Hair of a Camel ſhall be the *Minimum* in reſpect of Meaſures. But this Invention, however at the firſt it may ſeem ſomewhat ſubtile (for we are come now almoſt as low as Atomes) is leaſt of all to be approved. For tho' the ſuppoſition were true, that all Hairs are of a like bigneſs in all Camels, whereas they are different in one and the ſame, yet this Objection is unanſwerable, that ſeeing Hairs are not perfectly round, tho' the Senſe judges them ſo, but angular, and that with ſome inequality, as Magnifying-glaſſes plainly demonſtrate, it will be very difficult ſo to fixe them together, that they ſhall always take up the ſame breadth: And if they do not, little Errors committed in ſuch ſmall Bodies, tho' at the firſt inſenſible, will infinitely increaſe and multiply, in the meaſuring of great diſtances, to which theſe are ſuppoſed the Foundation. And therefore I cannot but approve the Counſel of [b] *Villalpandus*, who adviſeth ſuch as will examine Meaſures and Weights, to begin with the greater, and not with the leſſer. And that there is Reaſon for his Aſſertion, may be made evident, eſpecially in Weights, to ſuch as ſhall make an Experiment. For admit there were a Standard of ten thouſand Grains, and another of one Grain, it will be eaſie, by a continued ſubdiviſion of the former, with a good Balance, to produce a Weight equal to the Standard of one Grain: Yea, tho' at the beginning ſome little Error had been committed, which after many diviſions will vaniſh, and become imperceptible. Whereas on the contrary, the moſt curious Man alive, with the exacteſt Scale that the Induſtry of the moſt skilful Artizan can invent, ſhall never be able out of the Standard of one Grain, to produce a Weight equal to the Weight of ten thouſand Grains, but that there ſhall be a ſenſible and apparent difference; yea, tho' he had that excellent Scale mentioned by [c] *Capellus* at *Sedan*, which would ſenſibly be turned with the four hundredth part of a Grain. The like difference as we find in Weights, we may conceive by analogy to be in Meaſures, when they ſhall be made out of ſuch little parts as Hairs, Barly-corns, Digits, and the like. And therefore I cannot but diſapprove the ordinary Courſe of moſt Geographers, whether *Greeks*, *Latines*, or *Arabians*, that from ſuch nice beginnings meaſure out a Degree upon Earth, and conſequently the Magni-

[a] *Muhammed Ibn Meſoud's Gehandaniſh.*

[2] Snellius in Eratoſth. Batav. l. 2. cap. 2.

[a] *Aly Kuſhgy*, who aſſiſted *Ulug Beg* in compiling his Aſtronomical Tables in *Perſian* (Tables the moſt exact of any in the *Eaſt*) limits their breadth by ſix Hairs of an Horſe. *Every Digit is ſix Barly-corns laid evenly together, and the breadhh of every Barly-corn is ſix Hairs of an Horſe's Tail.* Inſtit. Aſtron. Aly Cuſhgy. MS.

[b] Villalpandus de apparatu Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25. *Atque in univerſum illud unum monitos velim eos omnes, qui menſurarum ac ponderum cognoſcendorum deſiderio tenentur, ne à minimis incipiant examinare majora: Nam vel minimus quiſque error ſæpius multiplicatus in magnum adducit errorum cumulum.*

[c] Capellus de Pond. & nummis lib. 1.

Greaves.

Greaves.

Magnitude of this Globe. On the contrary, the Enterprize of [d] *Snellius*, in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus*, and of our Country-man [e] *M. Wright*, hath been more commendable: Who by the ſpace of a Degree on Earth, (or which were better of many Degrees) have endeavoured to fix Meaſures with more Exactneſs and Certainty for Poſterity. But of this Argument I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. And therefore to return to the Buſineſs in hand.

[d] Snell. in Eratoſth. Bat. lib. 2.
[e] *Wright* of the Errors of Navigation.

Since the *Roman* Foot cannot be recovered by Hairs, Grains, Digits, Palms, and ſuch-like Phyſical Bodies, which being of a various and indeterminate Magnitude, cannot give, unleſs by accident, the Commenſuration of that which ought to be preciſely limited and determined; ſome relinquiſhing the former way as erroneous, have endeavoured, with much Ingenioufneſs, by Weights, to find out the *Roman* Foot: For there is the ſame analogy between Meaſures and Weights, as between continued and diſcrete Quantities: And as Mathematicians by Numbers demonſtrate, or rather illuſtrate the Affections of Lines, Superficies, and Geometrical Bodies: So by Weights, meaſuring ſome Phyſical Bodies, eſpecially ſuch as are liquid, in Cubical Veſſels, (which are eaſieſt commenſurable) we may render the exact Quantity of the *Roman* Foot, and by conſequence of all their other Meaſures. And therefore [f] *Lucas Pætus*, and [g] *Villalpandus*, have attempted with probable Reaſons to diſcover the *Roman* Foot, the one by the *Sextarius*, the other by the *Roman Congius*. For the *Sextarius* being the ſixth part of the *Congius*, and the *Congius* containing X *Libræ*, or Pounds, as it is manifeſt by that exquiſite Standard in *Rome*, with this Inſcription:

[f] Luc. Pætus l. 3. de menſur. & pond. Rom.
[g] Villalpandus de appar. Urbis ac Templi. par. 2. l. 3. cap. 25.

IMP. CAESARE
VESPAS. VI
cos
T. CAES. AVG. F. IIII
MENSVRÆ
EXACTAE IN
CAPITOLIO
P X

Again, the *Congius* being the eighth part of the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*, filled with Water or Wine, as by the Teſtimonies of [h] *Dioſcorides*, [i] *Sex. Pompeius*, and of an ancient Anonymus *Greek* Author, tranſlated by *Alciat*, it doth appear: If therefore a Veſſel be made of a Cubical Figure, which may receive VIII *Congii*, or XLVIII *Sextarii*, or LXXXIV Pounds of Water or of Wine, out of the ſides of this Cube, by [k] *Rhemnius Fannius* his Deſcription, or rather by *Sextus Pompeius*, who is ancienter, will the *Roman* Foot be deduced. For both theſe write (neither is it as yet contradicted by any Man) that the Longitude of one of the ſides of the *Amphora* (being a Cube) is anſwerable to the *Roman* Foot. And here our Enquiry would be at an end (ſuppoſing the Authorities of *Feſtus* and *Fannius* to be unqueſtionable) were there not farther ſome Objections, which cannot eaſily be removed. And thoſe are firſt, a ſuppoſition that we have the true *Roman Libra* (for by this we are to find the *Congius*, admitting there were none extant, as by the *Congius*, the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*) a thing of as great difficulty as the Foot it ſelf. And beſides, if this were obtained, yet we cannot have an abſolute certainty, that Water, or Wine, ſhall in all places alike ponderate; by reaſon of the different Gravity which is obſerved in natural Bodies, tho' they be homogeneous, and of a like ſubſtance. Wherefore laying aſide all ſuch Speculations, as being far from that Accurateneſs which is required, there is no other poſſible means left for this diſcovery, but to have recourſe to ſuch Monuments of Antiquity, as have eſcaped the Injury and Calamity of Time; which is our next, and ſecond Enquiry.

[h] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis.
[i] Sext. Pomp. Feſt. de Verb. ſignif.
[k] Rhemn. Fann. Fragment.

And here it will not be amiſs to ſee what Learned Men, who not long preceded our Age, have obſerved out of ancient Monuments, concerning the *Roman* Foot: And then to relate what Courſe I took to give my ſelf private Satisfaction; which, I hope, will be alſo ſatisfactory to others. *Philander* in his Commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, being one of the firſt that had ſeen, and diligently peruſed many ancient Meaſures in *Rome* (whereas *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Glareanus*, and ſome others, received them upon truſt) gives us ſo much the more certain Information. His words are theſe: [l] *Veruntamen quoniam non ſtatim ex cujuſcunque pollicibus, aut digitis, quis fuerit apud antiques Romanus pes ſciri poteſt, ſtatarum me*

[l] Philander in lib. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii.

me ſtudioſis rem gratam patavi, ſi ad marginem libri ſemipedem apponerem, dimenſum ex antiquo pede, in marmore, quod eſt in hortis Angeli Colotii Romæ ſculpto, cujus etiam, niſi me fallit memoria, meminit Leonardus Porcius lib. de Seſſertio. Eum enim pedem, nos cæteris qui circumferuntur, prætulimus, quòd conveniret cum eo, quem ſculptum invenimus in alio marmoreo epitaphio T. Statilii Vol. Apri menſoris ædificiorum, quod operâ Jacobi Melighini ſummi Pont. Architecti ex Janiculo non ita pridem refoſſam, in Vaticanam hortum tranſlatum eſt. Quamvis jacentem in Baſilicâ Apoſtolorum columnam ex porphyrite, cum his Græcis in calce literis ΠΟΔ. Θ. *id eſt pedum novem, nos cum dimenſi eſſemus, deprehenderimus non reſpondere noſtro cum, quo uſus fuerat ejus columnæ artifex, ſed noſtro eſſe majorem duobus ſcrupulis & beſſe, id eſt unciæ parte nonâ. Ut argumentum aliquod eſſe poſſit pedis Græci fuiſſe modulo ſcapum columnæ factum; quod facilius conjicere potuiſſem, ſi integra eſſet alia ex eodem lapide columna, quam in via latâ eſt conſpicere jacentem, his in calce literis* ΠΟΔ. ΙΒ. *inſignitam. Verum quando ſtadium Herodoto, l. 2. Heroni, Suidæ, cæteris Græcis ſit ſexcentorum pedum; Plinio, Columellæ, cæteris Latinis ſexcentorum viginti quinque noſtrorum, neceſſe eſt Romanum à Græco ſemunciâ ſuperari.* Thus far *Philander*. Not long after him, *Lucas Patus*, having examined the Foot on *T. Statilius Tomb*, and that other of *Ceſtius*, together with ſeveral ancient ones in Braſs, found amongſt the *Radera* at *Rome*, concludes, that the [m] true *Roman* Foot, *Diſtis duobus marmoreis comparatus, ſeptima unciæ parte, ſive unciæ ſcripulis tribus, & duabus ſcripuli ſextulis, & ſextulæ ſemiſſe brevior eſt.* Much about the ſame time I find in *Ciaconius*, out of *Latinus Latinius*, another Experiment to have been made, by many eminent Men together at *Rome*. *Superioribus autem annis* (ſaith [n] he) *Ant. Auguſtinus, qui poſtmodum fuit Archiepiſcopus Tarraconenſis, Jo. Baptiſta Sighicellus Epiſcopus Faventinus, P. Octavius, Pacatus, Achilles Maffæus, Achilles Statius, Benedictus Ægius, Fulvius Urſinus, Latinus Latinius, cum veram pedis Rom. quantitatem ſtatuere vellent, plures ejuſd. pedis menſuras ſimul contulerunt, & earum octo cum antiquiſſima dicti pedis forma, quæ in baſi quadam in hortis Vaticanis extat, adamuſſim convenire videntes, ex hoc pede quadrato vas conſe-*

[h] Fragmenta Diſcoridis.

[i] Sext. Pomp. Feſt. de Verb. ſignif.

[k] Rhemn. Fann. Frag. ment.

[l] Philander in lib. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii.

[m] Luc. Patus, l. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. intervall. menſuris.

[n] Ciaconius de Lat. Latini Obſervationibus de pede Rom.

cerunt, quod etiam nunc octoginta aquæ, vel vini libras, quibus publicè ſignatis civitas utitur, omnino capere invenerunt, & cum octo congiis antiquis ita congruere, ut neque minus quidquam, neque amplius inter utraque eſſet. Quo experimento evidentiſſimè cognoverunt, & libras noſtri temporis cum antiquis Romanis eſſe eaſdem, cum congius antiquus vas ſub Veſpaſiano Imp. ſignatum decem libras contineret, quot etiam noſtri temporis libras capit; & hinc eſſe juſtum pedem Romanum, cum ex ejus modulo perfectum Quadrantal octoginta libras contineat, quæ cum congii antiqui libris ad momentum reſpondent. Notwithſtanding theſe Obſervations, *Villalpandus*, knowing how neceſſary it was to have the true Demenſions of the *Roman* Foot, to find out the Proportions of the *Hebrew* Cubit, made new Experiments: And after examination of the Meaſures and Weights at *Rome*, he thus concludes: [o] "*Sed iis omnibus tam variis, aliiſque multis ſententiis prætermiſſis, in hac una conquieſcimus, ut arbitremur unum Farneſianum Congium poſſe omnes antiquas Romanorum, atque aliarum gentium menſuras, omniáque pondera priſtinæ integritati reſtituere.* And in another place, *Quapropter aliis omnibus conjecturis, argumentationibus, æreis pedibus, marmoreis dimenſionibus, aut ſculpturis, quaſi maris ſtatibus prætermiſſis, in hac una pedis longitudine, quaſi in portu conquieſcere jam tandem decrevimus.* Yet *Snellius* in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus* could not reſt ſatisfied with this Foot of *Villalpandus*, how exquiſite ſoever he imagines it: For he had a mind to diſcover it nearer home; making the *Rhinland* Foot equal to the *Roman*. The Proof of his Aſſertion is taken from an ancient *Roman Armamenturium*, or Fort, near the Sea, not far from *Leiden*, which by the Natives is called, *Het huys te Briten*: And is ſuppoſed by *Ortelius* to have been built by *Claudius Cæſar*, in his intended Voyage for *Britain*, of which * *Suetonius*, and *Dio*, make mention: *Sive in commodiorem legionum, cohortiumque tranſvectionem, ſive quo milites hibernarent* (ſaith *Ortelius*). *Arcis ipſius fundamenta*, (according to [q] *Snellius*) *quadrata ſunt forma, & quaquaverſum ducentis quadraginta Rhinlandicis pedibus patent. Ut vel hinc Romanæ menſuræ veſtigia quàm planiſſimè agnoſcas. Nam ipſius podiſmus duorum Romanorum jugerum magnitudinem complectitur. Fugeri enim menſuram ducentos & quadraginta longitu-*

[o] Villalpandi apparatus Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

Greaves.

* Suetonius in Claudio. Dio Hiſt. Rom. l. 60.

[q] Snell. in Eratoſth. Batav. l. 2. c. 2.

Greaves. *dinis pedes esse, non est fere quisquam qui ignoret, inquit Quintilianus, l. 1. cap. 10. Varro de re rustica libro 1. cap. 10. Jugeram quod quadratos duos actus habet. Actus quadratus, qui & latus est pedes 120 & longus totidem. Is modius, ac mina Latina appellatur, ut mihi planè dubium non videatur, eos hic Romane mensurae modum secutos, hujus stratarae podismum ita comprehendisse secundum jugeri mensuram, ut duo jugera, vel actus quatuor contineret. Frontinus de limitibus. Hi duo fundi juncti jugerum definiunt, deinde haec duo jugera juncta in unum quadratum agrum efficiunt, quòd sint omnes actus bini: Ut singula ideò latera ducentos & quadraginta pedes in longum patere necesse sit. Atqui totidem pedibus Rhinlandicis singula latera experrigi Geodetarum experientia confirmat. Unde efficitur Romanum antiquum pedem nostro Rhinlandico planè aequari.*

After these Experiments of so many able and learned Men, and those too taken from ancient Monuments, it may seem strange, that we should not be able as yet to define the true Quantity of the *Roman* Foot. For this I can assign no other Reasons than these: First, That those which have described it, have either not exactly, and with such diligence as was requisite, performed it; or else, if they have been circumspect in this kind, they have omitted to compare it with the Standards for Measures of other Nations. On the contrary, those which have compared it with the present Standards, never took it from the ancient Monuments, and Originals, which are at *Rome*, but only from some Draughts, or Schemes, delineated in Books. Now how uncertain a way this is, doth appear by [c] *Villalpandus*, who thus writes: *Ego dum haec scriberem, hunc Celotianum pedem circino expendi, & in annotationibus Gail. Philandri solertissimi viri, & apud Georgium Agricolam, & apud Lucam Paetum, & Stanislaum Grzepsium, & nullum potui reperire alteri aequalem, imo verò neque ejusdem pedis assignatas similes partes.* The same have I observed in those *Roman* Feet described by *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Philander*, *Paetus*, *Giaconius*, and *Villalpandus* himself, that they differ one from another. And not only so, but those of the same Author, in the same Impression, are likewise different. Which last must arise, either by the diverse extention of the Paper in the Press, when it is moist, or by the inequal contraction of it, when it grows dry, or by some other accident, in the beating and binding. So that tho' it were granted, that so many learned Men had found out what we enquire after, the *Roman* Foot; yet it is impossible out of those Schemes and Draughts delivered in their Books, for the Reasons before specified, to attain an absolute certainty. But [d] *Snellius* shews us a Remedy of this Difficulty, which, in my Opinion, is as vain as his *Roman* Foot, (seeing by his supposition all Paper must shrink alike, be it thick or thin) and that is, to allow one part in sixty for the shrinking of the Paper. *For so much* (saith he) *do Typographers observe, that Letters contract themselves, when they are taken off wet from the Types.*

[d] *Pars sexagesima typorum & formarum longitudini excusis decedit, quemadmodum à diligentibus & peritis typographis scisitando edoctus sum.* Snell. in Eratosth. Batavo. l. 2. c. 1.

Wherefore having received small Satisfaction from the Writings of the Ancients, and not much better from the imperfect Designations of the *Roman* Foot, by modern Authors, I proposed to my self in my Travels abroad, these ways, which no reasonable Man but must approve of. And those were, First, To examine as many ancient Measures and Monuments, in *Italy*, and other parts, as it was possible. And, Secondly, To compare these with as many Standards, and Originals, as I could procure the sight of. And last of all, to transmit both these, and them, to Posterity, I exactly measured some of the most lasting Monuments of the Ancients. To this purpose, in the Year 1639, I went into *Italy*, to view, as the other Antiquities of the *Romans*, so especially those of Weights and Measures; and to take them with as much exactness as it was possible, I carried Instruments with me made by the best Artizans.

[c] Villalpan. de apparatu Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

Where my first enquiry was after that Monument of *T. Statilius Vol. Aper*, in the *Vatican* Gardens, from whence [e] *Philander* took the Dimensions of the *Roman* Foot, as others have since borrowed it from him. In the Copying out of this upon an *English* Foot in Brass, divided into 2000 parts, I spent at least two Hours, (which I mention, to shew with what diligence I proceeded in this, and the rest) so often comparing the several Divisions, and Digits of it, respectively one with another, that I think more Circumspection could not have been used; by which I plainly discovered the rudeness and insufficiency of that

[e] Philander in l. 3. c. 3 Vitruvii.

that Foot. For befides that the length of it is fomewhat too much, (whatfoever [n] *Latinius* out of an Obfervation made by *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Sighicellus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Ægius*, and *Fulvius Urſinus*, pretends to the contrary) there is never a Digit that is preciſely anſwerable to one another. Howſoever it contains 1944 ſuch parts, as the *Engliſh* Foot contains 2000.

[n] Giaconius è Latino Latinio.

My next ſearch was for the Foot on the Monument of *Coſſutius*, *in hortis Colotianis*, from whence it hath ſince received its denomination, (tho' it be now removed) being termed by Writers, *Pes Colotianus*. This Foot I took with great care, as it did well deſerve, being very fair and perfect: Afterwards collating it with that *Roman* Foot, which *Lucas Pætus* cauſed to be engraven in the Capitol, in a white Marble Stone, I found them exactly to agree; and therefore I did wonder, why he ſhould condemn this with his Pen (for he makes ſome [x] Objections againſt it) which notwithſtanding he hath erected with his Hands (as appears by the Inſcription in the Capitol, CURANTE LU: PAETO). It may be, upon ſecond Thoughts, he afterward privately retracted his Error, which he was not willing to publiſh to the World. Now this of *Coſſutius* is 1934 ſuch parts, as the *Engliſh* Foot contains 2000.

[x] Luc. Pætus l. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. intervall. menſuris.

Next I ſought after that Porphyry Column mentioned by [x] *Marlianus*, as alſo by [y] *Philander*, and others, with this Inſcription, ΠΟΔ. Θ. For if the length of that Column were aſſigned according to the proportion of the *Greek* Foot, then would the *Roman* Foot be thence deduced: This (as I ſhall elſewhere ſhew) containing 24 ſuch parts, as that contained 25: Or if it were made according to the *Roman* Foot, as the *Grecians*, after their Subjection to the *Roman* Empire, often uſed the ſame Meaſures that the *Romans* did, then had I my deſire. But the Column being defaced, or loſt, my Labour was in vain: And it ſeems [z] *Pætus* about LXX Years before, made the ſame enquiry with as little ſatisfaction.

[x] Marlianus de Antiq. Urbis.
[y] Philander in lib. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii.
[z] Luc. Pætus l. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. interval. menſuris.

I ſhould be too tedious in deſcribing the ſeveral Feet which I have peruſed in Braſs, found amongſt the *Rudera* at *Rome*, and carefully preſerved by Antiquaries: Of moſt of which *Peireskius* hath given a good Character, in ſome Letters of his, which I have ſeen in the hands of *Buchardus*, a learned Man, not yet printed; [a] who thus writes: *I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the inequality which I have found in the diviſions by Digits, and Inches, of the ancient* Roman *Feet; which ſeem to me to have been made for Faſhion-ſake, & dicis cauſa (as Lamps that are found in Tombs incapable of Oil) more to expreſs the Myſtery and Profeſſion of thoſe that were to uſe them, than for to regulate the meaſure of any thing beſides them.* Greaves.

[a] Ex Epiſtolis Peireſkii MSS.

Beſides theſe, I examined the ancient Structures of the *Romans*, hoping by collating one with another, to deduce the Dimenſion of their Foot. For I preſumed, that thoſe excellent Architects, before they began their Work, muſt neceſſarily propoſe ſome Models to themſelves, according to the Proportions of which, they meant to raiſe their Fabricks: Which Proportions could not be aſſigned, but in the parts of ſome common and received Quantity; and this in probability was the *Roman* Foot; being a Meaſure generally uſed, and by Publick Authority preſcribed. Upon which grounds I meaſured *the Stones in the Foundation of the Capitol*, Domitian's, *or rather* Veſpatian's *Amphitheatre*, *the Triumphal Arks of* Titus *and* Severus, *together with that of* Conſtantine *the Great, and above all that exquiſite Temple of the* Pantheon, built by *Agrippa*, I know not whether with more Coſt or Art: Concerning which [b] *Sebaſtianus Serlius* is of Opinion, *That if all Rules of Architecture were loſt, they might be revived out of this Monument alone.* And in truth, this place gave me more Satisfaction than any other: For moſt of the White Marble Stones on the Pavement, contained exactly three of thoſe *Roman* Feet on *Coſſutius*'s Monument, and the leſſer Stones in Porphyry contained one and an half.

[b] Sebaſt. Serl. delle Antichita.

But yet I thought this not ſufficient, unleſs I went to *Tarracina*, which is the ancient *Anxur*, and LIII Miles diſtant from *Rome*: Having read in [c] *Andreas Schottus*, out of *Pighius*'s *Hercules Prodicius*, that near the Sea by the *Via Appia*, in the height of a White Rock, whence that of [d] *Horace*,

[c] Andr. Schot. Itinerar.

[d] Horat. l. 1. Serm. Sat. 5.

Impoſitum ſaxis latè candentibus Anxur,

There are deſcribed the *Roman Decempedæ*. And indeed the place is very memorable, for the whiteneſs, altitude, and hardneſs of the Rock, which notwithſtanding is cut away perpendicularly, on the ſide towards the *Tyrrhene* Sea, above an hundred and twenty Feet in

Greaves.

depth, to make passage for the *Appian* way; and at the space of every *Decempeda*, these Characters X XX XXX *&c.* (being almost *Cubitales*) are fairly engraven, in a continued Order, descending to CXX. Measuring below the distance between CXX and CX, it amounted to IX *English* Feet, and $\frac{1384}{2000}$ of a Foot, computing it from the * Line engraven above CXX, to the Line next under CX. The rest I examined with my Eyes, by often comparing the distance between CXX and CX, whether it were equal to that between CX and C, and this again (ascending upwards) to that between C and XC, which manner tho' it be uncertain, and conjectural, and far from that exactness I used in all others, yet it was the best means I could then put in practice; and I am confident, that whosoever shall measure those Spaces, shall find a manifest inequality. To which Opinion I am rather induced, because measuring there, in several places, the breadth of the *Appian* Way, cut out of the same Rock, I found a difference sometimes of one or two Inches, or more. It being in one place XIII *English* Feet, and $\frac{1630}{2000}$ of a Foot; in another, XIII Feet and $\frac{1880}{2000}$; in a third XIII and $\frac{1975}{2000}$. Whereby I concluded, that the Ancients in making that Way, had not respect to a Mathematical Point (as it was not necessary) but only that if any difference were, it should not be sensible. And such Differences have I observed in the White *Corinthian* Pillars, in the *Pantheon* before-mentioned, of above an Inch or two, in the Circuit of the *Scapus* near the *Torus*: Which inequality, seeing no Eye could discover, the Masters of that exquisite Work did justly contemn. Whereas the Porphyry Stones, and those of White Marble, on the Pavement, are sized so even, and so exactly to the Proportions of the *Roman* Foot, that nothing can be more accurate. And this the Nature of the Work required: For the Temple being round, (which hath occasioned the *Italians* vulgarly to call it the *Rotundo*) the Circle within could not so exquisitely have been filled up, if there had not been a special care taken in observing the true Dimensions in every particular Stone. But to return to the Rock at *Anxur*: The Spaces between those Characters, to an Eye that shall be intentively fix'd upon them, will be apparently different. So that I concur in Opinion with * *Schottus*, That those Figures were placed there, *to give Notice to Posterity, how much of the Rock had been removed, to make passage for the* Appian *Way*; and not for any Memorial of the *Roman* Measures.

* See at the end of this Book the Figure of these Characters, as they are cut in the Rock at *Anxur*, with Lines encompassing them.

* Schotti Itiner.

Having measured those Places in the *Appian* Way at *Tarracina*, I made trial of at least XX others between *Tarracina* and *Naples*, without any great satisfaction; and therefore partly the Incertainty that I found there, and partly the Danger of Thieves, discouraged me from measuring the *Roman Milliare*; a Work conceived to be of great use, for the discovery of the *Roman* Foot. Seeing the *Milliare* containing *Mille Passus*, as the very Name imports, and every *Passus* consisting of five Feet, as [e] *Columella*, and [f] *Isidorus* expresly tell us; here therefore would be 5000 Feet to help us to one, could there be but found out a perfect *Roman* Mile. And this I imagined might probably be discovered amongst those many *Vestigia* of *Roman* Ways, which to this Day are frequently seen in *Italy*. Wherefore conferring with *Gasparo Berti*, a Man Curious and Judicious, (as appears by his Ichnography of *Roma Subterranea* in *Bosius*) as also with *Lucas Holstenius*, a learned Companion of *Claverius*, in those honourable Travels of his, for the Restauration of the ancient Geography: They both informed me, that there are still in the *Appian* Way, where it passes over the *Pomptinæ Paludes*, several *Columnæ* or *Lapides Milliarii*, standing; whereby the *Romans* divided and distinguished their Miles; and which occasioned those Phrases, *ad primum, ad quartum, ad centesimum lapidem*, and the like. And these, it may be, at the first were ordinary Stones, till *C. Gracchus* caused Columns to be erected in their places: Διαμεβήσας κατὰ μίλιον ὅδου πᾶσ (τὸ δὲ μίλιον ὄκτω σταδίων ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖ) κίονας λιθίνους σημεῖα τῶν μέβους κατέστησεν. *He measured out*, saith [g] *Plutarch, by Miles all the Ways, the Mile containing little less than eight* Stadia, *and placed Columns of Stone to design the Measure.* The thing was of that Ornament and Use, as that it was afterwards taken up, and continued by the *Roman* Emperors; as appears by these Inscriptions, which are fairly engraven on the first Column, found amongst the Ruines in the *Appian* Way, and from thence

[e] Columella de Re Rust. l. 5.

[f] Isidorus l. 15. c. 15. Origin.

[g] Plutarchus in Gracchis.

thence lately removed into the Capitol, by Order of the * Senate and People of *Rome*.

* S. P. Q. R.
COLVMNAM. MILIARIAM
PRIMI. AB. VRBE. LAPIDIS. INDICEM
AB. IMPP. VESPASIANO. ET. NERVA
RESTITUTAM
DE. RVINIS. SVBVRBANIS. VIAE. APPIAE
IN. CAPITOLIVM. TRANSTVLIT

I

IMP. CAESAR
VESPASIANVS. AVG
PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTESTAT. VII
IMP. XVII P. P. CENSOR
COS. VII DESIGN. VIII

Below this, on the end of the Scapus.

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR
AVGVSTVS. PONTIFEX
MAXIMVS. TRIBVNICIA
POTESTATE. COS. III PATER
PATRIAE REFECIT

Below this, on the Basis of the same Pillar.

IMP. CAESARI. DIVI
TRAIANI. PARTHICI. F
DIVI. NERVAE NEPOTI
TRAIANO. HADRIANO
AVG. PONTIF. MAXIM
TRIB. POTEST. II COS II
VIATORES. QVI. IPSI. ET. COS. ET
PR. CETERISQVE. MAGISTRATIB
APPARENT. ET. H. V.

To these I shall also add the Inscription of another *Columna Millaria*, not extant in *Gruterus*, or any other, that I know, which I have seen at *Tarracina*; the Column being exactly of the same magnitude with the former, but wanting by the Injury of Time, a Basis below, and a Globe of nigh three Feet Diameter on the top, serving in stead of a Capital, both which the former hath.

X.

IMP. CAESAR
DIVI. NERVAE
FILIVS. NERVA
TRAIANVS. AVG
GERMANICVS
DACICVS
PONTIF. MAX
TRIB. POT XIIII
IMP. VI COS. V P. P
XVIII SILICE. SVA. PECVNIA
STRAVIT

LIII

Greaves.

The Figure X signifies the distance of *Tarracina* from *Rome*: And that was, *Ad Medias*: A place so called, either because it was, *Ad Medias Paludes*, or else because it was in the Mid-way almost between *Tarracina*, and *Appii Forum*: For it was X Miles from *Tarracina*, and IX from *Appii Forum*; as appears by the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum* in *Bertius*.

Appii Forum
Ad Medias IX.
Tarracina X.

The Figure LIII below, signifies the distance of *Tarracina* from *Rome*: Which distance may be further proved out of *Appian*, in his Third Book of the Civil Wars, speaking of *Augustus*: Ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ταρακίνης ἐπὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν σταδίων ἀπὸ Ῥώμης σταδίων. Being about Tarracina, which is distant CCCC Stadia *from* Rome. These *Stadia* reduced to Miles, if we allow VII *Greek Stadia* and an half, to a *Roman* Mile, as *Suidas* doth, will make up LIII Miles, and one third part of a Mile; that is, two *Stadia* and a half over and above. Which Fraction *Appian* neglects: and therefore uses the round Number CCCC *Stadia*, for LIII Miles.

The Figure XVIIII signifies the *Decennovium*, or Way passing over the Fens, between *Appii Forum*, and *Terracina*: So denominated, because it contained nineteen Miles in length: Which may also be proved out of *Procopius*, where he speaks of the Δεκατνόστιον. This Way was paved by *Trajan*, as the Inscription shews, and I think first of all by him. Long after it was repaired by *Theodoricus*, according to another Inscription that I have seen at *Tarracina*, of which *Gruterus*, and *Cluverius*, also make mention; where, omitting the Titles of *Theodoricus*, in the Marble we find these words engraven

DEGENNOVII. VIAE. APPIAE. ID. EST. A. TRIP
USQVE. TERRACENAM. ITER. ET. LOCA. QVAE
CONFLVENTIBVS. AB. VTRAQUE. PARTE. PALVDVM
PER. OMNES. RETRO. PRINCIPVM. INVNDAVERANT
VSVI. PVBLICO. ET. SECVRITATI. VIANTIVM
RESTITVIT. . . . . PER
PLVRIMOS. QVI. ANTE NON. ERANT. ALBEOS
. . . . DEDVCTA. IN MARE. AQVA

By this Number XVIIII signifying the *Decennovium*, and by the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*, we may fairly correct the *Itinerarium Antonini*, in which *Tarracina* is placed but XVIII Miles distant from *Appii Forum*. And from hence likewise we may certainly know, how far the Christians went to meet St. *Paul*, and that was XXXIV Miles. For so much was *Appii Forum* distant from *Rome*, if we subduct XVIIII out of LIII; whereas the Itineraries of *Bertius* Edition make it more.

If therefore two such Columns were found entire, (as I am informed there are four or five in the *Decennovium*, stand-

Greaves.

ſtanding in a continued Order) the diſtance between two ſuch being exactly meaſured, would much conduce to the diſcovery of the *Roman* Foot. Upon which ſuppoſition I had almoſt reſolved to have gone thither, as I did to other places, with no other intention, but only to have been a Spectator of thoſe Columns, and to have truſted to mine own hands, in taking their Diſtances. But upon a more deliberate Examination of the Buſineſs, I perceived that this Enquiry did depend upon a very nice Suppoſition: For if the *Decempedatores*, or *Curatores Viarum*, proceeded not with extreme Caution, and aimed almoſt at a Mathematical Point, in deſigning the juſt Space of each particular Mile (which in a Work of that length is not probable; where the inequality of many Feet could not be diſcerned by the Eye, and might be admitted without any bleміſh. For in * *Varro*'s Judgment, *Senſus nullus quod abeſt mille paſſus ſentire poteſt*) it could not be, but the ſame Differences, or ſomewhat like, muſt have crept in with them, which have been obſerved amongſt us, in our Meaſured and Statute Miles; out of which it would be a vain Attempt exactly to demonſtrate the *Engliſh* Foot. The neglect of which Circumſpection, amongſt ſome other Reaſons, that may be aſſigned, I take to be one, of the diverſity which Aſtronomers found in that memorable Obſervation, made in the Plains of *Singiar*, or *Sinar*, by the Command of *Almamon*, the Renowned Calif of *Babylon*, about eight hundred Years ſince, in proportioning the Magnitude of a Degree upon Earth. For having taken the Altitude of the Pole at two ſeveral Stations, differing a Degree in the Heavens, they meaſured the diſtance between theſe Stations on Earth, going on in the ſame Meridian; where † *ſome of them*, ſays *Abulfeda*, *found it to be fifty ſix Miles, and two thirds, others fifty ſix, without any Fraction.* If therefore the *Roman Decempedatores*, or *Geodetæ*, uſed not more Circumſpection than the *Babylonian* Aſtronomers (which is not likely) there can be no truſt given to their Miles, and leſs truſt to the Foot that ſhall be deduced from thence.

* Varro de L. L. lib. 5.

† Abulf. Geogr. Arab. MS.

Wherefore to come to a Concluſion; Having made Enquiry more ways than it may be any Man hath done, and I think with as much Caution and Exactneſs as any, it will be neceſſary after all, to ſhew amongſt ſo many Feet, as are taken to be *Roman*, which I conceive to be the moſt genuine and true. And tho' in ſuch an incertainty and ſcarcity of ancient Monuments, and in ſuch a diverſity of Opinions, amongſt Modern Writers, it may ſeem too great preſumption, poſitively to define the Magnitude of the *Roman* Foot; yet having had the opportunity to have peruſ'd in this kind, more Antiquities than any that have preceded, I may with the more Confidence conclude, that the *Pes Colotianus*, in my Judgment, is the true *Roman* Foot; and that for theſe Reaſons.

For firſt, It moſt exactly agrees with ſome very ancient and perfect *Roman* Feet in Braſs, found long ſince amongſt the *Rudera* at *Rome*; eſpecially with that excellent one (as I remember) of *F. Urſinus*, a learned Antiquary. Tho' I cannot deny but that I have ſeen two ancient Feet in Braſs different from this; the one of *Gualdus*, a very fair one, wanting two parts and an half, of ſuch as this contains a 1000, a ſmall and inconſiderable difference. The ſecond of *Gottifredus*, a Gentleman of honourable Quality, (to whom I ſtand obliged for the free Donation of ſeveral Antiquities) which exceeds it by eight parts; but this laſt hath been made by a very rude and unſkilful Hand.

Next, the Proportions of almoſt all the White Marble Stones, as alſo of thoſe leſſer in Porphyry, in the Pavement of that admirable Temple of the *Pantheon*, are either compleatly three of theſe Feet, or one and an half; which, it is not probable, in a Structure of ſo much Art, ſhould have been the Work of Chance. Add to this the Dimenſions of ſeveral Stones in the Foundation of the Capitol, in *Titus* and *Severus*, Triumphal Arches, correſponding either to the whole Foot, or conjointly to the whole, and ſome *Uncia*, or Digits of it.

Thirdly, The Inſcription on the ſame Monument where this Foot is found, of the *Circinus*, the *Libel*[illegible], and the like, pl[illegible], that theſe were intende[illegible] *ſtatius*'s Profeſſion, (whoſ[illegible]magine) to [illegible] been a *Sculp*[illegible] this being intend-ed, I ſee no reaſon why the *Roman* Foot ſhould have been [illegible] ſo fair a Relevy, either too ſhort, or too long; when the ſame Hand, and the ſame Pains, might have made it exact. It is true, that the Foot upon *Statilius*'s Tomb, is 1944 ſuch parts, as this is but 1934; whereof the *Engliſh* Foot taken

Luc. Patus lib. 1. de Antiq. Rom. & Græc. in ſtervalmen ſuris.

taken by me from the Iron Yard, or Standard of three Feet, in *Guild-Hall* in *London*, contains 2000: But how rudely, in reſpect of Digits, that Foot of *Statilius* is deſcribed, I have before diſcovered. And therefore I wonder that [a] *Philander* in his Commentaries upon *Vitruvius*, ſhould in a matter of ſuch high concernment in Architecture, proceed with ſo much Inadvertency, affirming that between this of *Statilius*, and that of *Coſſutius*, there is no difference. And if he a Mathematician hath thus erred, (tho' commonly Men verſed in thoſe Sciences take not up things at too cheap a rate, without due examination) what Opinion may we conceive of another Obſervation, made at the ſame Monument, by [b] *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Jo. Baptiſta Sighicellus*, *P. Octavius Pacatus*, *Achilles Maffæus*, *Achilles Statius*, *Benedictus Ægius*, *Fulvius Urſinus*, *Latinus Latinius*, with as many ancient Feet as there were Men preſent? I ſhrewdly ſuſpect they ſlubbered over their Obſervation, as not regarding in nineteen hundred parts, and better, the ſmall exceſs or defect of ten parts; or not rightly apprehending what might be the Conſequences of ſuch an Error, how little ſoever, in meaſuring the vaſt Magnitude of the Terreſtrial Globe, or of the Celeſtial Bodies.

[a] Philander in l. 3. c. 3. Vitruvii.

[b] Claconius è Latini Latinii obſerv. de pede Rom.

Laſtly, Beſides the Authorities of *Portius Vicentinus*, *Georgius Agricola*, *Glareanus*, *Gbetaldus*, *Donatus*, and of many other Learned and Judicious Men, who approve of this *Pes Colotianus*, (tho' bare Authority is the worſt, becauſe the weakeſt kind of Argument) that excellent *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*, now extant in *Rome*, ſo highly and ſo juſtly magnified by [m] *Villalpandus*, may likewiſe ſerve to confirm, if not totally my Aſſertion, yet thus far, that I have not exceeded in aſſigning the true Longitude: For by the clear Evidences of [n] *Dioſcorides*, and of an *Anonymous Author* before cited, eight *Congii* are the juſt Meaſure of the *Roman Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*; and again by as many Teſtimonies of [o] *Sextus Pompeius*, and [p] *Rhemnius Fannius*, each of the ſides of the *Amphora* is equal in Longitude to the *Roman* Foot. Wherefore having procured by ſpecial Favour the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*, I took the Meaſure of it with * *Milium* (being next to Water, very proper for ſuch a Work) carefully prepared and cleanſed, which being done with much diligence I cauſed a Cube to be made anſwerable to the true Dimention of the *Pes Colotianus*; filling up the Capacity of which, and often reiterating the ſame Experiment, I found continually the Exceſs of about half a *Congius* to remain, and that an *Amphora* made by the *Pes Colatianus*, would contain but VII *Congii*, and about an half. And therefore I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the Obſervation of *Ant. Auguſtinus*, *Pacatus*, *Maffæus*, *Statius*, *Urſinus*, and others, with a Cube of that Foot which is deſcribed on *Statilius*'s Monument: Who affirm the *Quadrantal* of this exactly to contain eight of theſe *Congii* of *Veſpaſian*: Whereas upon due Examination; I confidently affirm, that they have erred. And therefore [r] *Villalpandus*, in this particular, with more Judgment and Ingenuity hath publiſhed his Obſervation, concerning the Meaſure, and preciſe Weight of *Veſpaſian*'s *Congius*, than any other whatſoever. Altho' I cannot be induced to aſſent to that deduction, which he inf[illegible] of the *Roman* Foot, (from the fid[illegible] a *Quadrantal* containing eight of theſe *Congii*) relying upon the Authorities of *Feſtus* and *Fannius*, againſt ſo many Evidences produced to the contrary. Wherefore as he is ſingular in his Opinion (for there is not one Author of Credit which follows his Aſſertion) ſo is his Foot as ſingular, there being not one of at leaſt ten ancient ones, in the hands of ſeveral Antiquaries (beſides thoſe inſcribed on two Monuments in *Rome*) which arrive to the Proportions of his, by XXVII parts in 2000. As for thoſe other Fancies of his (for they are no better) of deſcribing alſo the *Roman* Foot, by the Altitude of *Veſpaſian*'s *Congius*, and aſſigning the [s] *Latus Cubicum*, of the *Modius*, the *Semicongius*, the *Sextarius*, and *Hemina*, from certain parallel Circles circumſcribed about it, (which certainly, as the Scheme of the *Congius* it ſelf, drawn by me to the full proportion, ſhews, were delineated without any farther Intention than for Ornament) I do not think them worth the Confutation.

[m] Villalpandus, l. 2. diſp. 2. c. 11 de apparatu Urbis ac Templi.

[n] Fragmenta Dioſcoridis.

[o] Sext. Pomp. Feſtus de Verb. ſignif.

[p] Rhemn. Fann. carm. fragm.

* It had been better to have made my Experiment with Water, and then to have weighed it with an exact Balance: But becauſe no Balances are found in *Rome* ſo exact as with us, I was fain to meaſure it with *Milium*.

Greaves.

[q] Claconius è Latini Latinii obſervationibus de pede Rom. *Cum veram pedis Rom. quantitatem ſtatuere vellent ejuſd. pedis menſuras ſimul contulerunt, & earum octo cum antiquiſſima dicti pedis forma, quæ in vaſi quadam in hortis Vaticanis exſtat, adamuſſim convenire viderent, ex hoc pede quadratos vas confecerunt*, &c. Vide ſupra.

[r] Villalp. de apparatu Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

[s] *Vides etiam latus cubicum, modii, ſemicongii, ſextarii, hemine*, &c. Villalp. ibidem.

Greaves.

Fannius, alledged by him. For the Objection which may be raised thence is very material: How the *Pes Colotianus* can be the true *Roman* Foot, since it is confessed by me, that it doth not precisely answer to the sides of a *Quadrantal*, or Cube, containing eight of those *Congii* of *Vespasian*, or XLVIII *Sextarii*? Whereas on the contrary, *Festus* expresly writes, that the *Quadrantal* was the Square (he means the Cube) of the *Roman* Foot. [u] *Quadrantal vocabant Antiqui, quam ex Græco amphoram dicunt, quod vas pedis quadrati, octo quadraginta capit sextarios.* And [x] *Fannius* confirms the same.

[u] Sext. Pomp. Festus de Verb. signif.

[x] Ebenon. Fannius carmina de pond. & mensuris.

Pes longo spatio, latoque notetur in angulo,
Angulus ut par sit, quem claudit linea triplex.
Quatuor ex quadris medium cingatur inane:
Amphora fit cubus: Quam ne violare liceret,
Sacravere Jovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites.

We might elevate their Authorities by saying, these are only the Testimonies of two Grammarians, better versed in Disputes of Words, than Critical in Measures, which more properly are the Speculation of Mathematicians: And therefore if *Vitruvius* had affirmed it, much more Credit might have been given. But we shall rather say, they wrote what was vulgarly, and commonly, upon Tradition, believed, that the length of one of the sides of the *Amphora* was equal to the *Roman* Foot: Not that it was precisely and exactly equal, but that of any known Measure whatsoever then extant, this came the nearest to it, as indeed it doth; yea, so near, that if at this Day the *Amphora*, and *Roman* Foot, were in use amongst us, many a Writer that had never been so curious as diligently to compare them, would not be scrupulous to affirm as much. Which may appear by the Practice of *Ant. Augustinus*, *Pacatus*, *Massæus*, *Statius*, *Ursinus*, and of several other Learned Men, not long before our Times: Who tho' they purposely made it their enquiry to discover the true *Roman* Weights and Measures, and therefore made special use of this *Congius* of *Vespasian*, yet have no less erred, as we shewed before, in the Dimension of the *Amphora*, than both *Festus* and *Fannius* have done. Neither will this Answer seem improbable concerning Measures, if we shall examine a place or two concerning Coins, in which the Ancients, and those too of the better sort of Authors, have in the very same manner erred. For [y] *Livy* writing that *Marcellus* gave to *L. Bantius*, (or *Bandius*) IO *Bigati*, that is *Denarii* so called, because the *Biga* was ordinarily stamped upon the Reverse of the *Denarius*): [z] *Plutarch* describing the same Gift, renders it by so many *Drachmæ*, the *Grecian* manner of Computation; not that the *Drachma*, in the exact and intrinsical Valuation, was equal then to the *Denarius*, or the *Denarius* to the *Drachma* (as we shall shew in the ensuing Discourse) but that in the vulgar and popular estimation, the one passed for the other, being both not much different in their weight, as well as valuation. [a] Likewise *Dio* informs us, that *Octavius* promised the *Veteran* Soldiers IO *Drachmæ* a Man: Whereas [b] *Cicero* expressing the same thing to *Atticus*, terms them IO *Denarii*. And *Suetonius* writes, that *Cæsar*, by Testament, gave to each of the common People, *Sestertia trecenta*, that is, LXXV *Denarios*; which [c] *Plutarch*, both in the Life of *Brutus*, and of *Antonius*, renders Δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε, *Seventy five Drachms*. In like manner we may say, that *Festus* and *Fannius* have described the *Amphora* by the *Roman* Foot; not as if this were the exact Measure of it, but as being the most known and nearest proportion, in which, without falling into Fractions, it might evenly and roundly be expressed.

[y] Livy, Lib. [illegible]

[z] Plutarch [illegible] Marcello.

[a] Dio, [illegible] in Cæsare Octav.

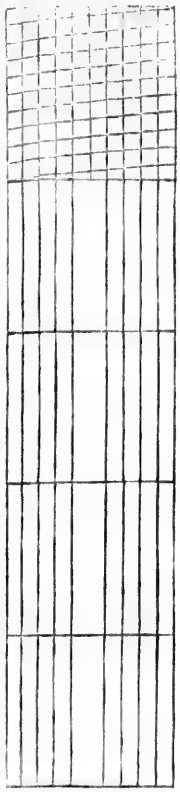
[b] Cicero, [illegible] ad Atticum.

[c] Plut. in Brut. [illegible] dem in Antonio.

And thus have we finished our Enquiry after the *Roman* Foot: Our next Labour should be to compare it with the present Standards, and Originals, for Measures of divers Nations: For which I must refer the Reader to this ensuing Table.

The

SEMIPES ROM.



The Roman *FOOT compared with the Meaſures of divers Nations.*

SUCH Parts as the *Roman* Foot, or that on the Monument of *Coſſutius* in *Rome*, contains	1000	
The Foot on the Monument of *Statilius* in *Rome*, contains	1005	17/100
The Foot of *Villalpandus*, deduced from the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*, contains	1019	65/100
The ancient *Greek* Foot, being in proportion to the ancient *Roman* Foot, as XXV to XXIV, contains	1041	67/100
The *Engliſh* Foot	1034	13/100
The *Paris* Foot	1104	45/100
The *Venetian* Foot	1201	65/100
The *Rhinland* Foot, or that of *Snellius*	1068	25/100
The *Derah*, or Cubit, at *Cairo* in *Ægypt*	1886	25/100
The *Perſian Ariſh*	3306	10/100
The Greater *Turkiſh* Pike, at *Conſtantinople*	2275	98/100
The Leſſer *Turkiſh* Pike, at *Conſtantinople*, is in proportion to the Greater, as 31 to 32		
The *Braccio* at *Florence*	1978	28/100
The *Braccio* for Woollen, at *Siena*	1284	38/100
The *Braccio* for Linnen, at *Siena*	2041	37/100
The *Braccio* at *Naples*	2171	66/100
The *Canna* at *Naples*	7114	79/100
The *Vara* at *Almaria*, and at *Gibraltar*, in *Spain*	2854	19/100
Il Palmo di Architetti, at *Rome*; whereof X makes the *Canna di Architetti*	756	98/100
Il Palmo del Braccio di Mercantia, & di Teſſito di Tela, at *Rome*; this and the former, are both engraven in a White Marble Stone in the Capitol, with this Inſcription, *Curante Lu. Pæto*	719	24/100
The *Genoa* Palm	842	81/100
The *Antwerp* Ell	2360	91/100
The *Amſterdam* Ell	2345	40/100
The *Leyden* Ell	2337	13/100

The Engliſh *FOOT, taken from the Iron Standard at* Guild-Hall *in* London, *and compared with the Standards for Meaſures of divers Nations.*

SUCH Parts as the *Engliſh* Foot contains	1000	
The *Roman* Foot, or that on the Monument of *Coſſutius* in *Rome*, contains	967	
The Foot on the Monument of *Statilius* in *Rome*, contains	972	
The Foot of *Villalpandus*, deduc'd from the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*, contains	986	
The *Greek* Foot	1007	33/100
The *Paris* Foot	1068	
The *Venetian* Foot	1162	
The *Rhinland* Foot, or that of *Snellius*	1023	
The *Derah*, or Cubit, at *Cairo* in *Ægypt*	1824	
The *Perſian Ariſh*	2197	
The greater *Turkiſh Pike*, at *Conſtantin.*	2200	
The leſſer *Turkiſh Pike* at *Conſtantinople*, is in proportion to the greater, as 31 to 32		
The *Braccio* at *Florence*	1913	
The *Braccio* for Woollen, at *Siena*	1242	
The *Braccio* for Linnen, at *Siena*	1974	
The *Braccio* at *Naples*	2100	
The *Canna* at *Naples*	6880	
The *Vera*, at *Almaria*, and at *Gibraltar*, in *Spain*	2760	
Il Palmo di Architetti, at *Rome*; whereof X make the *Canna di Architetti*	732	
Il Palmo del Braccio di Mercantia, & di Teſſito di Tela, at *Rome*; this and the former are both engraven in a White Marble Stone in the Capitol, with this Inſcription, *Curante Lu. Pæto*	695	1/2
The *Genoa* Palm	815	
The *Antwerp* Ell	2283	
The *Amſterdam* Ell	2268	
The *Leyden* Ell	2260	

This Table I made by the Standards, the former by Proportion.

Greaves.

Of the DENARIUS.

AS I have made for Meaſures, the *Roman* Foot the Foundation of my Enquiry, and therefore have handled it in the precedent Treatiſe: So for finding out of Weights, I ſhall take the *Denarius* as an undeniable Principle, from whence thoſe of the Ancients, by a neceſſary Conſequence may be inferred. For as the Unity is in reſpect of Numbers, or the *Seſtertius* in Diſcourſes *de re nummariâ*; ſo is the *Denarius* for Weights, a fit riſe, or beginning, from whence the reſt may be deduced. Not but that it were better (as I gave the Caution before) if we abſolutely conſider the exacteſt ways of diſcovering Weights, to begin with the greater, and by them to find out the leſs, than by the leſs to produce the greater; but if we look upon the Condition of Times, and conſider the means that are left after ſo many Revolutions and Changes of the *Roman* Empire, it will be faſter to alter our Method. For to this Day there are many thouſand *Denarii* left, and amongſt theſe ſome ſo perfect and entire, as if they had been but newly brought from the Mint; whereas of the *Roman Libræ*, and Ounces, there are but few extant, if compared with theſe. *Lipſius*, and *Graterus*, in their Inſcriptions mention ſome, and *Petus* ſome others, beſides ſuch as I have ſeen in the hands of Antiquaries, and many of mine own: Moſt of which differ from one another, either as having been conſumed by Ruſt and Time, or it may be alſo by the Men that then lived, for their advantage leſſened: A thing too often practiſed amongſt us. Wherefore I think it more convenient by the *Denarius* to deduce the proof and evidence of theſe, than by the diverſity and uncertainty of theſe to conclude the *Denarius*: And yet if ſome of the beſt and fairеſt of them ſhall agree with this, I ſhall think my fait ſo much the more united.

Now ſeeing the *Denarius* may be conſidered in a double reſpect, either as *Nummus*, or as *Pondus*: In the firſt acception, the valuation of it in Civil uſe is remarkable, in the latter, the gravity and ponderouſneſs: I ſhall ſpeak more farther of the former, than as it may conduce in part to illuſtrate the latter. The *Denarius* was a Silver Coin in uſe amongſt the *Romans*, paſſing at the firſt Inſtitution for *Dena Æra*, or ten *Aſſes*. And ſo [a] *Vitruvius* expreſly writes, *Noſtri autem primò decem fecerunt antiquum numerum, & in denario denos æreos aſſes conſtituerant.* The ſame thing is atteſted by [b] *Voluſius Metianus*. *Denarius primò aſſes decem valebat, unde & nomen traxit.* [c] *Pliny* beſides a Confirmation of the ſame Valuation, aſſigns alſo the time in which it was firſt ſtamped. *Argentum ſignatum eſt anno Urbis * quingenteſimo octogeſimo quinto, Q. Fabio conſule, quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum, & placuit denarius pro decem libris æris*: That is, for ten *Aſſes*. For the *Aſſes* were *Librales*. [d] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. Ἦν δὲ δεκάρειον, χάλκεον νόμισμα, βάρος λίτραν. The *Aſſes* was a Braſs Coin, *weighing a Pound*. Where by the way, it is worth the obſervation, the ſtrange, and in mine Opinion, the unadviſed proportion, betwixt the Braſs and Silver Moneys of thoſe Times: That X Pounds of Braſs ſhould be but anſwerable to the 84th part (for ſo much, or near it, was the *Denarius*) of a Pound of Silver; or to ſpeak more clearly, that one Pound in Silver ſhould be equal in valuation to 840 Pounds in Braſs. Neither can there be any excuſe of that Error, unleſs this, that there then was an infinite plenty of the one, and as great a ſcarcity of the other. However it were, the ſame proportion is teſtified by *Varro*, who farther adds; that the *Romans* took the firſt uſe and invention of the *Denarius*, from the *Sicilians*: [e] *In argento nummi, id à Siculis, denarii quod denos æris valebant.* And according to this Valuation the *Denarius* had an Impreſs upon it of the Figure X, denoting the *Deculſis*, or Number of the *Aſſes*, as *Valerius Probus* witneſſes, and ſometimes this Character �X; both which I have ſeen, and can ſhew, in ſeveral ancient ones. This latter by the Ignorance of Scribes formerly in MSS. and of our Printers of late, in the Edition of *Celſus*, and of *Scribonius Largus*, is repreſented by an Aſteriſk *; and by a worſe Error in the ſame Authors, the Figure X expreſſing the *Denarius*, as a *Pondus*, is confounded with

[a] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.

[b] Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtributione.

[c] Plinius, l. 33. c. 3.

* Eutrop. l. 3. de ſecundo annis ante primum bellum Punicum, & placuit denarius pro decem libris æris: That is, for ten *Aſſes*. For the *Aſſes* were *Librales*. [d] *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. Ἦν δὲ δεκάρειον, χάλκεον νόμισμα, βάρος λίτραν. The *Aſſes* was a Braſs Coin, *weighing a Pound*. Where by the way, it is worth the obſervation, the ſtrange, and in mine Opinion, the unadviſed proportion, betwixt the Braſs and Silver Moneys of thoſe Times: That X Pounds of Braſs ſhould be but anſwerable to the 84th part (for ſo much, or near it, was the *Denarius*) of a Pound of Silver; or to ſpeak more clearly, that one Pound in Silver ſhould be equal in valuation to 840 Pounds in Braſs. Neither can there be any excuſe of that Error, unleſs this, that there then was an infinite plenty of the one, and as great a ſcarcity of the other. However it were, the ſame proportion is teſtified by *Varro*, who farther adds; that the *Romans* took the firſt uſe and invention of the *Denarius*, from the *Sicilians*: [e] *In argento nummi, id à Siculis, denarii quod denos æris valebant.* And according to this Valuation the *Denarius* had an Impreſs upon it of the Figure X, denoting the *Deculſis*, or Number of the *Aſſes*, as *Valerius Probus* witneſſes, and ſometimes this Character ⨯; both which I have ſeen, and can ſhew, in ſeveral ancient ones. This latter by the Ignorance of Scribes formerly in MSS. and of our Printers of late, in the Edition of *Celſus*, and of *Scribonius Largus*, is repreſented by an Aſteriſk *; and by a worſe Error in the ſame Authors, the Figure X expreſſing the *Denarius*, as a *Pondus*, is confounded with

[d] Varro l. 4. de Ling. Lat.

with the Figure X expreſſing a Number. From this Figure on the *Denarius*, or *Decuſſis*, [a] *Vitruvius* calls the Interſections of Lines, *Decuſſes*, and *Decuſſationes*. And [b] *Columella* uſeth the Phraſe *in ſtellam decuſſari*, when Lines meet Diamond-wiſe, or Lozenge-like, as theſe in the Character X or ✕. Neither did the *Denarius* long paſs at the valuation of X *Aſſes*, nor the *Aſſes* which before, and then were *Librales*, continue at one ſtay; but with the Exigencies of the *Roman* State, the rate of the *Denarius* roſe, and the weight of the *Aſſes* fell; that is in effect, both the Silver and the Braſs Monies came to be augmented in their eſtimation. For by a Publick Edict of *Fabius Maximus* the Dictator, the Common wealth being hardly preſſed upon by *Hannibal*, the *Denarius* came to be priced at XVI *Aſſes*, and the *Aſſes* which were then *Sextantarii*, or the ſixth part of the *Roman* Pound, (for in the firſt *Punick* War, by reaſon of the exceſſive Expences of the State, they firſt fell from being *Librales*, to be *Sextantarii*) came now in the Second *Punick* War to be *Unciales*. The whole progreſs and manner of this alteration, is by none ſo well and fully expreſs'd as by [c] *Pliny*, and therefore I ſhall a little inſiſt upon his words: *Silver*, ſays he, *came to be coined in the* 585*th Year of this City*, Q. Fabius *being Conſul, five Years before the firſt* Punick *War, and then the* Denarius *paſſed for* X *Pounds of Braſs, the* Quinarius *for* V, *the* Seſtertius *for* II *Pounds and an half. The weight of the* Aſſis *in Braſs was diminiſhed in the firſt* Punick *War, the Common-wealth not being able to ſupport the Expences, and then it was decreed, that the* Aſſes *ſhould be coined* Sextantario Pondere: That is, with the weight of the ſixth part of a Pound, or two Ounces, whereas before they were *Librales*. Tho' *Alciatus* here, upon a very groſs miſtake, contends, that they were then coined *Dextantario Pondere*, and not *Sextantario*; but yet that they were called *Aſſes Sextantarii*, becauſe the *Sextans*, or ſixth part of an Ounce was wanting: Whereas [d] *Feſtus* expreſly writes: *Grave æs dictum à pondere, quia deni aſſes ſinguli pondo libræ efficiebant denarium ab hoc ipſo numero dictum Sed bello Punico populus Romanus preſſus ære alieno, ex ſingulis aſſibus libralibus ſenos fecit, qui tantundem valerent.* And theſe words of *Pliny*, which immediately follow thoſe before recited, put it out of controverſie. [e] *Whereby*, ſays he, *five parts were gained, and the Debts (of the Common-wealth) diſcharged.* I would gladly ſee by what Arithmetick *Alciatus* can demonſtrate, that the Common-wealth ſhall gain five parts, making the *Aſſes Sextantarii*, in his ſenſe; whereas on the contrary, taking them in this Interpretation (as both [f] *Agricola*, and [g] *Villalpandus* do) it is a thing moſt evident. For the whole Pound, or *Aſſes*, before conſiſting of XII Ounces, being now reduced to two Ounces, and theſe two paſſing at as high a rate in the valuation of things vendible, as the whole *Libra* did, it is plain, that the Common-wealth by this diminution of weight, keeping the ſame conſtant tenure of the eſtimation of the *Aſſes*, gained ten parts in twelve, that is, five in ſix; and not one in ſix, as *Alciatus* would have it. But to omit this digreſſion, and to return to [h] *Pliny*: *Afterwards being oppreſſed by* Hannibal, *under* Q. Fabius Maximus *the Dictator, the* Aſſes *were made* Unciales, *and the* Denarius *paſſed for* XVI Aſſes, *the* Quinarius *for* VIII, *and the* Seſtertius *for* IV. *And hereby the Common-wealth gained half, yet in the Pay of the Militia, the* Denarius *was always accounted for* X Aſſes. *The Impreſs of the Silver* [that is, of the *Denarius*] *were the* Bigæ, *and* Quadrigæ; *from whence they are called* Bigati, *and* Quadrigati. *Not long after, by the* Lex Papiria, *the* Aſſes *came to be* Semunciales. Livius Druſus, *Tribune of the People, mixed an eighth part of Braſs with the Silver.* Thus far *Pliny*. Out of which words it is moſt evident (omitting many paſſages of his worth our conſideration) that as the *Denarius* at the firſt Inſtitution paſſed for X *Aſſes*, ſo afterwards it was valued at XVI. And *Vitruvius* gives a Reaſon, why next to X, they made choice of XVI, rather than of XII, or any other proportion: [i] *Quoniam animadverterunt utroſque numeros* [i] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.

[a] Vitruv. l. 10.
[b] Columella l. 5.
[c] Plin. l. 33. c. 3. Ita quinque partes fœtæ lucri diſſolutum-que æs alienum.
[d] Sext. Pompeius feſt. de verb. ſignif.
[e] Agricola, lib. 2. de ponderc & temperat. monetarum.
[f] Villalpand. de apparatibus ac templi, par. 2. l. 2. diſp. cap. 9.
[g] Argentum ſignatum eſt Anno Urbis ɔɔlxxxv. Q. Fabio Coſ. quinque annis ante primum bellum Punicum. Et placuit denarius pro X libris æris, quinarius pro quinque, ſeſtertium pro dupondio, ac ſemiſſe. Libræ autem pondus æris imminutum bello Punico primo, cum impenſis Reſp. non ſufficeret, conſtitumque ut aſſes ſextantario pondere ferirentur. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.
[h] Follea Hannibale urgente, Q. Fabio Maximo Dictatore, aſſes unciales facti: Placuitque denarium XVI aſſibus permutari, quinarium octonis ſeſtertium quaternis: Ita Reſp. dimidium lucrata eſt. In militari tamen ſtipendio ſemper denarius pro X aſſibus datus. Nota argenti fuere bigæ atque quadrigæ, & inde bigati, quadrigatique dicti. Mox lege Papiria ſemunciales aſſes facti. Livius Drujus tr. Tribunatu plebis octavam partem æris argento miſcuit. Plin. lib. 33. c. 3.
[i] Quoniam animadverterunt utroſque numeros l. 3. c. 1. eſſe perfectos, & ſex, & decem, utroſque

Circles.

in unum conjecerunt, & fecerunt perfectiſſimum decaſſiſſexi, where [o] *Budæus* reads *decaſſiſſexis*: But [p] *Villalpandus decaſſi ſex*, that it may the better, as he imagines, anſwer to the *Greek*, δέκα ἓξ. [q] *Hujus autem rei*, ſaith *Vitruvius*, *autorem invenerunt pedem. E cubito enim cum dempti ſint palmi duo, relinquitur pes quatuor palmorum, palmus autem habet quatuor digitos, ita efficitur uti pes habeat ſexdecim digitos, & totidem aſſes æreos denarius.* [r] *Metianus* alſo purpoſely treating of this Argument, after that he had related that the *Denarius*, at the firſt Inſtitution, was valued at X *Aſſes*, adds, *now it is worth* XVI. And not to cite more Authorities, the Impreſs or Stamp of XVI, as well as of X, found upon ſeveral *Denarii*, and ſeen both by [s] *Antonius Auguſtinus*, (a Man very accurate in Coins, as appears by his Dialogues) and by *Villalpandus*, beſides one with the Inſcription of *C. Titinius*, with the ſame Character, mentioned by *Fulvius Urſinus*, and [t] *Dalechampius* puts it out of Controverſie. And this valuation of the *Denarius*, as it is more than probable, continued from the firſt Inſtitution of it in the ſecond *Punick* War, without any interruption, to *Juſtinian*'s time, and it is likely longer; ſince there is no proof out of any ancient Author, nor any Character on any ancient *Denarius* found to the contrary. As for thoſe Authorities which are alledged, and preſſed by *Budæus*, and *Alciatus*, of *Varro*, *Apuleius*, *Arruntius*, and *Pompeius*, affirming, that after the ſecond *Punick* War, the *Denarius* contained X *Aſſes*, the *Quinarius*, or *Victoriatus* V, the *Seſtertius* II and an half: We may give a true and eaſie Solution, that theſe Writers expreſſed the valuation of them, as they were in their firſt original and beginning, with reflection to their primitive denomination: In which reſpect the *Treviri Monetales*, or Officers of the Mint, uſually imprinted on the *Denarius* the Character X, rather than XVI; the former being the Impreſs of its firſt Inſtitution, and the latter of its after Valuation. And ſo in like manner may thoſe Citations be anſwered of *Plutarch*, *Dionyſius*, and others, produced by ſome Learned Men to ſtrengthen their Aſſertion, that the *Denarius* after the ſecond *Punick* War returned to its firſt eſtimation. Which thing could not have been effected, without extream loſs and prejudice to particular Men, in their private Fortunes and Eſtates; which the Juſtice and Wiſdom of the *Roman* Senate, under the Conſuls, was not likely to have introduced, or the People to have admitted.

To conclude, the *Denarius*, as it is evident by many irrefragable Authorities before alledged, in the higheſt valuation paſſed for XVI *Aſſes*; and according to that proportion, the *Quinarius*, or *Victoriatus* for VIII, the *Seſtertius* for IV: But in the loweſt valuation, or firſt inſtitution, it paſſed for X *Aſſes*: And then the proportion of the *Quinarius* was V, of the *Seſtertius* II *Aſſes* and an half, and therefore was thus marked IIS, or thus HS, as the *Quinarius* had this Character, V, and alſo this X, as it is to be ſeen in a *Victoriatus* of mine own (beſides ſeveral others) with the Face and Inſcription of *M. Cato*. By which Coin that place may not unfitly be explained, which troubled [x] *Budæus*, why the *Ordo decuſſatus*, and *Ordo quincuncialis*, ſignifie in the ranking of Trees the ſame thing, altho' the *Quinarius*, or *Quincunx*, give the denomination to the one, and the *Denarius*, or *Decuſſis*, to the other. The Reaſon is, becauſe the *Quinarius* had the Character X imprinted on it, as well as the *Denarius*, or *Decuſſis*. Beſides in *Temporarius*, we find the *Quincunx* to be thus — repreſented, as the *Uncia* thus — ſo that five of theſe *Unciæ* making the *Quincunx*, and theſe five being ranged like the Figure X (the Character of the *Decuſſis*) it is no wonder if the *Ordo Decuſſatus*, and *Quincuncialis*, were taken for the ſame.

That the *Denarius* ſhould have paſſed at any other rate between XVI and X *Aſſes*, as there is no Coin extant to prove it, ſo there is no expreſs Authority to conclude it. Tho' ſome infer out of [y] *Polybius*, that it was valued alſo at XII *Aſſes*: Becauſe he defines the ἡμιοβόλιον, or *Semiſſis*, to be τετάρτου μέρους ὀβολοῦ, *the fourth part of the Attick Obolus*; and VI *Oboli* being in the δραχμὴ, to which *Drachma* they ſuppoſe the *Denarius* equal, therefore there muſt be XXIV *Semiſſes*, or XII *Aſſes* in the *Denarius*. But with much better reaſon we may hence infer, that the *Drachma* was ſomewhat bigger than the *Denarius*, as we ſhall prove in this enſuing Diſcourſe; and therefore *Polybius* allows XII *Aſſes* to it: Whereas, if it had been preciſely equal to the *Denarius*, he would have valued it at X, or elſe XVI of the leſſer ſort of *Aſſes*. So that Sir *H. Savile*, a Man of exquiſite Judgment and Learning, in his Diſcourſe at

[o] Budæus, l. 5. de aſſe.
[p] Villalp. de apparatu Urbis ac Templi.
[q] Vitruv. l. 3. c. 1.
[r] Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtrib.
[s] Anton. Auguſt. Dialogo 1.
[t] Dalechampius in Plin. l. 33. c. 3.
[x] Budæus, l. 1. de aſſe.
Cod. MS. Temporarii.
[y] Polyb. l. 2.

at the end of *Tacitus*, juſtly blames *Hottoman* for altering the Text of *Polybius*, and is himſelf to be cenſured, as alſo [a] *Lypſius*, in inferring thence that the *Denarius* contained XII *Aſſes*.

[a] *Lypſius* Elector. c. 2.

The ſeveral parts of the *Denarius*, excepting the *Quinarius* and *Seſtertius*, of both which I have ſpoken before, are all comprized in this Deſcription of *Varro*, with which I ſhall conclude: [b] *Nummi denarii decima libella, quæ libram pondo as valebat, & erat ex argento parva; ſembella quæ ſit libellæ dimidium quæ ſemis aſſis. Teruncius è tribus unciis ſembellæ quæ valet dimidium, & eſt quarta pars ſicut quadrans aſſis.* By which proportions it appears, that the *Libella* was the Xth part of the *Denarius*, when it was current at X *Aſſes*, the *Sembella* the XXth, the *Teruncius* the XLth. And thus much of the *Denarius* as it is *Nummus*.

[b] *Varro*, l. 4. de Ling. Lat.

The ſecond, and our principal Conſideration of the *Denarius*, is, as it is *Pondus*. In which acception it will be neceſſary to premiſe a ſecond diſtinction; that the *Denarius* was either [c] *Conſularis*, or *Cæſareus*. The *Conſularis* was that which was made under the Government of the City by the Conſuls, the *Cæſareus* under the *Cæſars*: The *Conſularis*, (I mean the *Conſularis* after the ſecond *Punick* War, and under the later Conſuls) contained precitely the ſeventh part of the *Roman* Ounce, as the other did the eighth part, or ſomewhat near it.

[c] The *Conſularis* again may be conſidered, either in the time of the former, or of the later Conſuls: That of the former Conſuls, at the firſt inſtitution of it by *Q. Fabius*, five Years before the firſt *Punick* War, *Peireſkius* not improbably imagines to have been the ſixth part of the *Roman* Ounce: And *Agricola* by comparing it with the *Talentum Atticum*, which *Varro* values at 15000 *Seſtertii*, and with the *Tetradrachme*, which *Livy* (*lib.* 34.) eſtimates, *Trium fere Denariorum*; as alſo upon the Authority of the *Scholiaſt of Nicander*, who equals the *Denarius* to a Drachme and an half, as *Pliſian* doth to a Drachme and a third part; I ſay, *Agricola* aſſigns it to almoſt the ſame proportion with *Peireſkius*. But becauſe I have ſeen no *Denarii Conſulares* of ſo great Antiquity, and theſe Authorities may perchance admit of other Conſtructions, I ſhall leave this Opinion as only probable, and follow what is more certain and demonſtrative, of the later Conſuls.

First, That the *Denarius Conſularis* of the later Conſuls, was the ſeventh part of the *Roman* Ounce: This ſhall be our principal enquiry, becauſe it is more evident of the two, and will give us the beſt light to diſcover the true weight of the *Denarius*, in the notion and acception of the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*. It is moſt apparent, both by ſeveral fair Coins which I have peruſed of the later Conſuls, as alſo by *Cornelius Celſus*, who lived in the beginning of the *Roman* Emperors, before there happened any conſiderable Diminution of the *Denarius*, that it was then the ſeventh part of the Ounce, who thus writes, [d] *Sed & antea ferri volo in uncia pondus denarii ſeptem*. The ſame proportion is alſo expreſſed by [e] *Scribonius Largus*, who lived not long after *Celſus*, as ſome imagine, his words are theſe: *Erit autem neta denarii unius pro Græca drachma; ſepta enim in libra denarii efficiuntur quatuor apud nos, quot drachmæ apud Græcos incurrunt.* [f] *Pliny* alſo confirms the ſame. *Miſcuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum, alii* (he means under the Emperors) *è pondere ſubtrahunt, cum ſit pallam efficiunt quatuor e libris ſignari.* Out of which words of his, and of *Scribonius Largus*, it will by a neceſſary conſequence be inferred, that the true weight of the *Denarius Conſularis* is the ſeventh part of an Ounce. For if we multiply twelve, the Number of the Ounces in the *Roman Libra* (as by all it is confeſt) by ſeven the Number of the *Denarii* of which the Ounce then conſiſted, the Sum will be LXXXIV *Denarii*; and ſo many, ſay *Scribonius* and *Pliny*, ought juſtly to be in the *Roman* Pound. And theſe are the only clear and poſitive Authorities that are to be found in Claſſical Authors; moſt of the Writings of the Ancients, *de ponderibus & menſuris*, having long ſince been loſt; or elſe thoſe few Fragments that are left, of *Cleopatra*, *Dioſcorides*, and of others, are ſo corrupted, that little Truth with any certainty can be collected. From whence it will by way of Corollary follow, that if either the *Denarius Conſularis* be given, the *Roman* Ounce, and *Libra*, in the ſame proportion will neceſſarily be thence deduced; or if the *Roman* Ounce, and *Libra* be given, the *Denarius* will as neceſſarily be concluded.

[d] Celſus, l. 5. c. 17.

[e] Scribonius Largus in præfatione.

[f] Plinius, l. 33. c. 9.

But before we farther treat of this Argument, we ſhall endeavour alſo to demonſtrate the *Denarius*, by the *Drachma Attica*. For *Scribonius* ſeems, and ſo do other Ancients, to make them equal. And therefore *Pliny* writes: [g] *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus*: Whereas the *Drachma Æginea* was much larger, this containing X ſuch *Obeli* as the *Attick* contained VI, and therefore the *Athenians* in hatred of the *Æginæans*, called it κραχμὴν ὀβελιαίαν, as [h] *Pollux* teſtifies. And here as we conſidered the *Denarius*, as *Nummus*, and as *Pondus*; ſo likewiſe muſt we take

[g] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34.

[h] Jul. Pol. l. 9. c. 6.

[x] Budæus, l. 1. de aſſe.

[y] Polyb. l. 2.

Greaves.

take the *Drachma Attica*, as *Nummus*, and as *Pondus*: In the profecution of both which, relatively to the *Denarius*, I ſhall inſiſt ſo much the longer, becauſe it is an Argument that hath ſcarce at all, or very perfunctorily been handled. The *Drachma*, as *Nummus*, was a Silver Coin in uſe amongſt the *Athenians*, (for I intend only to ſpeak of the *Drachma Attica*, for the ſame reaſon that [h] *Pliny* doth. *Vere enim Attici obſervatione utuntur medici)* and ſo it was the Meaſure of things vendible, as all Coins are: And as *Pondus*, ſo was it the Meaſure of their Gravity and Weight. Now the *Drachma*, as *Nummus*, paſſed in the eſtimation of the beſt Authors, both *Greek* and *Latine*, at the ſame Rate and Valuation as the *Denarius* did. And therefore, as often as the *Latines* are to expreſs the *Greek Drachma*, they render it by the *Denarius*; and on the contrary, the *Greeks* the *Denarius* by the *Drachma*. Thus what [i] *Tully* renders by the *Denarius*, *Dio* in his 45th Book expreſſeth by the *Drachma*. Their words, both ſpeaking of *Auguſtus*, are theſe, *Veteranos quique Caſilini, & Calatiæ ſunt* (as *Tully* relates) *perduxit ad ſuam ſententiam, nec mirum, quingenos denarios dat.* Καὶ ἔδωκεν ἑκάστοις τότε, ſaith [k] *Dio*, κ' πεντακοσίας δραχμάς. In like manner [l] *Pliny* writes, *Veniſſe murem ducentis nummis*, (that is, *Denariis*; for *Nummus* abſolutely put is often, tho' not always, taken for the *Denarius*, as on the contrary the *Denarius* is taken for *Nummus* in *Heſychius*, [n] *Caſilinum obſidente Annibale, eumque qui venditerat fame interiiſſe, emptorem vixiſſe annales tradant.* The ſame thing [m] *Valerius Maximus* reports in his 7th Book, and 6th Chapter, and [n] *Strabo* in his fifth Book; the former writing that it was ſold for 200 *Denarii*, and the latter that it was bought for 200 *Drachmæ*. To theſe Authorities I ſhall adjoin [o] *Cleopatra*, Τὸ Ἰταλικὸν δηνάριον ἔχει δραχμὰς δ'. *The* Italian Denarius *containeth one* Drachma: And [p] *A. Gellius*, *Luis myſias δραχμὰς ἢ τάλαντον popoſcit, hoc facit nummi noſtratis, denariùm decem millia.*

[h] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34.

[i] Cicer. 16. l. 5. Ep. ad Attic.

[k] Dio, l. 45.

[l] Plinius, l. 8. c. 57.

[n] Heſychius in voce δηνάριον.

[m] Valer. Max. l. 7. c. 6.

[n] Strabo, l. 5. Geogr.

[o] Fragmenta Cleopatræ.

[p] A. Gellius l. 1. c. 8. Noct. Att.

Theſe two thus paſſing the one for the other, being alſo at the firſt inſtitution much of the ſame fineneſs in reſpect of Silver, it muſt neceſſarily be admitted, either that they were exactly the ſame for weight, which is our next Enquiry, or elſe that they were not much different. For in comparing of Foreign Coins, the κολλυβισαὶ, or *Nummularii*, in ancient Times, muſt have taken the ſame Courſe, which our moſt knowing Bankers do practiſe now. Firſt, to reſpect the pureneſs and fineneſs of the Coins, whether they be alike *for the intrinſick*; and next, whether they have the ſame weight; and if they differ in either, or both of theſe, according to thoſe differences to proportion their exchanges. Thoſe other accidental Cauſes of the riſing and falling of Exchanges of Moneys, ſince they are meerly contingent, depending upon the Neceſſities either of Times, or Places, or Perſons, I purpoſely pretermit, as not ſo proper and eſſential to our Enquiry. As *for the extrinſick of Coins*, by which I mean the outward Form, or Character, and Inſcription of the Prince, or State, tho' this may raiſe the Valuation of them in thoſe Countries, which are ſubject to the Prince, or State, and leſſen them in thoſe which are out of their Dominions; yet this can produce no remarkable difference, more than what is uſually aſſigned by the Maſters of the Mint, for the Waſte in Coining, and for the Labour of the Work.

With theſe Cautions, if we ſhall examine the *Attick Drachma*, and by ſuch Writings of the Ancients, or by ſuch Coins as are extant, enquire their true Weight, we ſhall come to ſuch a preciſeneſs as may be hoped for in a Work of this nature. [p] *Suidas* tells us in the general, Δραχμὴ ἡ ὁλκὴ νομίσματός τινος. *The* Drachma *is the Weight of the Silver Money.* And [q] *Heſychius* more particularly informs us: Δραχμὴ τὸ ὄγδοον τῆς ἀγγίας. *The* Drachma *is the eighth part of the Ounce.* And [r] *Fannius* yet more diſtinctly writes:

[p] Suidas in voce δραχμή.

[q] Heſychius in voce δραχμή.

[r] Rhemn. Fann.

In ſcrupulis ternis drachmam, quo pondere doctis
Argenti facilis ſignatur pondus Athenis.

To which we may add [s] *Cleopatra*, Ἡ δραχμὴ ἔχει γραμμάτια γ'. ὀβελὸς ς'. Σεμισ. θ'. κεράτια ιβ'. χαλκοῦς μή. *The* Drachme *hath three* Scruples, *ſix* Oboli, *nine* Lupini, *eighteen* Siliquæ, *forty eight* Ereola. The [t] *Scholiaſt of Nicander* alſo makes the εἰδραχμον to be τὸ τέταρτον τῆς ἀγγίας, *The fourth part of the* [Attick] *Ounce.* In the ſame proportion are we to take thoſe other Silver *Athenian* Coins mentioned by [u] *Julius Pollux*, namely, the τρίδραχμον, which conſiſted of three Drachmes, the τέτρα-

[s] Fragmenta Cleopatræ.

[t] Scholiaſtes Nicandri.

[u] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

δραχμον,

δραχμον, or τέτραχμον, which by a Syncope is the same with the τέτραδραχμον, containing four Drachmes, or the half Ounce. Τέτραχμον, τέτραδραχμον, saith [y] *Hesychius*; tho' [z] *Ammonius* puts a distinction between them, τέτραχμον μὲν δ' ἐστὶ τὸ νόμισμα, τέτραδραχμον δ' τετσάρων δραχμῶν [ἄξιον]. This the *Greeks* also called σαῖλε, as [a] *Cleopatra*, and [b] *Epiphanius* witness, Ὁ σαῖλε, in *Cleopatra*, ἄλλα κ' δ'. καλεῖται δ' αὐτὸν τέτραδραχμον: *The Stater weighs four Drachms, this they call the Tetradrachme.* And this also may most clearly be collected out of [c] St. *Matthew*, where seeing the Original expresseth it more fully than our Translation, I shall recite the words as they are in the *Greek*: Ἐλθόντων δ' αὐτῶν εἰς Καπερναοὺμ, προσῆλθον οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες τῷ Πέτρῳ, καὶ εἶπον, ὁ διδάσκαλος ὑμῶν οὐ τελεῖ τὰ δίδραχμα; Which the Vulgar renders thus: *Et cum venissent Capernaum, accesserunt qui didrachma accipiebant, ad Petrum, & dixerunt ei, Magister vester non solvit didrachma?* And our Translation thus: *And when they were come to Capernaum, they that received Tribute-money, came to Peter, and said, Doth not your Master pay Tribute?* In the 27th Verse of the same Chapter, our Saviour answers: Ἵνα μὴ σκανδαλίζωμεν αὐτοὺς, πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν βάλε ἄγκιστρον, καὶ τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα πρῶτον ἰχθὺν ἆρον, καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, εὑρήσεις στατῆρα. ἐκεῖνον λαβὼν δὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ. *Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the Sea, and cast an Hook, and take up the Fish that first cometh up: And when thou hast opened his Mouth, thou shalt find a Piece of Money: That take, and give unto them for me, and thee.* This, which our Translation calls *Tribute-money*, in the 24th Verse, is called in the Original δίδραχμον, or *two Drachmes*; and so much was paid by the Pole, according to [d] *Josephus*, for each particular Person. Our Saviour therefore paying for himself, and St. *Peter*, in the 27th Verse, bids him to give a *Stater*; that is, a τέτραδραχμον, or four Drachmes; namely, the double to the δίδραχμον, which our Translation renders too generally by *a Piece of Money*: But the [e] *Persian* Translation interprets it distinctly by four Drachmes: *Thou shalt find four Drachmes in it; that take, and give for thee, and me.*

With this *Attick Tetradrachme*, or Silver *Stater*, the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* שקל *Shekel*, that is, *Sicle*, did also agree. For if we give Credit to *Josephus*, who in [f] *Scaliger*'s Esteem is, *Diligentissimus & φιλαλήθεσ & omnium scriptorum*, we shall find them to be the same. [g] Ὁ σίκλος νόμισμα ἑβραίων ἴσον Ἀττικὰς δίχα δραχμὰς τέσσαρας. *The Sicle is a sort of Money amongst the Hebrews, that contains four Attick* Drachmes. The same proportion is evidently collected out of [h] *Philo*, where for L Shekel's mentioned in the Law, he renders CC Drachmes, and for XXX an CXX [i] *Hesychius* likewise testifies as much, Σίκλος τέτραδραχμον Ἀττικόν, *The Sicle is* [in valuation] *the* Attick Tetradrachme: And [k] St. *Hierome*, the ableſt of the Fathers in the Jewish Antiquities, * *Siclus, id est Stater, habet quatuor drachmas Atticas.*

[y] Hesychius in voce τεσσαρακοντα. [z] Ammonius περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων. [a] Fragmenta Cleopatræ. [b] Epiphanius, περὶ σταθμῶν. [c] Mat. c. 17. v. 24. [d] Josephus, l. 7. Bell. Jud. c. 27. [e] Evangelia Pers. MSS. Eruditissimi Viri D. Pocockii. [f] Scaliger. in Eusebium. lib. de Emend. Temp. [g] Josephus, l. 3. Antiq. Judaic. [h] Philo de decalogo. [i] Hesychius in voce σίκλος. [k] Hieronym. in Ezek. 3. * Such Sicles, I conceive, were those τελακοσια ἀργυρια, *the* XXX *Pieces of Silver*, which were given to *Judas*, as the Reward of his Treason. *Eusebius* relating the Story expressly, terms them *Silver Staters*, which an *Hebrew* would have termed either Silver Shekels. or absolutely כסף *Cesef*: This in the Scripture Phrase being frequently put for the Shekel, and therefore the *Syriack* Translation of the New Testament reads it ܣܠܥ Whence *Tremellius* hath this Annotation: *Observant Hebræi, ubicunque in Scripturis argenteorum sit mentio, non expressâ numismatis argentei specie, intelligi siclum sanctuarii æquivalentem quatuor denariis.* Some modern Writers imagine them to have been but XXX *Denarii*; but *Baronius* contends that they were, *vel librarum argenti* XXX, *vel aureorum cyonatorum trecentorum*: And *Arias Montanus*, that they were either XXX *Libræ*, or XXX *Talenta*. The most probable Opinion is, that this Sum was neither so great as *Baronius* and *Montanus* make it, nor yet so little as some Moderns would have it, but between both, and that is XXX Shekels. *M. Casaubone* in his Exercitations upon *Baronius*, hath a probable Conjecture to strengthen this Assertion: *Non enim temere factum videtur, quod filius Dei qui seje exinanivit, assumptâ servi formâ*, Phil. 2. 7. *Tuginta argenteis venderetur, sicut lege Dei mancipia totidem siclis æstimantur.* Exod. 21. 32. *& apud Josephum, lib. 4 c. 8. Facit hoc quoque non parum ad Domini abjectionem declarandum, quando caput ejus tam parvi æstimatum est.* A small Price I confess, XXX Shekels being less than XV of our ordinary Crowns. But *Hierome* upon St. *Matthew* thought it to be as little, who thus writes, as M. *Casaubone* renders him, *Infelicem Judam non cogitasse quanti pretii rem venderet. Sed Christum mundi Salvatorem, Dei filium, ceu vile aliquod mancipium minimo pretio addixisse.* Now the Price of a Servant we find in *Exodus* to have been XXX Shekels.

[l] Suidas in voce δραχμή. [m] Hesychius in voce δραχμή. [n] Rhemn. Fann.

These Testimonies are so positive, and from so good Authors (to which also I might adjoin [o] *Epiphanius* in his Book περὶ σταθμῶν, did I not conceive him to be full of Errors in that Discourse) that I cannot sufficiently wonder at that strange Opinion of [p] *Grotius*, and some others, introduced out of affectation of Novelty, of a double Shekel, the one sacred, equal to the Tetradrachme, the other profane, weighing the Didrachme: That used in the Sanctuary, in this in Civil Commerce, without any solid Foundation in the Writ, or without any probability of Reason, that

[o] Epiphanius περὶ σταθμῶν. [p] Grotius de multiplici sicli, & talento.

Greaves.

in any wife State, the Prince and People ſhould have one ſort of Coin, and the Prieſts ſhould have another: And that this of the Sanctuary ſhould be in a double proportion to the other, and yet that both ſhould concur in the ſame Name. It is true there is often mention in the " Scriptures of the *Weights of the Sanctuary*, not as if theſe were different from what were uſed vulgarly in the City; but becauſe the Standards, and Originals, the Rules of Commutative Juſtice, and therefore of an high and ſacred uſe, were kept (as it is more than probable) in the Sanctuary; for God himſelf makes this one of the Prieſt's Offices, ° *ut ſint ſuper omne pondus atque menſuram.* And it is no wonder that God, who ſo much hated a ᵖ *falſe Balance*, and a *falſe Meaſure*, ſhould commit the Charge of theſe to the Prieſts, as things moſt holy; ſince the Heathens themſelves out of a reverent eſtimation of them, placed them in their Temples, as appears by that Inſcription of the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian* before alledged, and now extant in *Rome*; and by theſe Verſes of ᵠ *Fannius*, treating of the *Roman* Meaſures:

" And all thy eſtimation ſhall be according to the Shekel of the Sanctuary. *Levit.* 27. 25. *Vet. vulg. ſiclo Sanctuarii ponderabitur.*

° 1 Paral. 23. 29.

ᵖ Prov. 11. 1. Item c. 20. ver. 10, 23.

ᵠ Rhemn. Fann. carmina de pond. & menſuris.

Amphora fit cubus, quam, ne violare liceret,
Sacravêre Jovi Tarpeio in monte Quirites.

And afterwards, in the Times of Chriſtianity, they were kept in Churches, as it is to be ſeen in the ʳ *Authenticks of Juſtinian*; where he commands, that the Weights and Meaſures ſhould be kept, *in ſacratiſſimâ cujuſvis civitatis eccleſiâ.* As for thoſe Allegations taken out of the Interpretation of the LXX, whereby *Griſepſius*, and others, go about to prove a double Shekel, they are all well, and ſolidly, in my Judgment, anſwered by ˢ *Villalpandus*, and others, to whom I ſhall refer the Judicious Reader: For I intend not here to ſpeak of the *Hebrew* Shekel, or *Attick* Drachme, more than what may ſerve to illuſtrate the *Denarius*.

ʳ Authentic. collat. 9. de collatoribus tit. 11. novel. 128. c. 15.

ˢ Villalp. de apparatu urbis ac templi, par. 2. lib. 2. diſp. 4. c. 28. Item par. 2. l. 2. diſp. 4.

Seeing therefore, as we have proved, that the *Attick Drachma* was equal in the notion and acception of the Ancients, to the *Denarius*: If therefore an entire, either *Attick* Δραχμή, or Δι-δράχμον, or Τετράδραχμον, were found, we might thence conclude the *Denarius*. Again, ſince the *Hebrew* Shekel hath likewiſe been demonſtrated to be equal to the *Attick* Τετράδραχμον, and this *Attick* Τετράδραχμον to four *Denarii*, by the common and received * Axiome of Geometricians, we may conclude, that the *Hebrew* Shekel was alſo equal to four *Denarii*; that is, that four *Roman Denarii*, the *Attick* Τετράδραχμον, and the *Hebrew* שקל were all reſpectively equal to one another. If therefore an *Hebrew* Shekel, fair and entire, were found, we might as neceſſarily thence infer the *Denarius*, as by the Τετράδραχμον.

* *Quæ eidem aqualia, ſunt aqualia inter ſe.* Euclid. ax. 1. l. 1.

We ſhall endeavour by both theſe to enquire out the truth, and firſt by the *Attick Tetradrachmes* in Silver: Becauſe of theſe I have ſeen and weighed many, ſome of them very fair and perfect, and found at many ſeveral places, as *Athens*, *Conſtantinople*, *Tenedos*, and other parts; where the Art of Counterfeiting Coins is not as yet crept in, and where it is to little purpoſe to practiſe it: Seeing in thoſe places there are few ſo curious as to buy them, or that will give a greater valuation than what they are worth in the *intrinſick*. Wherefore having in *Italy*, and elſewhere, peruſed many hundred *Denarii Conſulares*, I find by a frequent and exact trial, the beſt of them to amount to LXII Grains *Engliſh*, ſuch as I have carefully taken from the Standards of the Troy, or Silver Weights, kept in the Tower in *London*, and in Goldſmiths-Hall, and in the Univerſity of *Oxford*: On the other ſide weighing many *Attick Tetradrachmes*, with the Image of *Pallas* on the forepart, and of the *Noctua* on the Reverſe: I find the beſt of theſe to be CCLXVIII Grains; that is, each particular Drachme LXVII Grains.

And that no Man may doubt whether theſe were true *Athenian Tetradrachmes*, we are to obſerve, that the Ancients uſed ſeveral Impreſſes on their Coins, by which they might be known and diſtinguiſhed. And therefore *Argentum ſignatum*, in the Deſcription of *Quintius* his Triumph over *Philip*, is by ᵗ *Livy* oppoſed to *Argentum infectum*, which ᵘ *Pollux* terms ἄσημον, as ˣ *Tully* calls the former ſort, *Factum atque ſignatum*, and the ʸ *Greeks*, ἐξέλυπωμένον. Thus the *Denarius* had the Impreſs of the *Biga*, or *Quadriga*, as *Pliny* informs us: And therefore ᶻ *Livy* uſes the word *Bigati* for *Denarii*, and ᵃ *Pliny* both *Bigati* and *Quadrigati*. The Braſs Coins of the *Romans* were thus marked: * *Nota æris fuit*

ᵗ Livius, l. 34.

ᵘ Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

ˣ Cicer. 6. Verr.

ʸ Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

ᶻ Liv. l. 34.

ᵃ Plinius, l. 33. c. 3.

* Plin. ib.

fuit ex alterâ parte Janus geminus, ex alterâ roſtrum navis, in triente vero & quadrante rates. The *Perſians* ſtamped on the Reverſe an [b] Archer: Which occaſioned that Conceit of *Ageſilaus*, mentioned by * *Plutarch*, *That the King of* Perſia *had beaten him back with ten thouſand Archers*; when with ſo much Money he had corrupted the *Grecians*. The *Carthaginians* on the one ſide ſigned the Face of a Woman, (I ſuppoſe in Memory of Queen *Dido*) on the Reverſe the Head of an Horſe, or in *Virgil*'s Expreſſion, * *Caput acris equi*, both which I have ſeen. The *Peloponneſians* had the Impreſs of a Tortoiſe on their Money, whence that witty *Greek* Proverb took its Original: [c] Τὰν ἀρεϛὰν, ἢ τὰν ζερίφω νικᾶνλι χελῶναι. The Money at *Tenedos* had on the one ſide a double Hatchet, and on the other ſide two Heads, one of a Man, and another of a Woman, ariſing from the ſame Stem, or Neck, in Memory of a Law made by the King of that Iſland (whom * *Heraclides* names Τέννης, placing him ancienter than the *Trojan* War), That a Man and a Woman, taken in Adultery, ſhould have their Heads ſtruck off with an Hatchet. In which kind I met with two very rare and ancient Coins in Silver, at *Conſtantinople*, both made with a very fair Relevy, and both agreeing in the ſame Image and Inſcription; the one weighed leſs than the *Attick Tetradrachme*, the other wanted ſomewhat of the *Drachme*. And becauſe the Coin hath not, I think, been ſeen by any Antiquary, and the Hiſtory is remarkable, I ſhall here expreſs the Figure of the faireſt of theſe.

And the Hiſtory I ſhall relate out of *Heraclides*: Νόμον δέ τινα φασι τὸ βασιλέα Τέννη ζραφῆναι, εἴτις λαῖοι μειχίῳ ἁλοιλέινειν τῶτον πελέκει, αἰλόνῳ ὃ τὸ ιμὲ αὐτὸ, καὶ τὸ λαβόνῳ ἑρμῆι τὸ βασιλέα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀποκρίναϛαι πῷ νόμῳ χρῆϛαι καὶ ζῆ τῶτο τὸ νομίσμαῳ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ θάτερα πέλεκυς κεχάραϰ), ἐπὶ θάτερα ὃ ὀζ ἑνὸς αὐχένῳ πρόσωπον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικός. καὶ ἐκ τότε λέγε) ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποτέμνειν, τὸ ἀποκεκόφθαι Τενεδίῳ πελέκει. *They ſay King* Tennes *made a Law, That if one took another in Adultery, he ſhould kill him with an Hatchet. His Son being found ſo, and he that took him, asking the King, What he ſhould do? He anſwered, Execute the Law: And for this Reaſon on one ſide of his Money there was an Hatchet imprinted; on the other, the Face of a Man and of a Woman, ariſing out of one Neck. From hence it is ſaid of ſevere Athens, to be cut with a* Tenedian *Hatchet.* For which exemplary Juſtice thoſe of *Tenedos*, as it is probable, Deified King *Tenes*. * *Tully* writes, *Tenedii Tenem* [*Deum appellant*]: And again, *Tenem apud Tenedios putant eſſe ſanctiſſimum Deum, ac eorum urbem condidiſſe.* Where his Name is truer writ than in *Heraclides*: For the Coin hath only a ſingle *N.* and ſo hath [f] *Euſtathius*.

The *Money of Chios*, as *Julius Pollux* witneſſes, had the *Effigies*, or Reſemblance of *Homer*; no doubt in Honour of his Memory; tho' [g] *Herodotus* relates, that whilſt he was living he found at firſt but cold Entertainment in that Iſland. *Theſeus* the tenth King of the *Athenians*, ſigned his Money with the Impreſs of an Ox: Hence that Proverb, Βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ βέβηκεν. This as [h] *Julius Pollux* teſtifies, was the Διδραχμον. Who farther adds, Τὸ ὃ παλαιὸν τῦτο ἦν Ἀθηναίοις νόμισμα, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο βοῦς ὅτι βοῦν εἶχεν ἐγλεγλυπωμένον. εἰδέναι ὃ ὡτὸ καὶ Ὁμηρον νομίζουσιν ἐπόντα, ἑκατόμβοι ἐννεαβοίων. καὶ μὴν κἀν τοῖς Δραϰοντείοις νόμοις ἔϛιν ἀποτίνειν ἑκατόβοιον, καὶ ἐν τῇ παρὰ Δηλίοις θεωρίᾳ τὸ κήρυκα κηρύττειν φασὶν ὁπότε ὠνὴ ἀνεία τινὶ ἐμβόδιζε, ὅτι ἀποδήσουζ) ὡπῷ ποσᾶτοι βόες. καὶ δίδραχ καθ' ἕκαϛον βοῦν δύο δραχμὰς ἀττικάς. *This was an ancient Coin amongſt the* Athenians, *and was called* Βοῦς, *becauſe it had the Figure of an Ox inſtamped. They imagine that* Homer *knew this, when he ſaid, nine Hecatombs of Oxen*; *and alſo in the Laws of* Draco, *it is to pay the Mulct of ten Oxen. And they ſay, that at the Solemn Shew at* Delos, *the Crier, when any Gift is to be given, cries ſo many Oxen ſhall be given, and for every Ox ſo many* Attick Didrachmes *are given.* The ſame [i] Author writes, that the *Attick Tetradrachme* was ſtamped with the Face of *Minerva*; and he might have added, with the *Noctua* on the Reverſe. This * *Eubulus* pleaſantly calls Παλλαδόῳ ὠὸν, *Minervæ pullum.* The Διώβολον had the Face of *Jupiter*, it may be it is an Error in *Pollux* for *Pallas*, and on the other ſide the *Noctua*. The Τεμωβόλον had on the one ſide *Jupiter*, according to * *Pollux*, (I

[b] Plutarchus in Artexerxe. Τὸ γὸ Περσικὸν νόμισμα τοξότω ἐπώνυμον ἦρξεν.
* Plut. Ageſil.
* Virg. 1. Æneid.
[c] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
* Heraclides, περὶ πολιτειῶν.
[d] Heraclides περὶ πολιτειῶν.
[e] Livius, l. 34.
[f] Euſtathii παρεκβολαὶ εἰς τὸ α' ῥαψοδ. Ιλιαδ.
[g] Herodot. in Vita Homeri.
[h] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
[i] Jul. Poll. ibid.
* In Antichite.
* Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
[k] Cicer. de Natura deorum.
[l] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
[m] Livius, l. 34.
[n] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
[o] Cicer. 6. Verr.
[p] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.
[q] Liv. l. 34.
[r] Plinius, l. 33. c. 3.
[s] Plin. ib.

Greaves. conceive it to be a Miſtake for *Pallas*, or *Minerva*) on the other ſide two *Noctuæ*. becauſe it was the double to the [k] Διώβολον. From the *Diobolum*, [k] *Plautus* uſes the Term *Diobolaris Servorum Sordidulorum, Scorta Diobolaria*, which [l] *Feſtus* interprets thus, *Meretrices diobolares appellatæ, ex eo quòd duobus obolis ducerentur.* To which I may adjoin, out of ſuch ancient Coins as I have ſeen, that the *Triobolum* (whence that Phraſe of [m] *Plautus, Homo Trioboli*, and of the *Greeks*, ἀξιῶ τριωβόλου) which by [n] *Pollux* is called the ἡμιέκτεμον, had the Face of *Pallas* on the one ſide, and the *Noctua* on the other; and ſo likewiſe had the *Obolus*, and *Drachma* of ſuch as I peruſed; and all of them on the Reverſe the Inſcription AΘE. And I think I may ſafely add, that on ſuch Coins as we find the *Noctua*, with a deep Relevy, we may conclude them to be *Athenian* Coins. [o] *Plutarch* is of the ſame Opinion in the Life of *Lyſander*, where he diſcourſes of *Gylippus*, a Commander, as famous for defeating the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, as infamous for ſtealing the Silver conſigned to him by *Lyſander*, for the City *Sparta*. *When he arrived*, ſaith *Plutarch*, *at* Sparta, *he hid the Silver that he had ſtoln, under the Tiles of his Houſe, and delivered into the Hands of the* Ephori *the Bags, ſhewing them the Seals* [entire]: *Which being opened, and the Money told, they found the Sums to diſagree from the Labels: Wherewith being troubled, a Servant of* Gylippus, *in obſcure Terms, intimated to them, That under the Tiles of his Maſter's Houſe, there were hid many* Noctuæ, or Owls; ἦν γὰρ (ὡς ἔοικε) τὸ χάραγμα τῶν πολιτῶν τότε νομίσματι, ὅθεν καὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας γλαῦκας. *For the greateſt part (as it ſeems) of the Money then had the Stamp of the* Noctua, *by Reaſon of the* Athenians: Who not long before, as *Thucydides*, and the beſt Hiſtorians of thoſe Times ſhew, were the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing State amongſt the *Grecians*.

[k] Plautus in Pœnulo.

[l] Sextus Pompeius Feſtus de Verb. ſignif.

[m] Plautus in Pœnulo.

[n] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

[o] Plutarchus in Lyſandro.

Having therefore had the Opportunity to have bought, or elſe the Favour to have weighed many fair and perfect *Tetradrachmes*, found at remote places, with the *Pallas Galeata* on the one ſide, and the *Noctua*, with the Inſcription AΘE on the Reverſe, where E being placed for H, proves the Antiquity of them. (For the *Attick*s at the firſt uſed not H, but only E, for both E and H) I find by the beſt of theſe (to reaſſume what I ſaid before) that the *Attick Tetradrachme* is 268 Grains, and the *Drachme* 67 of our *Troy*, or *Engliſh* Standard. Which may farther be confirmed by an *Attick Drachme* of mine own, found in the *Black Sea*, with this Inſcription, AΘE TINAPNIKA APXE; and by a * Τεμιώβολον, or *Semidrachme*, bought by me at *Alexandria*; that weighing near 66 Grains, and this 30 and better: The Face of *Minerva*, either by uſe, or time, being a little diminiſhed in both; but yet ſo little, that they cannot have loſt above two or three Grains of their primitive weight. And as this ſingle *Attick Drachme* of mine, is much to be valued by Antiquaries for the weight, and therefore was deſired by the learned *Peireskius*: So is the Inſcription, TINAPNIKA APXE, no leſs worth Conſideration, for the Explication of a place in [p] *Livy*; who deſcribing the Naval Triumph of *L. Æmilius*, writes thus: *Pecunia tranſlata nequaquam tanta pro ſpecie regii triumphi. Tetracina Attica* CCXXXIII *Millia*, *Ciſtophori* CCCXXII. *Mil.* Where [q] *Budæus*, and *Rhodiginus*, inſtead of *Tetracina*, read *Tetradrachma. Tetracinum enim quid ſit, nemo ut arbitror novit*, ſaith *Budæus*. I would rather read it, as the Coin doth, *Tinarnika*; this having almoſt the ſame Letters with *Tetracina*, which by the Scribes, I ſuppoſe, have been inverted. Neither is there any Reaſon, why *Livy* might not as well mention in this Triumph, *Attica Tinarnica*, as *Tetradrachma*; theſe being the fourth part of the *Tetradrachme*, and therefore better agreeing with his Deſcription: *Pecunia tranſlata nequaquam tanta pro ſpecie regii triumphi*: And alſo better agreeing with the *Ciſtophori* he here mentions: A ſort of Coin about half of theſe *Attica Tinarnica*, whereas the *Tetradrachma* were eight times as great. For [r] *Feſtus* expreſſing the *Talentum Euboicum*, renders it by 7500 *Ciſtophori*, and by 4000 *Denarii*, or *Attick Drachmes*, that is CIↃ *Tetradrachmes. Euboicum talentum nummo Græco ſeptem millium & quingentorum ciſtoporum eſt: Noſtro quatuor millium denariorum.*

* I have ſince peruſed a fair *Athenian* Τεμιώβολον, of my very worthy and learned Friend, *John Maſſham*, Eſq; weighing compleatly thirty three Grains *Engliſh*. As alſo another of Sir *Tho. Roe*'s, together with an Ὀβολὸς of his, weighing eleven Grains.

[p] Livius, l. 37.

[q] Bud. l. 2. de aſſe. Rhodigin. lect. Antiq. l. 10. c. 2.

[r] Sextus Pompeius Feſtus de Verb. ſignif.

And as theſe Teſtimonies above alledged are beyond all Exceptions, ſo the *Gold Coins of the* Grecians, which I have examined, do moſt evidently prove

prove this proportion assigned to the *Attick Drachme*. Which that we may the better understand, we are to observe what proportion the Valuation of the Gold of those Times had to the Silver; and next, what proportion it had in respect of weight.

[a] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 3. For the first, [a] *Julius Pollux*, in very perspicuous Terms, puts it down: Τὸ δ' χρυσίον ὅτι ἡ δεξυρὶς δεκαπλάσιον ἦν σαφῶς ἂν τις ἐκ τῆ Μενάνδρε παροιμιαθείη μάθη. *That the Gold was in a tenfold proportion to the Silver, one may evidently learn out of* Menander's Paracatathece. [b] The *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* implies as much: Εἰσὶ δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθῆρες οἱ Δαρεικοί. ἰσάνδρο δ' ἴκασι δὲ αὐτῷ, ὅπερ ὁ ἀργὸς τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἀνομαζόμενος χρυσοῦς, οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείε ἢ Ξέρξε πεφθὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρε τινὸς παλαιοτέρε βασιλέως ὠνομάσθη. Λέγουσι δέ τινες δύναδι τὸν Δαρεικὸν δεκαπλᾶς δεξυρὶς εἶκοσιν. οἷς τὰς πόσις Δαρεικὰς δύναδι μνᾶν δεξυρὶς. *The* Daricks *are Golden* Staters, *each of them is worth as much as that which is named by the* Attick *the* Χρυσοῦς. *They are called so not from* Darius *the Father of* Xerxes, *but from another King more ancient than he. Some say that the* Darick *is valued at* XX Drachmes *of Silver, so that* V Daricks *are worth a* Mina *of Silver*. For the *Attick* Μνᾶ, or *Mina*, containing an hundred *Drachmes* in weight, as it is very clear out of [c] *Plinius*, [d] *Pollux*, and others. *Mina* (saith *Pliny*) *quam nostri minam vocant, pendet drachmas Atticas centum.* And *Pollux*, Ἡ μνᾶ δ' παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ἑκατὸν ἔχει δεξυρὰς Ἀττικάς: *The* Mina *with the* Athenians *containeth an hundred* Attick Drachmes, and the Χρυσοῦς Δαρεικὸς, or Στατὴρ Χρυσοῦς of *Darius*, consisting of two *Drachmes* in weight, as we shall presently prove, it will necessarily follow, that the proportion of the Δεξυρὶς Χρυσίε, was to the δεξυρὶς δεξυρὶς, *in deculpâ ratione*: And therefore that five *Daricks*, or ten *Drachmes* of Gold, were equal in Valuation to an hundred *Drachmes* in Silver, that is, to the Μνᾶ. The same proportion may be collected out of [e] *Polybius*, when the *Romans* upon a Sum of Money to be received, concluded a Peace with the *Ætolians*, Ἀντὶ τρίτε μέρες τὴ δεξυρὶς χρυσίε, χρυσίον ἐὰν βέλωνται διδόντες τὴ δέκα μνῶν ἀργυρίε, χρυσίε μνᾶν. Which words [f] *Livy* renders thus: *Pro argento si aurum dare mallent, dare convenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus aureus valeret.* This being granted, as certainly of necessity it must, I would correct that place of [g] *Hesychius* concerning the Δεξυρὶς χρυσίε, and read it thus: Δεξυρὶς ἡ χρυσίε ὁλκὴ νομίσμασι εἰς ἀργυρίε λόγον δεξυρίδ ι', and not Διὸ δεξυρίδ ι'. as it is in the Printed Copies. And by this of *Hesychius* I would supply he defect of [h] *Suidas*, who writes: Δεξυρὶς ὁλκὴ νομισμασι εἰς ἀργυρίε δεξυρὰς ι'. and make it thus, Δεξυρὶς ἡ χρυσίε ὁλκὴ νομίσμασι εἰς ἀργυρίε λόγον δεξυρὰς ι'. For without the addition of χρυσίε, and λόγον, there is no sense: And I believe *Suidas* took these very words out of *Hesychius*.

[b] Scholiastes Aristophanis.

[c] Plinius, l. 21. c. 34.

[d] Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 3.

[e] Polybii ἐκλογαὶ περὶ πρεσβειῶν, c. 28. Ex Bibliotheca Fulvii Ursini. Antv. 1582.

[f] Livius, l. 38. πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

[g] Zonaras Greaves.

[h] Hesychius in voce δεξυρὶς.

[h] Suidas in voce δεξυρὶς.

Having thus found the proportion that the δεξυρὶς χρυσίε had to the Silver, our next Enquiry is, How many of these *Drachmes* in weight the χρυσοῦς, or χρυσοῦς σταθὴρ, or *Aureus* contained. *Julius Pollux* gives us in this particular the best, and most positive Information of any, ὁ δ' χρυσοῦς σταθὴρ δύο εἶχε δεξυρὰς Ἀττικάς. *The Golden* Stater [or Aureus,] *contains two* Attick Drachmes. The same is confirmed by [i] *Hesychius*: Πολέμαρχος φησὶ δωδεκαδ τὸ χρυσοῦν πρὸς τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς δεξυρὰς δύο· τὸ δ' χρυσὸ δεξυρὰ νομίσμασι εἰς ἀργυρίε, δεξυρὰς δέκα. Polemarchus *says, that the* Aureus *amongst the* Athenians *contains two* Drachmes, *and that the* Drachme *of Gold is worth ten* Drachmes *of Silver*. And to this of *Pollux* and *Hesychius*, all the *Aurei* of the ancient *Grecians*, which have passed through my Hands, do very well correspond. Now these *Aurei* as they had several Impresses upon them, so had they several Names, by which they are distinguished. For they were either Ἀττικοὶ, or Δαρεικοὶ, or Φιλίππειοι, or Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, or the like; all which we may prove by *Xenophon*, * *Harpocratio*, the *Scholiast of Aristophanes*, and others, to have been equal unto two *Attick Drachmes*, and therefore respectively equal to one another. Neither is this much to be wondred at, that the *Grecians*, and *Persians*, tho' at Enmity amongst themselves, yet should agree in the *Aurei*; seeing that in our Times, the *Venetian Chequeen*, the *Barbary Ducat*, the *Ægyptian* and *Turkish Sherif*, are almost all of the same pureness in respect of the Gold, and not differing above a Grain

[i] Hesychius in voce χρυσοῦς.

* Λέγουσι δέ τινες δωδεκαδ ἡ Δαρεικὸν δεξυρὰς δεκαπλᾶς κ (as *Jos. Scaliger* rightly corrects the Printed Copies, which render it ἡ or ὁλκὴ) εἰς πόσιν Δαρεικὰς δωδεκαδ μνᾶν δεξυρίδ. Harpocr. Τετράδραχμοι Δαρεικοὶ Xenophonti sunt δέκα τάλαντα. Talentum autem 600 Drachmæ. Ergo Δαρεικοὶ sunt 20. Drachmæ. Scal. de re num.

Grain in the weight. Which difference we may alſo allow to thoſe of the Ancients, without any prejudice to our Enquiry. Concerning theſe *Aurei*, or Golden *Staters*, the Obſervation of * *Julius Pollux* is worth our Conſideration: Καὶ εἰ μὲ Δαρεικοὶ νομίζοιτο σαλίκες, εἰ δ᾽ Φιλίππειοι εἰ δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, χρυσοῦ πάντως ἦσαν, καὶ εἰ μὲ χρυσᾶ, ἅπερ παρεσκεύαζε ὁ σαλίκης, εἰ δ᾽ σαλίκης ἅπερ ἀναγκαίως ὁ χρυσᾶς. *Of the* Staters *ſome were denominated from* Darius, *ſome from* Philip, *ſome from* Alexander, *and were all of Gold. And when you ſay the* Aureus, *the* Stater *is underſtood; but if you ſay the* Stater, *the* Aureus *is not always meant.* And this is moſt true; for the χρυσᾶς, or *Aureus*, (I ſpeak not here of the *Aureus Romanus*, this being ſomewhat leſs than theſe mentioned by *Pollux*) did always imply the σαλίκης, but the σαλίκης did not always infer the *Aureus*: The *Stater* being more general, ſignifying as well the *Argenteus*, as the *Aureus*, and that was double to this; the *Stater Argenteus* being four *Drachmes*, as we proved before, and therefore the ſame with the *Tetradrachme*, and the *Aureus* two *Drachmes*, and therefore equal in weight to the *Didrachme*. Wherefore every *Aureus* was rightly called a *Stater*, but every *Stater* could not rightly be called an *Aureus*.

* Jul. Poll. l. 9. c. 6.

From theſe *Aurei* then, or χρυσοῖ σαλίκες, we may deduce the Silver *Attick Drachme*, if we either had the Δαρεικοὶ, ſome of which to this Day are found in *Perſia*; or if we had the Φιλίππειοι, or the Ἀλεξάνδρειοι. To paſs by the Δαρεικοὶ, becauſe I have not peruſed any of them, and to ſpeak only of the Φιλίππειοι and Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, of which there are many extant.

Concerning the Φιλίππειοι * *Snellius* writes thus: *Philippi nummum unicum, & Alexandri Macedonum, ſolertiſſimus veterum nummorum æſtimator Nicolaus Rockoxius poſſidet, utrumque eodem pondere granorum* 179. Now CLXXIX Grains of Gold in *Holland*, ſuch as *Snellius* uſed, are anſwerable to an hundred thirty four Grains *Engliſh* and an half. Near which proportion I have obſerved two others, with the Inſcription ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, excepting only a Grain or two.

* Snellius de re nummaria.

As for the Ἀλεξάνδρειοι, I find the weight of one of the faireſt for Impreſſion, and Character, I think, in the World, which I bought at *Alexandria*, with the Image and Inſcription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, to be exactly of *Engliſh* Grains 133 ½, and another at *Conſtantinople* 133, and in the ſame proportion ſeveral others. With which comparing one of mine Honoured and Learned friend, *John Marſham*, Eſq, I find his a Grain defective: And weighing ſince ſome others, out of that choice and rare Κειμήλιον of ancient Coins, collected by the Noble Sir *Simonds D'Ewes*, Knight Baronet, I obſerved two of his to exceed 133 by ½ a Grain.

Wherefore I may conclude (allowing only half a Grain for ſo much wanting by time, or by the Mint) from the *Aureus* being double to the *Attick Drachme*, that it hath been rightly aſſigned by me to be LXVII Grains: And from this with thoſe Limitations above mention'd, I may conclude the *Denarius Conſularis*, (which is our principal Enquiry) ſeeing *Galen*, *l.* 8. *c.* 3. *de Compoſitione Medicam.* According to the *Latine* manner of diviſion, ſpeaking of an Antidote preſcribed by *Aſclepiades*, whereof the *Doſis* was to be one *Drachme*, or *Denarius*, writes thus: Ἥξεμαι δ᾽ λέγειν μόνου δραχμὴν δεῦρ᾽ ἄν, ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ὅλου δραχμοῦ λέγωμεν· ἅπασι τοῖς νεωτέροις ἰατροῖς οὕτω ὀνομάζειν, ἄλλο δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς δοκεῖν ἡ τὴν πρᾶγμα δηλοῦν φύσει. ἀναγκάζει. προσῆκεν δ᾽ ἴσως μὲ δραχμὴν λέγωμεν νῦν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἅπασιν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι δηνάριον ὀνομάζουσιν. *I ſuppoſe, that he means the Silver Drachme, for ſo all the later Phyſicians are wont to call it; neither will the nature of the thing ſuffer us to underſtand any other. And it is manifeſt, that in ſuch things as we all now name the* Drachme, *the* Romans *name the* Denarius.

Galenus, l. 8. d. compoſit. medicam.

The *Denarius* alſo, as we proved before out of *Philo*, *Joſephus*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*, may be inferred by the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* Shekel: The Shekel, by the joint Teſtimony of all of them, being equal in Valuation to the *Attick Stater Argenteus*, or *Tetradrachme*, and the *Attick Tetradrachme*, as we have ſhewed, to four *Denarii Conſulares*: If therefore an *Hebrew* or *Samaritan* Shekel in Silver, fair, and not impaired, were found, we might by this as well diſcover the *Denarius*, as by the *Tetradrachme*, or the *Aureus*. And here I muſt confeſs I have not ſeen ſo many perfect and entire, with the *Samaritan* Characters, which certainly are the beſt and trueſt, (for thoſe with the later Characters, invented, as ſome ſuppoſe, by *Eſdras*, are moſt of them counterfeit) as to give my ſelf ſatisfaction.

faction. For tho' I have perused that of *Arias Montanus*, now in the University of *Oxford*, which he describes in his Tract *De Siclo*, and from whence he deduces the proportion of the *Hebrew* Shekel; yet to speak the truth, there is no trust to be given to it: Not but that the Coin is very ancient, and the Inscription upon it in *Samaritan* Characters well made; but the sides of it have been so filed away, that it hath very much lost of the true weight: For I find it to be scarce the weight of Twenty-pence of our *English* Standard. Whereas *Montanus*, if he made his Observation exactly, equals it to almost four *Spanish* Rials, or to four *Roman Julio's*; both which exceed two of our *English* Shillings. So that till such time as I may procure out of the East, (whither I have often sent) some perfect Shekels, I must be content to take up the Relations of others. And here I shall begin with *Moses Nehemani Gerundensis*, a Jew, a Learned Expositor of the *Pentateuch*; who, as *Arias Montanus* tells us, flourished in *Catalonia* above 400 Years since. His words, as *Montanus* hath deliver'd them in his Tract *De Siclo*, are these: [a] *In Comment. Exod.* 39. *Multis verbis differens significabat se non facile ad Salomonis Farrhæi, qui ante illum in Gallia scripserat, sententiam de siclo accedere; cum Salomon affirmasset, Siclum esse dimidiam argenti unciam. Postea jam absoluto in omnem Legem Commentariorum opere, idem Moses Gerundensis capite ad eam rem proprie addito, sicli æstimationem à Salomone illo indicatam, re ipsâ doctus, ingenuè, & apertè, ut viros doctos, & veri inveniendi, atque docendi cupidos decet, comprobavit. Narrat autem se eo anno, quo illa scriberet, in Palæstinam ex Hispania sacrorum locorum visendi causa navi delatum Acconam, quam nunc Jachan vocant, devenisse; ibidemque sibi ab incolis ostensum fuisse nummum argenteum antiquissimum, expressis tamen signis & literis conspicuum; in cujus altero latere forma esset vasculi illius, quod manna plenum in sacra arca ad sæculorum monumentum, Dei jussu, & Mosis procuratione fuerat repositum: Et in altero ramus ille admirabilis, quem in fasciculum virgularum plurimarum Aaronis nomine illatum (cum illius sacerdotali dignitati ab æmulis quibusdam obtrectaretur) postera die populus omnis florentem, amygdaláque explicantem vidit; inscriptiones etiam fuisse in eodem nummo Samaritanis characteribus, quæ olim communes totius Israelis literæ fuerant, ante discessionem decem tribuum à duabus, linguæ planè Hebraicæ, quarum exemplum ex altera parte erat SEKEL ISRAEL, quod Latinè sonat Siclus Israelis: Ex altera verò JERUSALEM KEDESSAH, hoc est Jerusalem sancta: Qui nummus antiquitatem cùm primis magnam probabat, utpote cujus nomine Israelis, eo tempore quo omnes* XII. *tribus communi concordia Israelis nomen obtinebant; quoque Hierosolyma ipsis omnibus regia urbs, sanctaque erat; eademque communis omnibus & religionis, & publicæ rei, & monetæ, atque literarum ratio, quæ postea discessione facta, alia atque alia utrique parti fuit. Namque Judæi, ut omnes ferè scriptores asserunt, ne cum Schismaticis Israelitis ullo Sacrorum usu communicarent, eam Literarum formam, quæ nunc etiam in usu est, hoc est quadratam, mutatis valde alterius prioris figuris, adinvenère. Affirmat præterea idem Gerundensis, nummum illum, qui Siclus inscribebatur, sibi in statera pensum dimidiæ argenti unciæ pondus reddidisse, ostensam quoque alteram monetam dimidiato pondere minorem, iisdem omnino vasis & rami figuris quæ tamen non* SEKEL, *sed* HASZI SEKEL, *hoc est dimidius Siclus diceretur, probare itaque sibi vel maximè Salomonis Farrhæi, de sicli pondere, & valore, sententiam.* Thus far *Gerundensis*: Who if he had expressed with what half Ounce he had compared his Shekel, or if *Montanus* had done it for him, they had given the Judicious Reader better satisfaction. But this, I suppose, by a probable Conjecture, may be supplied, in saying, that he living in *Catalonia*, weighed it with the *Catalonian*, or *Spanish* half Ounce; which [b] *Villalpandus*, and [c] *Ciaconius*, both of them *Spaniards*, make equal to the half Ounce now used at *Rome*; that is, to Two Shillings Three Pence Farthing, *q.* of our Money. This Conjecture of mine will exceeding well confirm those many Observations of *Villalpandus*, a Man in this kind very curious, which he made of several ancient Shekels in Silver, who thus writes: [k] *Igitur ante aliquot annos appendimus Siclum unum apud F. Ursinum & postmodum eos omnes, quos præcedenti capite percensuimus, atque comperimus singulos argenti siclos ex æquo semuncia Romanæ antiquæ respondere; ita ut ne minimum*

Greaves.

[a] Arias Montanus de Siclo, in libro qui inscribitur Thubal Kain, sive de mensuris.

[b] *Eadem omnino sunt unciæ, quibus olim Romani, Hispanique utuntur,* &c. Villalp. de appar. Urb. ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 20.

[c] Ciaconius de ponderibus, pag. 45.

[k] Villalpari. de app. Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 2. disp. c. 29.

Greaves.

minimum quidem hordei aut frumenti granulum, huic, vel illi lanci addi potuerit, quin in eam examen propenderet. Nec mirum cuiquam videri debet, antiquissimos nummos suo pristino ponderi nunc respondere, neque ullam argenti partem vetustate consumptam tot sæculis fuisse. Nam singulari Dei beneficio nobis contigit, tot integros appendere potuisse siclos. Id quod nummi ipsi integri vetustatem maximè præ se ferentes, literæ expressæ, extantésque, argenti color, atque alia id genus multa facile probant. With these Observations of *Villalpandus*, I find the Weight of a very fair *Samaritan* Shekel, of *the truly Noble and Learned Mr.* Selden, to agree: To whom I stand obliged for this Favour, as he doth for the Coin, *to the honourable Antiquary, Sir* Robert Cotton. To these Testimonies, tho (it may be) sufficient of themselves, I shall add * one more, for farther illustration of the Weight of the *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan* Shekel, and that is of an ancient, and fair one, in Silver, amongst his Majesty's Coins, perused by *the most Reverend Primate of* Ireland, *a Man of exquisite Learning and Judgment*, who hath often assured me, that it weighs Two Shillings Five Pence of the *English* Standard; which proportion, excepting some few Grains, in which it doth exceed, does well correspond with those of *Villalpandus*. And this may farther be confirmed out of the *Talmud*, [l] כל כסף האמורה בתורה כסף צורי ישל דברי הם כסף מדינה *Argentum omne cujus in Lege fit mentio, intelligitur argentum Tyrium (ponderis & bonitatis ut in urbe Tyri:* As [m] *Schlinder* interprets it) *sed Rabbinorum argentum intelligitur argentum commune provinciale.* Taking therefore the *Silver Money of* Judea, as the *Talmud* doth, to be equal to the *Tyrian*, and that of *Carthage* to be equal to that of *Tyre*: As it is very probable, that the *Carthaginians*, being a Plantation of the *Tyrians*, might observe their Proportions in Coins, as well as their Customs in Religion, we may by these discover the Shekel to be much about the same Weight that hath been assigned: For [n] *Ant. Augustinus*, describing in his Dialogues the Weight of two fair *Carthaginian* Coins in Silver, writes, *that they are each of them somewhat more than four Drachms*: That is, as he elsewhere explains himself, a little more than half the *Roman* Ounce. If therefore we shall adhere to the Observation of *Gerundensis*, made four hundred Years since, or to these later of *Villalpandus*, and others; or to this Conjecture of mine, the *Hebrew* Shekel, and half the present *Roman* Ounce, are either both the same, or else very near in proportion.

* We may also insert the Observation of *Anton. August. Dialogo 2. Ne ho uno [siclo] che è d' argento, & è di peso di quattro dramme conforme à quello che dice San Girolamo sopra Ezechielle:* Where by four Drams he means half the *Roman* Ounce.

[l] Kiddushi. 11.

[m] Schindlerus in Pentaglotto.

[n] Ant. August. Dialog. 2.

And this may easily be granted; but if it be, how will four *Denarii Consulares*, four *Attick Drachmes*, and the *Hebrew Shekel*, be reciprocally equal one to another, as they should be by those several Testimonies before alledged? Whereas, by many hundred *Denarii Consulares*, tried by an exact Balance, I find the best of these to contain LXII Grains *English*, and the *Attick Drachme* LXVII. And the fourth part of the *Shekel* to be but LIV Grains $\frac{3}{4}$, if we admit of *Gerundensis*, and *Villalpandus*'s Observations. Which notwithstanding, according to *Philo*, *Josephus*, St. *Hierom*, *Epiphanius*, and *Hesychius*, should be equal to the *Attick Drachme*; and the *Attick Drachme*, by the Testimonies of the Ancients, should be likewise equal to the *Denarius*. For the Solution of this Objection I answer: First, That the *Denarius*, and *Attick Drachme*, being distinct Coins of different States, and not much unequal in the true Weight, it is no wonder, especially in *Italy*, and in the *Roman* Dominions, that they should pass one for another: No more than that the *Spanish Rials*, in our Sea-Towns in *England*, should pass for Testars, or the Quarters of the Dolar be exchanged for our Shillings: Whereas the *Rial* in the intrinsical Valuation, is better than our Testar by four Grains, and somewhat more; and the Quarter of the Dolar is better than our Shilling by more than eight Grains, or a Penny; but because they want the Valuation, Character, and Impression of our Princes, which I call the *extrinsick of Coins*, therefore doth the *Spanish* Money fall from its true Value with us, and so would ours do in *Spain*. By the same analogy must we conceive the *Attick Drachmes*, tho' in the intrinsick they were somewhat better worth than the *Denarius*, yet for want of the extrinsick, to have lost in *Italy*, and thereby to have become equal in Valuation to the *Denarius*. And this seems to be implied

implied by [o] *Voluſius Metianus : Victoriatus enim nunc tantundem valet, quantum quinarius olim. At peregrinus nummus loco mercis, ut nunc tetradrachmum, & drachma habebatur.* Which words of his *loco mercis*, plainly ſhew they made ſome Gain of the *Tetradrachmum*, and *Drachma* : As our Merchants, and Goldſmiths do of the *Spaniſh Reals*, and Quarters of a Dolar : Which they could not do, if they were preciſely equal, but muſt rather be Loſers in the melting or new coining of them. And therefore all [p] modern Writers that have treated of this Argument, ſome of them making the *Drachma* leſs than the *Denarius*, others equal, but none greater, have been deceived by a double Paralogiſm, in ſtanding too nicely upon the bare Words of the Ancients, without carefully examining the Things themſelves. Firſt, In making the *Denarius*, and *Attick Drachme* preciſely equal, becauſe all ancient Authors generally expreſs the *Attick Drachme* by the *Denarius*, or the *Denarius* by the *Drachme* ; either becauſe in ordinary Commerce, and in vulgar Eſtimation, they paſſed one for another, in the *Roman* State ; or elſe if any were ſo curious to obſerve their difference, as ſurely the Κολλυβισαὶ were, yet by reaſon of their nearneſs, and to avoid fractions, and having no other Names of Coins that were preciſely equal, whereby to render them, therefore all *Greek* and *Latine* Authors, mutually uſed one for the other. And, Secondly, Becauſe ſome Writers, (as *Dioſcorides* and *Cleopatra*) affirm, that the *Roman* Ounce contained eight *Drachmes*, therefore modern Authors infer, that the *Denarius* being equal to the *Drachme*, and eight *Drachmes* being in the *Roman* Ounce (as ſo many were in the *Attick*) that therefore there are eight *Denarii* in the *Roman*, and conſequently that the *Roman* and *Attick* Ounces are equal. Whereas *Celſus*, *Scribonius Largus*, and *Pliny*, as we ſhewed before, expreſly write, that the *Roman* Ounce contained in their time, which was after *Dioſcorides*, ſeven *Denarii*. And being natural *Romans*, and purpoſely mentioning the proportion of the *Denarius* to the Ounce, thereby the better to regulate their *Doſes* in Phyſick, it is not probable but they muſt better have known it than the *Grecians*. Beſides, who with any certainty can collect out of theſe imperfect Fragments of *Dioſcorides* and *Cleopatra* (for thoſe Tracts of theirs, *de ponderibus*, are no better) whether at the firſt they wrote in that manner, as they are now printed ? Or if they did, why might not they endeavour to introduce into the *Roman* Ounce, in imitation of the *Attick*, that manner of diviſion, which is now generally received in our Times, of making the Ounce, of what kind ſo ever it be, to contain eight *Drachmes*. And ſurely this of eight being *a compound Number*, as Arithmeticians uſe to ſpeak, was much fitter than ſeven, uſed by the *Romans*, which being *a prime Number*, is therefore incapable of any other diviſion. And then for to conclude, that becauſe the *Attick* Ounce had eight *Drachmes*, and the *Roman* as many, that therefore their Ounces are equal ; is all one as to conclude, that the *Paris* and *Engliſh* Ounces are equal, becauſe the *French* as well as we (and ſo do all Phyſicians of all Countries that I know) divide their Ounce by eight *Drachmes*. And thus, I ſuppoſe, I have ſufficiently anſwered the firſt part of the Objection, concerning the *Denarius*, and the *Attick Drachme* : That if we reſpect the vulgar and popular Eſtimation, in which ſenſe Claſſical Authors underſtood them, (for they could not well otherwiſe render them, than as they were current) ſo were they equal ; but if we reſpect the intrinſical Valuation which depends upon the weight, eſpecially when Coins are of a like fineneſs, ſo were they unequal : The *Attick Drachme* being, of our Money, Eight Pence Farthing $\frac{7}{8}$, and the *Denarius Conſularis* Seven Pence Half-penny Farthing ; allowing for the Standard [q] VIII *Engliſh* Grains to the Silver Penny.

[o] *Vol. Metianus de aſſis diſtributione.* Theſe words of *Metianus* I find in a *MS.* of *Temperavius*, thus corrected : *Victoriatus enim nunc tantundem valet, quantum quinarius. Olim ut peregrinus nummus loco mercis, ut nunc tetradrachmum, & drachma habebatur.* Whether it be by conjecture, or that he found it in ſome ancient *MS.* I know not, but the Emendation I cannot but approve.

[p] *Budæus drachmam putat ejuſdem ponderis eſſe cum denario, Onuphrius vero inter utrumque ſtatuit rationem ſeſquitertiam, Agricoli ſeſquiſeptimam, ut Panvinio tres denarii quatuor drachmas, Agricolæ vero ſeptem denarii octo drachmas efficiant. Capel. de pond. & nummis, l. 1.* LXXXIV *denarii, quæ eſt libra Romana, ſunt æquales* XCVI *Drachmis, quæ eſt libra Italica, & medica.* Scal. de re nummaria.

[q] Theſe Proportions with thoſe before, and thoſe which follow, are taken from the *Engliſh* Standard at Five Shillings the Ounce (as it was formerly coined) to avoid Fractions. That is, eight Grains to the Silver Penny : Whereas in theſe times it is Five Shillings Two-pence. Not that the Ounce is increaſed, for this is always conſtant and fixed, but that for Reaſons of State, our Silver Coins are diminiſhed, and conſequently contain fewer Grains. And this diminution muſt neceſſarily be, as often as other Nations, with whom we have Commerce, rebate in the Proportions of their Coins ; or elſe we muſt be content to be Loſers.

Greave

Greaves.

Neither do I know any Authority, that either expresly, or by a true and logical consequence, can be produced out of Classical Authors, to infringe this Assertion of mine, unless it be one in *Fannius*, which being a Fragment is the less to be valued: And another in *Livy*, who thus writes, *lib.* 34. in his Description of the Triumph of *Quinctius*: *Signati argenti octoginta quatuor millia fuere Atticorum, Tetradrachmum vocant; trium ferè denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus.* Which words of his occasioned [p] *Georgius Agricola*, not knowing how to answer them, to bring in a distinction of three sorts of *Denarii*: The *Gravis* weighing an *Attick Drachme* and an half, the *Mediocris* one and a seventh part, the *Levis* most commonly one; without any clear Proof or Evidence in any ancient Author, and directly contrary to all ancient Coins of the *Atticks* and *Romans* which I have seen: Of which Error he would not have been guilty, (for there is no Man that hath writ either *de ponderibus & mensuris*, or *de re metallicâ*, more solidly and judiciously than he) if he had been so happy as to have perused many entire *Grecian Aurei*, and *Tetradrachmes*, or else to have examined a greater and more select quantity of *Roman* Coins. To satisfie my self concerning that place of *Livy*, I had recourse to our *MSS.* here, (and I could wish I had done the like in *Italy*) and these I find to agree with the Printed Copies; tho' the Coins, which are much ancienter than any *MSS.* constantly disagree. Wherefore if it be not a mistake in *Livy* himself, which I am not apt to believe in so grave an Author, I would correct the Copies by the Coins, and instead of III *fere denariorum*, make it thus, IV *fere denariorum*. Where the Figure V being resolved into two Lines, and left a little open at the bottom, might easily be taken by the Scribe for the Figure II. And this I do certainly * believe is the true Ground of that Error, wherewith so many of late hath been perplex'd. However it were, it is as ancient as *Priscian*, or *Pseudo-Priscian* (as *Capellus* stiles him) who, in his Tract *De ponderibus*, reads those words of *Livy* in the same manner, *Trium ferè Denariorum.*

[p] *G. Agricola responsio ad Alciatum de pond. & mensuris. Argentei Romanorum denarii triplices sunt: Graves, qui pendunt drachmam Atticam cum dimidia: Mediocres, qui drachmam & septimam ejus partem: Leves, qui plerunque drachmam.*

* If this Answer be not satisfactory, we may say, as some have done, that *Livy*, *Fannius*, and the *Scholiast* of *Nicander*, speak of the *Denarii* of the former Consuls immediately succeeding *Q. Fabius*. For there being but six of those in the Ounce, (as they suppose) the *Denarius* will be greater than the *Drachma*, as it will be less when seven were coined, under the later Consuls, which is our Assertion.

As for the *Denarius Aureus*, a Name I think not known to the Ancients, which *Salmasius* and others collect out of [q] *Livy*, *De fœdere Ætolico*. *Pro argento si aurum dare mallent, dare convenit, dum pro argenteis decem aureus unus valeret.* I see no solid Foundation for that Opinion; all that can be collected thence is, that the Gold then was *in decupla ratione* to the Silver, which I have proved before. And whereas [r] *Plautus* hath his *Denaria Philippea.*

[q] Livius, l. 38.

[r] Plautus in Rudente.

Nummi octingenti aurei in marsupio infuerunt,
Præterea centum denaria Philippea.

This is a Metaphorical or Comical Expression of him, and no certain sort of Coin; which he pleasantly calls *Denarii*, because half the Χρυσοῖ Φιλίππειοι were equal in weight to the *Drachma*, and so also was the *Roman Denarius* supposed to be.

Nor are we to take the Κῆνσος, which is thrice mentioned by St. *Matthew*, and once by St. *Mark*, for the *Denarius*, as some have done: No, nor for any other sort of Coin: For it is precisely the *Latine* word *Census*; that is, ὁ φόρος, *tributum*, and so it is rendred by St. *Luke*, Ἔξεστι Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι, ἢ οὔ; where St. *Matthew*, and St. *Mark* have it. Ἔξεστι δοῦναι κῆνσον Καίσαρι ἢ οὔ; Tho' *Hesychius*, and *Moscopulus*, both upon an Error, interpret it a sort of Coin. *Hesychius*, Κένσος εἶδος νομίσματος ἐπικεφάλαιον, or νομίσματος ἐπικεφαλαίου, as M. *Casaubone* corrects it: And *Moscopulus*, Κῆνσος νόμισμα δραχμῆς ἰσοστάσιον, *The* Census *is a Coin equal in weight to the* Drachme: That is, in the Notion of the *Greeks*, equal to the *Denarius*. The Error of these two *Greek* Grammarians, is a misunderstanding the propriety of the *Latine* word *Census*: And that occasioned them to take κῆνσος, and νόμισμα τῆς κήνσου, for the same. But the Evangelist *Matthew* puts a manifest difference between κῆνσος, *tributum*, and νόμισμα, the Money that was paid for Tribute Ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τῆς κήνσου, writes St. *Matthew*, *Shew me the Money of the Tribute*: Or as our new Translation renders it, *Shew me the Tribute-Money.* And the three Evangelists, *Matthew*, *Mark*,

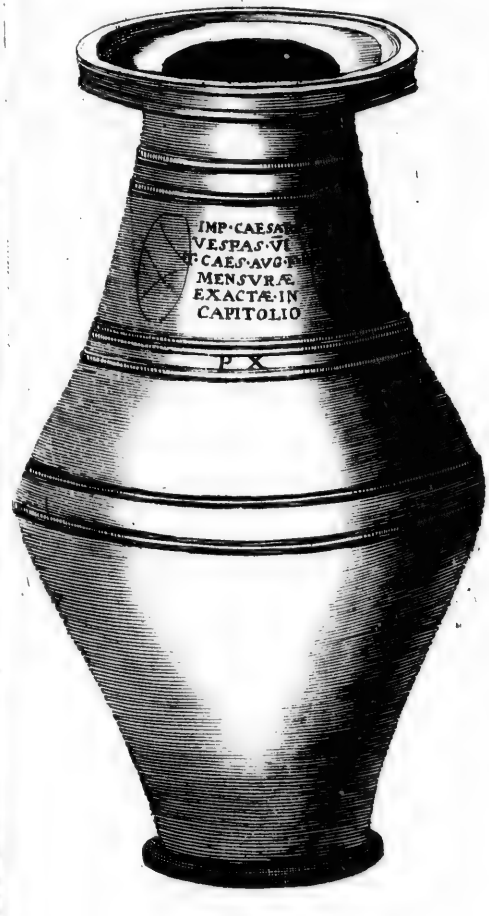
Mark, and *Luke*, immediately after expreſly term this Money the Δηνάριον. Οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον: *And they brought unto him a Penny.* Which being a *Roman* Coin, and current amongſt the *Jews*, being then in Subjection to the *Romans*, it is more than probable that they paid their Tribute to *Cæſar*, in the ſame Species of Money that was uſed by *Cæſar*; and not with any new or peculiar ſort of Coin, according to *Baronius*, (which M. *Caſaubone* hath juſtly confuted) but with the ordinary current Money of *Rome*, and that was the *Denarius*.

Our next Solution ſhould be of the *Shekel*, how it could be equal to the *Tetradrachme*, and conſequently to four *Denarii*, when by the conſtant weight of the beſt *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan Shekels* extant, we find them to be much leſs. And here I am a little unſatisfied, how to reconcile the Coins to *Philo*, *Joſephus*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*: Or elſe, if we admit of the Coins (as I know no juſt Exceptions againſt them) how to excuſe theſe Authors of too ſupine Negligence in comparing them, if ſo be they ever were ſo curious as to collate them with the *Attick Tetradrachmes*. For if we ſhall ſay, that the Silver *Stater*, or *Attick Tetradrachme*, was a Foreign Coin, in reſpect of the Rep. of the *Jews*, and therefore that in *Judea* it might ſomewhat fall from its true Valuation, we ſhall ſay no more than what Reaſon and Experience confirm. But then that the *Tetradrachme* ſhould ſink to low as to loſe Four-pence-half-penny, if we take *the Reverend Primate*'s Obſervation before-mentioned; or which is more Six-pence *q.* if we follow that of *Gerundenſis*, and *Villalpandus*, or *thoſe of mine*, upon Two Shillings Nine Pence Half-penny, for ſo much was the *Tetradrachme* of our Money, it may ſeem too great a diminution; eſpecially the *Attick* Money being as pure, and fine, as that of the Shekel; and therefore no Goldſmith amongſt the *Jews*, but would have given a greater Rate only to melt it, and turn it into Bullion. Yet on the other ſide, when I conſider the Practice of the Money-changers amongſt the *Jews* at this Day, which it may be was as bad in *Philo*'s and *Joſephus*'s time, and might occaſion our Saviour not long before to whip them out of the Temple, *which they by their Extortions had made a Den of Thieves*; who now make it a Trade at *Alexandria*, and elſewhere, in changing *Spaniſh* Dolars into * *Madines*, (or the ſmall Silver Money current in *Ægypt*) to gain one or two *Madines* upon every Dolar, notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* Money is as frequent, and as well known in *Turky*, as their own. I can the better imagine they might make the ſame advantage, or a little more, upon the *Attick Tetradrachmes*: Which it may be alſo were not permitted, being contrary to their Law, to paſs ſo generally with them, as the *Spaniſh* Money now doth (by reaſon of the Image of *Pallas*, and the *Noctua* inſtamped:) Or if they were permitted, yet they might not be ſo common, and ſo well known: And therefore upon Strangers in *Judea*, in giving them current Money for that which was foreign, they would gain ſo much the more. So that *Philo*, and *Joſephus*, when they equal the *Shekel* to the *Tetradrachme*, may have taken it upon the Relation and Practice of theſe Money-changers, and not upon any Experiment of their own. The ſame Anſwer may ſerve for *Epiphanius*, St. *Hierom*, and *Heſychius*. Tho' it may be theſe borrowed their Deſcriptions from *Philo* or *Joſephus*, who long preceded them: And being *Jews*, and living in the time when the State of the *Jews* was in being; whereas theſe did not, their Authority is the more to be credited. And thus have we finiſhed our Enquiry of the *Denarius Conſularis*, by comparing it with the *Attick Drachmes*, and the *Hebrew Shekels*.

Greaves.

* At my being in *Ægypt*, thirty five *Madines* paſſed for a Dolar: *Sands* in his Travels writes forty.

ON CONGII VESPASIANI IN PALATIO FARNESIANO ROMÆ.



The last and best way to discover the true weight of it, is by the *Congius Romanus*, whereof by a special Providence, as [a] *Pætus*, and *Villalpandus*, have well observed, the Original Standard of *Vespasian* is still extant in *Rome*. This, as the Superscription upon it, X P demonstrates, contains the weight of ten *Roman* Pounds, and is equal (by the joint Confession of all Authors treating this Argument) to six *Sextarii*. Again, the *Sextarius*, as [b] *Galen* writes, Ἔχει μίαν λίβαν καὶ ἡμίσειαν καὶ ἕκτον, ὡς εἶναι τὰς πάσας οὐγγίας κ'. *Contains one Pound and an half, and a sixth part, so that it hath in all twenty Ounces.* Or as [b] *Oribasius*, Physician to *Julian* the Apostate, informs us, is equal to the *Roman* Pound, and eight Ounces. Ἰταλικὸν κεράμιον ἔχει ξέστας μή. ξέστης λίβαν μίαν, καὶ οὐγγίας ή. *The* Italian Amphora *contains forty eight* Sextarii, *and the* Sextarius *on Pound and eight Ounces.* The Capacity therefore of this *Congius* being filled up with six *Sextarii*, of some certain sort of Liquors, (for it is *Liquorum mensura*) will give us ten *Roman* Pounds, and consequently their Ounces and *Denarii*. The only difficulty is, with what sort of Liquor we must measure it: For all Liquors are not of the same Gravity. And this is well cleared by [c] *Rhemnius Fannius*, and others.

[a] Pætus, l. 3. de antiq. liquid. arid. que ment. Villalp. de appar. Urbis ac Templi, par. 2. l. 3. c. 25.

[b] Galen. l. 1. de compos. medicam.

[b] Oribasius l. 2. ad Eustathium filium.

[c] Rhemn. Fann. carmina de pond. & mens.

Illud præterea tecum cohibere memento,
Finitum pondus varios servare liquores.
Nam Libræ, ut memorant, bessem sextarius addet,
Seu puros pendas latices, seu dona Lyæi.

The *Sextarius*, saith *Fannius*, contains one Pound and eight Ounces, whether we weigh clear Water, or Wine: Where by Wine, according to [d] *Agricola*, is to be understood, *Vinum Fulvum*, such as the *Greeks* call κιῤῥόν. Rather, I imagine, that Wine, which *Galen* calls λευκὸν, καὶ ὀλιγόφορον. The *Sextarius* then being one Pound eight Ounces of clear Water, or pure Wine, and six *Sextarii* being in the *Congius*, it is most evident that the *Congius* contains ten Pounds of Water, or of Wine. This also appears by a *Plebiscitum* of the two *Silii*, *Publius*, and *Marius*, which is to be seen in the best Copies of [e] *Sextus Pompeius*.

[d] Agricola, l. 3. de ponder. rerum

[e] Sextus Pomp. de verb. signif.

VTI. QVADRANTAL. VINI. OCTOGINTA PONDO. SIET
CONGIVS. VINI. DECEM. IS. SIET
SEX. SEXTARII. CONGIVS. SIET. VINI
DVO. DE. QVINQVAGINTA. SEXTARII QVADRANTAL. SIET. VINI
SEXTARIVS. ÆQVVS. ÆQVO. CVM. LIBRARIO. SIET

The same is confirmed by [f] *Dioscorides*; who for farther certainty, mentions with what sort of Water we should measure it: And that is with Rain

[f] Fragmenta Dioscorid.

* The proportion that Rain-water hath to Fountain-water, is as 1000000 to 1007522, and the proportion that it hath to Water diſtilled, is as 1000000 to 997665, as it hath been obſerved by *Snellius in Eratoſth. Bat. l. 2. c. 5. Eſt in æquali mole ratio aquæ pluviæ ad diſtillatam, quemadmodum* 1000000 *ad* 997665 *pluviæ autem ad putealem ut* 1000000 *ad* 1007522.

ἑλκὰς ψκ ⸱ χῶν. *The* Chus, *(that is, the* Congius*) contains ten Pounds, the* Semicongius *five, the* Sextarius *one Pound and eight Ounces, &c. The weight of Water, and of Vinegar is the ſame. They ſay, that if it be filled up with Rain-water, the weight will be moſt certain.* The* Congius *weighs ſeven hundred and twenty Drachmes.* An *Anonymus Greek Author*, falſly reputed to be *Galen*, in the Edition at *Venice*, confirms the ſame, [f] Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰταλοῖς διρίσκῳ ὁ χοῦς μέτρον μὲ ἔχων ξς. κοτύλας ιβ. σαθμὸν δὲ ὑδατικῷ ὁμοίᾳ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀψιθέσσαλον, δραχμὰς ψκ : *Amongſt the* Romans *is found the* Congius, *containing in Meaſure ſix* Sextarii *(that is)* XII Cotylæ : *But in Weight of Rain-water, which is moſt infallible* Iccxx *Drachmes.* And whereas [g] *Dioſcorides* elſewhere writes : Τὸ κύγιον ἔχει λίτρας θ. τὸ ἡμικύγιον λ'. δ' S. ὁ ξέστης ἔχει λ'. ά S. *The* Congius *hath nine Pounds, the* Semicongius *four and an half, the* Sextarius *one and an half*, there is no repugnancy between this, and his former Aſſertion For here he ſpeaks of the *Congius* filled with Oil, and before of the ſame *Congius* filled with Water, or Wine : And that this ſhould be but nine Pounds, whereas the former is ten, is no more repugnant to Reaſon, than it is to Nature, that Oil ſhould be lighter than Water or Wine : Which [h] *Ghetaldus*, in his *Archimedes promotus*, hath demonſtrated the moſt accurately of any Man, to be in the proportion that 1 is to $1\frac{1}{71}$ in reſpect of Water, and as 1 is to $1\frac{1}{79}$ in reſpect of Wine ; which is almoſt the ſame with *Dioſcorides*. The not obſerving this difference of Weight, ariſing from the different Gravity of ſeveral Liquors, in Veſſels of one and the ſame Capacity, is that which hath occaſioned much Incertainty and Confuſion, in Modern Writers. And therefore we ſhall for farther perſpicuity inſert that diſtinction, which is often inculcated by [i] *Galen*, that the *Romans* uſed two ſorts of Ounces and Pounds : And thoſe were either σαθμικαὶ, or μετρικαὶ, *ponderal* or *menſural* ; the one had reſpect ſolely to the Gravity, the other to the *Moles*, and Gravity conjointly ; the former were always certain and fix'd, conſiſting of ſolid Matter ; the latter were *Vaſa* (frequently, ἐκ κέρασι) being Receptacles and Meaſures of liquid Subſtances : And therefore the *Libræ*, and *Uncie Menſurales*, in theſe were greater or leſs, according as the Liquor to be meaſured was heavier or lighter. Whence [k] *Galen* blames Phyſicians for not expreſſing this difference : Διὸ γράφειν ἐχρὴν ἀπριβέστερον οὐ τοῖς φαρμακίτισι βίβλοις τὰς ἰατρὸς ὁποσας τινὰς κεκλίκασι βάλλειν τὰς ὑγρὰς ἢ τὰς ξηρὰς ἢ ὑγρῶν φαρμάκων, ὡσπερ τὰς μέτρας, ἢ τὰς σαθμικάς. And he gives the Reaſon of it. [l] Αἱ μὲν γὰρ σαθμικαὶ τὸ βάρος σημαίνουσι τῶν σωμάτων, αἱ δὲ μέτραι τὸν ὄγκον. *For the* ponderal *examine the Weight of Bodies, but the* menſural *the Moles.* But to return to the *Congius*, and by it to our diſcovery of the *Denarius* : The Water then muſt be natural, either of ſome Fountain, or of Rain. For if it be artificial, ſuch as are made by Diſtillations, whether by a ſtrong Reverberation, or by a gentle, in an Alembeck, [illegible] the property of [illegible] the natural, as [illegible] and others obſe[illegible] all produce [illegible] ſervation, [illegible] Rain*-water, which he makes to be the moſt infallible of all : Ὄ χοῦς τοῦτέστι τὸ κύγιον ἔχει λι. ι. τὸ ἡμικύγιον ἔχει λ. ε. ὁ ξέστης ἔχει λίτραν μίαν ἰσ η, &c. ὁ αὐτὸς ὑδατικῷ καὶ ὀξυ[illegible] φασὶ τὸ ἀμφορέα ὑδατικῷ ἀκριβεστάτῳ ἀψιθέσσαλον εἶναι τὸν σαθμὸν, εἶναι ὁ

* This Authority of *Dioſcorides*, with that other Citation following out of an *Anonymus Greek Author*, ſtrongly proves my Aſſertion, that the *Drachma Attica* was more ponderous than the *Denarius Conſularis*. For there being eighty four of theſe *Denarii* in the *Roman* Pound, as we have elſewhere proved, and ten *Roman* Pounds in the *Congius*, it is moſt evident there are Iccccl *Denarii* in the whole *Congius*. Again, Iccxx *Drachmæ* be the Teſtimonies of *Dioſcorides*, and this *Anonymus* Writer, being equal to the *Congius*, and the *Congius* being equal to Iccccl *Denarii*, therefore Iccxx *Drachmes* are equal to Iccccl *Denarii*, and therefore of neceſſity every particular *Drachme* of theſe, muſt be greater than each particular *Denarius*. And tho', according to my Aſſertion, the *Congius* containeth ſome few *Drachmes* more than are by them aſſigned ; yet that difference, ſeeing it might many ways happen, as I afterwards ſhew in the like Experiments of *Villalpandus*, and *Gaſſendus*, it cannot any way overthrow my Concluſion : For the *Drachmes* are ſtill fewer than the *Denarii Conſulares*, and therefore greater : Which was the thing intended to be proved. And this may farther be confirmed, in that both *Cleopatra*, and this *Anonymus Author*, make alſo the *Chus*, or *Sextarius* (being the ſixth part of the *Congius*) to contain an hundred twenty *Drachmes* of Fountain-water. Whereby it appears there is no Error committed in the former Numbers : Ὁ ξέστης μὲ ἔχει κοτύλας ϛ'. σαθμὸν [illegible] ρκ. The *Sextarius*, in *Cleopatra*, *contains in Meaſure* ſix Cotyls, *but in weight an hundred and twenty* Drachmes. And the *Anonymus* Writer, Ἔχει ὁ ξέστης [illegible] The Sextarius *contains in weight an* [illegible] *twenty* Drachmes.

[illegible] *Anonymus Græc.* [illegible] *Fragmenta Dioſcoridis*

Greaves.

[h] Ghetaldus in Archim. promoto.

[i] Galenus, l. 1. & 6. de comp. medicam. ſecundum genera.

[k] Lib. 6. de compoſ. medicam. ſec. genera.

[l] Lib. 1. de compoſit. medicam. ſecundum genera

[illegible] *Rhemn. Fann. carmina de pond. & ment.*

[illegible] *Agricola, l. 3. de ponder. rerum*

[illegible] *Sextus Pomp. de verb. ſignif.*

[illegible] *Oribaſius, l. 2. ad Eu[illegible] ſtathium filium.*

Gassendus, the one at *Rome*, with the *Roman* Weights, from the * Original *Congius* it self; the other at *Aix*, with the *Paris* Weights, from a Model, or Copy of that at *Rome*, procured by *Peireskius*. And here to compare the *Denarius Consularis* with their Observations, it is necessary to have exactly both the *Roman* and *Paris* Weights. The former, with as much accurateness as it was possible, were taken in *Rome*: The other were sent me by Monsieur *Hardy*, *a Learned Man of honourable Quality in Paris*, who compared them with the Standard. To begin with that of *Villalpandus*, who gives us a large Description, with how much Caution and Circumspection, and with how exquisite a Balance he twice made his Experiment, whereby he discovered the weight of it in Water to be exactly answerable to ten such Pounds as are now used in *Rome*: Whence he concludes, [n] *Constanter asserimus antiquam Romanorum libram, unciam, ac pondera, tot ætatum successione, ac Romani imperii perturbationibus minimè immutata fuisse, sed eadem per manus tradita usque ad nostra tempora perdurasse.* This *Roman* Pound of his reduced to the *English* Standard for Silver, or Troy Weight, with which I have faithfully collated it, is 5256 Grains *English*, such as the Troy Pound is 5760; the whole *Congius* therefore consisting of ten Pounds, will be 52560 *English* Grains. The other Observation is related by [o] *Gassendus*, in his excellent Discourse *De Vitâ Peireskii*: *Ut paucis ergo res dicatur, cautiones adhibuimus easdem, quas Lucas Pætus, & Villalpandus, dum vas ipsum, ad summum collum puteali aquâ opplevimus, expendimus, vasis pondus subduximus. Deprehendimus autem aquam, quæ Romano pondere esse debuit decem librarum, seu unciarum centum viginti, esse pondere Parisiensi (quale nempe Parisiis exploratum, missumque est) librarum septem, minus unciæ quadrante: Seu unciarum centum undecim, & quadrantum unciæ trium. Deinde ex hac proportione collegimus unciam Romanam continere grana quingenta, & triginta sex, qualium quingenta septuaginta sex in Parisiensi continentur: Unde & illis in drachmas collectis, obvenere cuilibet drachmæ grana sexaginta septem: Idque proinde censuimus pondus denarii Cæsarei, quem dictum est fuisse * drachmalem.*

Now the *Paris* Ounce sent to me by Monsieur *Hardy*, containing four hundred seventy two Grains *English*, and an half; and the *Congius*, according to *Gassendus*, of the *Paris* Ounces 111 $\frac{3}{4}$, the compleat Weight of the *Congius*, in Grains, will be 52801 $\frac{7}{8}$. Which Sum exceeds that of *Villalpandus* by 241 $\frac{2}{3}$, that is, by more than half a *Roman* Ounce. This difference (tho' it is not great) between these two Observations of theirs, might arise, either from the unequal swelling of the Water in the *Congius*; or from the different Gravity of Fountain-water at *Rome*, and at *Aix*; or from some inequality of the Model and Original; or from some defect in the *Ju*[illegible], or Beam of the Balance, which if it were not made by a very skilful Hand, by the pressure of so great a Weight, would suffer some alteration. Which way soever it was, either by some, or all of these the difference cannot prejudice my Conclusion a compleat

* This *Congius* I had weighed, if I could have procured a Balance of such exactness, as was fitting for such a work. The want of which occasioned *Villalpandus* to suspect the Observation of *Pætus*; tho' *Pætus* writes thus of himself. *Plenum, cùm justissimâ trutinâ, quâ hodie Romæ utimur cùm appendissem* [Congium], *inveni aquam, quâ eum compleveram, libras nostri temporis novem, uncias sex semis efficere, quibus uncias quinque drachmas quatuor, scripulum unum, & grana* XIV *(quæ amplius sunt in his nostris, quam in antiquis libris computando eum congium libras decem) & ultra scripulum unum, & grana* XIV *(de quibus nullam rationem habendam esse judicavi) ex antiquis libris prædictis pendere inveni.* But *Villalpandus* trying it long after *Pætus*, with more Care, and with a Balance made of purpose, found it to be exactly ten such Pounds as are now used in *Rome*. All that I could do was to fill the Capacity of it with *Milium* well cleansed, and to compare it with the *English* Measures taken from the Standards. *It contained of our Measures for Wine three Quarts, one Pint, and one eighth part of a Pint. Of our Corn, or dry Measures, three Quarts and about one sixth part of a Pint.* At my being in *Italy*, there was found amongst the Ruines at *Rome* a *Semicongius* in Brass, of the same Figure with this of *Vespasian's*, the sides much consumed by Rust. This I also measured, and found it to be the half of *Vespasian's Congius*. From this Measure of the *Congius* we may rightly apprehend how vast that Draught was of *Novellus Torquatus*, who drank three of these *Congii* at once: From whence he was called *Novellus Tricongius*. The Story is recited by *Pliny* [l. 14. c. 22.] [illegible] *Novellus Torquatus Mediolanensis* [illegible]

[illegible] In the same Chapter [illegible] Son to that famous [illegible] *congius simul* [illegible]

[illegible] c. 11. de apparatu Urbis ac

[o] Gassendus in vitâ Peireskii.

* The Inference of *Gassendus*, I easily grant, that the *Denarius*, under some of the *Cæsars*, was *Drachmalis*; that is, the eighth part of the *Roman* Ounce. But neither was it always so under the *Cæsars*, nor if it had been so, will it therefore follow that it was *Drachmalis*, or the eighth part in respect of the *Attick* Ounce. Seeing the *Athenian* Ounce was greater than the *Roman*, as we have before proved; and therefore the *Denarius Consularis*, which was the seventh part of the *Roman* Ounce, was scarce the eighth part of the *Attick*. Wherefore he must see how he can make it good, where he brings *Peireskius*, in the Second Book of his Life, thus discoursing:—*Denarium, cùm tempore Regum pependisset trientem unciæ, sub antiqua tamen Rep. pependisse solum sextantem, sub recentiore partem septimam, sub primis Cæsaribus octavam, seu drachmam (Attica [illegible] drachmæ æqualem.)*

pleat Grain; which no reasonable Man but will allow, either for Coining, or for Waste: For if I divide 52560, the number of the Grains in the *Congius*, according to *Villalpandus*, by IↃCCCXL the number of the *Denarii* in ten Pounds, the Sum will be LXII $\frac{4}{7}$. Or if we shall follow *Gassendus*, tho' I should rather prefer *Villalpandus*, because he took his immediately from the Original, then will the weight of the *Denarius Consularis* be LXII $\frac{161}{430}$. The Fraction in both without any inconvenience may be omitted. And this proportion of the weight of the *Denarius Consularis*, if it were necessary, I could farther prove by some of the *Aurei Consulares*, which often were double in weight to the *Denarii*, as the Χρυσοῖ Ἀττικοὶ were double to the Δραχμαὶ Ἀργυρίου; as also by several *Quinarii* in Silver (which are the half of the *Denarii*) by a very ancient and perfect * *Semuncia*, by a *Quadrans* and *Triens*, all of them in Brass of mine own, and by several other Weights examined abroad. One of them I cannot pretermit, being near five *Roman* Pounds, and very remarkable for this Inscription: EX. AUCTORITATE. Q. JUNI. RUSTICI. PR. VR. but the weight of it is a little defective; part of the *Silex* (as many of the ancient *Roman* Weights that I have seen, were * *ex silice*, which is as hard, or harder than Marble) being broken away, else the rest is very entire and well polished. But I conceive, that by those former ways I have so irrefragably demonstrated the true ponderousness of the *Denarius Consularis*, that it would be thought superfluous, or a vain ostentation, to endeavour any farther to prove it. Wherefore instead of that I shall handle the *Denarius Cæsareus*, which is our second Enquiry.

* Of these *Roman Semuncia*, I have bought, and seen several in Brass. Besides one, which I owe to *my very worthy and learned Friend, Doctor* Ent.

* *Petus, l. 1. de antiq. Rom. & Græc. interv. mensuris*, makes mention of a *Libra Romana* in Brass, procured by *Fulvius Ursinus*, of singular rarity: *In cujus supremâ planitie argenteis literis hæc erat nota I, & in circumferentiâ hæ aliæ EX. AVC. D. CAES.* but this I had not the happiness to see in *Italy*.

The *Denarius Cæsareus*, was that which was made under the Government of the *Cæsars*. And this instead of the Face and Inscription *ROMA*, with the Character X or ✠ on the Fore-part, and the Impress of the *Biga*, or *Quadriga*, on the Reverse, (in which kind most of the *Denarii Consulares* were stamped) had on the Reverse several Impresses, and on the other side the Image or Resemblance of the Emperor: Which occasioned our Saviour to ask the Question, when a Δηνάριον, or *Roman* Penny was shewed to him, [a] *Whose is this Image and Superscription? They say unto him, Cæsar's.* This *Denarius Cæsareus*, if we respect some definitive quantity and weight, was as various and uncertain as the *Denarius Consularis* of the later Consuls was constant and fixt; being under the first Emperors, sometimes more, sometimes less, as the Reasons and Exigencies of the State did require, or the Profuseness and Prodigality of those Times. Yet this uncertainty (as far as I have observed) was limited within some certain and determinate bounds: The *Denarius Cæsareus* never exceeding the seventh part of the *Roman* Ounce, and never being less than the eighth part, but often in a middle proportion between both, and that with much inequality. And this made [b] *Villalpandus*, after many Experiments at *Rome*, to conclude, that out of the *Denarii* nothing concerning the *Roman* Weights could be determined. Tho' *Portius*, *Agricola*, *Ciaconius*, *Snellius*, and several others, before and after him, are of a contrary Opinion. And it may be, if *Villalpandus* had distinguished between the difference of Times, and in them of the different Coins, and considered those of the Consuls, distinctly from those of the *Cæsars*, and those of the former *Cæsars* from those of the later, he would have reformed his Judgment: For it plainly appears, upon examination, that the diminution of their Weight was an Invention introduced after *Antonius* the *Triumvir*'s time, whereas before the *Denarius* was fix'd. *Miscuit*, saith [c] *Pliny*, *Denario Triumvir Antonius ferrum, alii è pondere subtrahunt* (his meaning is under the Emperors, to *Vespasian*'s, or his own time) *cùm sit justum octoginta quatuor è libris signari.* Where he says very well in speaking so generally, *alii è pondere subtrahunt*, without precisely limiting the proportion. For this, as we observed, was very various and undeterminate: So that whereas the just number of the *Denarii*, according to the Practice of the later Consuls, should be eighty four in the *Roman* Pound, we find by the Weight of the best of them under the former *Cæsars*, that they coined sometimes eighty six, eighty eight, &c. till at last there came to be ninety six *Denarii* in the *Roman* Pound, that is, eight in the Ounce. And this, by

Greaves.

[a] Mat. 22. 20

[b] Villalp. de appar. urbis ac templi, par. 2. lib. 2. disp. 2. c. 13.

[c] Plin. l. 33. c. 9.

Greaves.

by a very neceſſary conſequence, may be inferred out of another place of *Pliny*, if we take for granted what ſome learned Moderns confeſs, and the Gold and Silver Coins found to this Day, of the later Conſuls, and firſt Emperors, ſtrongly prove, that as the *Atticks* made their Χρυσοῦς, or *Aureus*, double in weight to the Δραχμὴ Ἀργυρίου: So did the *Romans* make their *Aureus* double in weight to the *Denarius*. Which proportion they might borrow from the *Athenians*, and other *Grecians*, who, as [d] *Arias Montanus* imagines, firſt received it from the Practice of the *Hebrews*: Or rather, as I ſuppoſe, from the *Phenicians*, and theſe from the *Hebrews*. From whenceſoever it came, it is not much material in our Enquiry: That which we may ſafely conclude from thence is this; that the Gold being in reſpect of weight, double to the Silver, the *Aureus Romanus* falling in its weight, the *Denarius* likewiſe of neceſſity muſt fall: Elſe could they not have continued *in duplâ ratione*. Now in what manner the *Aureus* was firſt coined, and how afterwards it loſt of its primitive weight, [e] *Pliny* informs us: *Aureus nummus, poſt annum* LXII *percuſſus eſt, quam argenteus, ita ut ſcrupulum valeret ſeſtertiis vicenis, quod efficit in libras ratione ſeſtertiorum, qui tunc erant, ſeſtertios* IOCCCC. *Poſt hæc placuit* XL. M. *ſignari ex auri libris: Paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe vero ad* XLV. M. For this Teſtimony, and the former, we are to thank *Pliny*, ſeeing there is neither *Greek* nor *Latine* Author extant, from his time to *Theodoſius*, that gives us any certainty, what to conclude concerning the ancient Coins. And therefore ſince this later is of great conſequence, but ſomewhat corrupted, I compared it with the *MSS.* in the *Vatican* and *Florentine* Libraries, and with a fair one in *Baliol*-College, which renders the later part of it thus: *Poſtea placuit* X. XL. *ſignari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe vero ad* XLVIII. Where for XLVIII, [f] *Villalpandus* corrects, or rather corrupts the Text, in writing XLV. But *Agricola*, and [g] *Snellius* read it by conjecture thus: *Poſt hæc placuit* XLII *ſignari ex auri libris, paulatimque principes imminuere pondus, minutiſſimè verò ad* XLVIII. And [h] *Snellius* gives a Reaſon of it in his *Eratoſthenes Batavus*. *Nam ita argentei denarii, & aurei* [illegible] *eadem manet analogia, pondere ſubduplo, ut quamdiu octoginta quatuor argentei è libra, & è ſingulis unciis ſeptem cudebantur, tam diu quoque aurei duo & quadraginta libram implerent. Poſtquam vero argentei nummi pondus imminutum eſt: Ut ſex & nonaginta in libram conſtituerentur, tum quoque duo de quinquaginta aurei, pondere tanto leviore, in ſingulis libris cudi cœperunt.* Which Conjecture ſeems not altogether improbable, if we reſpect the later Conſuls, and firſt *Cæſars*, in whoſe Times we find the *Aurei* to have been double to the *Denarii Cæſarei*; but ſurely long before *Juſtinian*, the *Aurei*, or as they were then alſo called the *Solidi*, loſt that proportion to the Silver, and kept it only to the *Semiſſes Aurei*, to which they were double, as they were in a treble proportion to the *Tremiſſes*.

[d] *Arias Montanus* in *Thubal Cain, ſive de menſuris.*

[e] Plinius, l. 3. c. 33.

Wherefore inſtead of theſe Conjectures (which have been the bane of many a good Author) of *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, and *Snellius*, I would read the later part of thoſe words of *Pliny*, as the *MSS.* do, till I can ſee ſome concluding Reaſon, or good Authority of ancient Authors to the contrary: For I do not ſee why the *Romans* at the firſt might not coin forty *Aurei* out of the *Libra*, as well as forty Silver *Teruncii* out of the *Denarius*: Which [i] *Varro* aſſures us they did. And who knows whether at the firſt making of their Gold Coins, which was ſixty two Years, according to *Pliny*, after the firſt Coining of Silver, they endeavoured to keep them in *duplâ ratione*, in reſpect of weight: Which graceful manner they might afterwards introduce by Commerce with the *Grecians*.

[i] Varro l. 4. de L. Latin

And here, e'er I proceed any farther in my Enquiry after the *Denarius Cæſareus*, I cannot but complain, either of the Negligence of former Times, or Unhappineſs of ours; in that not one Author extant mentions the true Weight of the *Denarii*, under the *Cæſars*. [k] *Xiphilinus* relates in his Epitome of *Dio*, how *Antoninus Caracalla* corrupted, and abaſed the Coins; but makes no mention of the Weight. Τῷ οὖν Ἀντωνίνῳ, τάτε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ νόμισμα κίβδηλον ἦν, τόδε ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὁ παρεῖχεν ἡμῖν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ μολίβδου καταργυρούμενον, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐκ χαλκοῦ καταχρυσούμενον ἐσκευάζετο. *To* Antoninus, *as other things, ſo alſo his Money was adulterated: For the Silver and Gold, which he gave us, the one was prepared of Lead ſilvered over, and the other of Braſs gilt.* [l] Suidas alſo ſpeaking of the *Monetarii* writes thus: Μονητάριοι

[k] Xiphilinus in Anton. Caracalla.

[l] Suidas in voce Μονιτάριοι ſive Μονήταριοι

Μονηταρίοι οἱ τῷ τὸ νόμισμα τυχνίζοντι, ὅτι ἐπὶ Αὐρηλιανοῦ διέφθειρον τὸ νόμισμα, καὶ τὸ ἥλιον ἔρχονται Φιλικήσιμον ἀνελόντες ἐμφύλιον ἔξεισι πόλεμον, ὃς μόλις Αὐρηλιανὸς χειρωσάμενος ὑπὸ σφαγὴν κολάσεων ἀμότητι καὶ ἐτελεύτησε. *The* Monetarii *are Artizans employed in the making of Money. Theſe, in* Aurelian's *time, corrupted the Money; and, having ſlain their Governour* Felicitiſſimus, *raiſed a Civil War; whom* Aurelianus *with much difficulty conquering, put to Death with exquiſite Torments.* And many good Laws were made by ſeveral Emperors, againſt adulterating and corrupting of Coins: And thoſe executed with much ſeverity, even in the time of Chriſtianity: For we find under the Emperor *Conſtantine*, that ſuch as offended in this kind, were not only put to Death, but to a cruel and bitter Death by Fire. *L. OMNES SOLIDI. C. THEOD. SIQUIS SOLIDI CIRCVLVM EXTERIOREM INCIDERIT, VEL ADVLTERATVM IN VENDENDO SVBJECERIT. Omnes ſolidi, in quibus noſtri vultus, ac veneratio una eſt, uno pretio æſtimandi ſunt, atque vendendi, quanquam diverſa formæ menſura ſit: Quod ſiquis aliter fecerit, aut capite puniri debet, aut flammis tradi, vel aliâ pœnâ mortiferâ. Quod ille etiam patietur, qui menſuram circuli exterioris adraſerit, ut ponderis minuat quantitatem, vel figuratum ſolidum, adulterâ irritatione, in vendendo ſubjecerit.* In *Conſtantius*'s time the ſame Puniſhment was inflicted. *L. PRÆMIO. C. THEOD. DE FALSA MONETA. Præmio accuſatoribus propoſito, quicunque ſolidorum adulter potuerit reperiri, vel à quoquam fuerit publicatus, illicò omni dilatione ſubmotâ flammarum exuſtionibus mancipetur.* And afterwards under *Valentinianus*, *Theodoſius*, and *Arcadius*, they were accounted, and ſuffered as *Rei læſæ Majeſtatis. L. FALSÆ MONETÆ. COD. EODEM. Falſæ monetæ rei, quos vulgò paracharaſſas vocant, Majeſtatis crimine tenentur obnoxii.* But no where is it mentioned concerning the *Denarii*, and *Quinarii*, which were the Silver Coins in common uſe, how much ſhould be their weight. Wherefore in ſuch a ſilence of ancient Authors, we have no more ſolid and ſure Foundation of our Enquiry, than either by our ſelves to examine the weight of the fairеſt Coins under the Emperors; or elſe to relate what others long before our time have obſerved. *Antonius Auguſtinus* in general informs us, when Coins were at their higheſt perfection, and how they began to decline with the *Roman* Empire: As commonly when Money comes to be abaſed, and that the Mint, like the Pulſe, beats too ſlowly and irregularly, it is an evident Symptome of ſome Diſtempers in the Bowels of a State. [o] *The Medals of all times* (ſaith he) [*are worthy to be obſerved by Artizans*] *beginning from* Alexander *the Great, in whoſe time they principally flouriſhed, till the Emperor* Gallienus, *when they chiefly fell together with the Empire. From thence to the end of* Juſtinian, *there are found good Medals of all the Emperors, but with a notable diminution of their politeneſs and ancient perfection. Thoſe which we have after* Juſtinian *are unſufferably bad. The fault by all Men is aſſigned to the* Huns, *and* Vandals, *and* Alanes, *and* Goths, *and* Longobards, *and to other barbarous and ſavage Nations, who conquered the greateſt part of* Europe. *Erizzo*, who lived almoſt an hundred Years ſince, a very diligent Man in the *Roman* Coins, but it is to be wiſhed that he had uſed more Judgment in the explication of them, more particularly informs us. [p] *Having compared the weight of thoſe ſorts of Money, which are equal in weight to the* Roman Denarius, *with the Medals of Silver, which have the Heads of the* Roman *Emperors imprinted, I have found them not a little different, ſo that as it were all thoſe Medals weigh leſs than the* Denarius. *And having alſo weighed thoſe Medals which have the Effigies of the* Cæſars, *I have continually found them different amongſt themſelves in weight.* This uncertainty ſo troubled *Villalpandus*, after many Experiments made at *Rome*, that he knew not what to determine. And it ſeems [q] *Blondus* long before conceived it impoſſible: *Hæc omnia qualia per ſingulas ætates fuerint, ex amuſſim oſtendere, non magis difficile, quàm impoſſibile fuerit, non ſolum*

Greaves.

[o] *Le medaglie di tutti i tempi [ſono degne da eſſer oſſervate degli Artifeci] cominciando da Aleſſandro magno, nell' età del quale principalmente fiorirono, per fin al tempo dell' Imperador Gallieno, nel quale caddero affatto inſieme con l' imperio. Da indi poi in fina Giuſtiniano ſi trovano buon medaglie di tutti gli Imperadori ma con notabile perdita della politezza & perfettione antica. Quelpoi che habbiamo dopo Giuſtiniano, è tanto cattivo che non ſi può ſoffrire. Et ſe ne dà quaſi da ognuno la colpa à gli Unni, à i Vandali, à gli Alani, à i Goti, à i Longobardi, & ad altre barbare, & fiere nationi, che ſignoreggiarono gran parte d' Europa.* Ant. Auguſt. *de dog.* 2.

[p] *Havendo io tali monete le quali ſono del peſo di un denario Rom pareggiate di peſo alle medaglie di argento, che hanno ſcolpite le teſte de i Principi Romani, le ho ritrovate differenti non poco del peſo, ſi che quelle medaglie peſano quaſi tutte meno del Denario; & havendo ancora peſate quelle medaglie che hanno ſcolpita la effigie de i Cæſari, le ho ſempre ritrovate differenti fra loro nel peſo.* Erizzo.

[q] Blond. l. 5. de Roma triumph.

lium quia obſcuris & noſtrâ ætate ignotis verbis ſunt à majoribus tradita, ſed quia omnis ferè ætas ſuam habuit cudendi varietatem, & formam. Wherefore, for further ſatisfaction of the Reader, I ſhall relate ſome Obſervations of mine own: Eſpecially thoſe of the twelve firſt *Cæſars*, which I took, with many others, by an accurate Balance, from ſome choice Cabinets in *Italy*. And firſt, I ſhall begin with the Gold Coins: For ſeeing the *Aurei* under the former *Cæſars* were in *duplâ ratione* to the *Denarii*, therefore the weight of thoſe being known, we cannot be ignorant of the weight of the *Denarii Cæſarei*. Beſides, they are not ſubject to be conſumed by Time and Ruſt, but only *ex intertrimento*, and therefore we may the ſafelier give Credit to them. And laſtly, becauſe the difference, tho' but of a Grain, is of ſome conſideration in Gold, the Maſters of the Mint uſe to be the more circumſpect about them: Whereas in Silver Coins, ſince it is hardly worth the pains to ſtand preciſely upon the exceſs or defect of every Grain, therefore there are few of theſe ſo exact, but either exceed or want in the very Mint, one or two Grains, and ſometimes more.

The Weight of ſome AUREI, *under the firſt Twelve* CÆSARS.

	Eng. Grains.
* C. CAES. COS. III	CXXIII ½?
* *A ſecond, on the Reverſe,* A. HIRTIVS. PR.	CXXII ½
* *A third*	CXXIV ½
AVGVSTVS. CAESAR. III. VIR	CXIX ½
A ſecond, on the Reverſe, OB CIVES SERVATOS	CXIX ½
* *A third, on the Reverſe,* DIVOS. AVG. DIVI. F.	CXIX
TIBERIVS	CXVIII ½
* *A ſecond, on the Forepart* TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVSTVS *On the Reverſe, a Temple*	CXVII ½
CALIGVLA	
CLAVDIVS, *on the Reverſe,* S. P. Q. R. OB. CIVES SERVATOS	CXVII
A ſecond	CXVII ½
A third	CXVIII ½
* NERO, *on the Reverſe,* SALVS	CXVI
* *A ſecond, on the Reverſe,* JVPPITER. CVSTOS	CXIII ½
* *A third, on the Reverſe,* CONCORDIA. AVGV. STA	CXIII
GALBA, *on the Reverſe,* CONCORDIA. PROVINCIARVM	CXV
OTHO, *on the Reverſe,* SECVRITAS S. P. Q. R.	CXVIII ½
VITELLIVS, *on the Reverſe,* LIBERTAS RESTITVTA	CXII ½
VESPASIANVS, *on the Reverſe,* PACI AVGVSTI	CXI
* *A ſecond, on the Reverſe,* COS. III TR. POT.	CXIV ½
A third, on the Reverſe, PONT. MAX. TR. P. COS. VI	CXI
* *A fourth, on the Reverſe,* PACI. AVGVSTI	CVIII ½
A fifth, on the Reverſe, PACI. AVGVSTI	CX
* T. VESPASIANVS, *on the Reverſe,* ANNONA AVG	CIX ½
* DOMITIANVS. COS. II.	CXIII
* *A ſecond,* DOMITIANVS. COS. VI. CAESAR. AVG. F. *on the Reverſe,* IVVENTVTIS. PRINCEPS	CXII ½

Theſe *Aurei* were ſelected by me out of ſeveral others, as the faireſt and entireſt; and amongſt theſe to ſuch as I have prefixed an Aſterisk, they are ſuch as ſeemed ſo perfect, that I could make no juſt Objections againſt them. By theſe it appears that 'Plin. l. 33. c. 3. *Pliny* ſpeaking of the Gold Coins, rightly informs us: *Paulatimque Principes imminuere pondus, imminuiſſe vero ad* XLVIII. *That by degrees the Emperors leſſened the Weight* [of the *Aurei*] *to the forty eighth part of the* Roman *Pound*; that is, to the fourth part of the Ounce. For this is the loweſt Weight, that I find, till *Heliogabalus*'s time, who coined new ſorts of *Aurei*, different from what had been the conſtant Practice of the *Roman* State: Some of which were the fiftieth part of the *Libra Romana*, and others again ſo maſſy, that they were *Centeni*, or *Bilibres*; which not long after were altered and aboliſhed by *Alexander Severus*. The manner is expreſſed by 'Lampridius in Alex. Severo. *Ælius Lampridius*, in the Life of *Alex. Severus*: *Formas binarias, ternarias, & quaternarias, & denarias etiam, atque amplius, uſque ad bilibres quoque & centenas, quas*

quas Heliogabalus invenerat, vel præcepit, nec in ullo cujuspiam versari Atque ex eo hos materiæ nomen inditum est, cum diceret plus largiendi hanc esse Imperatori causam, si eam multos solidos minores dare posset, dans decem vel amplius ana formas, triginta, & quinquaginta, & centum dare cogeretur. Under the name *Alex. Severus* began the *Semisses Aurcorum*, and *Tremisses* to be coined, which had not formerly been in use. The *Semisses* were answerable in weight to the *Denarii Cesarei*, when they were least, that is, ninety six in the *Roman* Pound; tho' *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, and others, upon a mistake, equal them then to the *Drachma Attica*.

[t] Lampridius in Alex.Severo.

[t] *Ælius Lampridius* writing of *Alex. Severus*, plainly expresses, that in his time they began. *Tamque primum semisses aurcorum formati sunt, tunc etiam, cum ad tertiam partem aurei vetigal decidisset, tremisses, dicente Alexandro etiam quartarios futuros, quod minus non posset.* Afterwards *Constantine*, *Constantius*, *Julian*, and other succeeding Emperors, lessened the weight of the *Aurei*, whereby there came to be seventy two in the *Roman* Pound, so that each of them weighed the *Sextula*, or four *Scrupula*. That the *Aurei* of *Constantine*'s time were sixty two in the *Roman* Pound, is most evident out of the *Codex Theodosianus*, where they are also absolutely called *Solidi*, without the addition of *Aurei*. " *L. SIQUIS. C. THEOD. DE PONDERATORIBUS, ET AURI INLATIONE. Siquis solidos appendere voluerit auri cocti, septem solidos quaternorum scripulorum, nostris vultibus figuratos, adpendat pro singulis unciis.* XIV. *verò pro duabus, juxta hanc formam omnem summam debiti inlaturus, eadem ratione servanda, etsi materiam quis inferat, ut solidos dedisse videatur.*

[o] Codex Theodos. Lib. de ponderatoribus

[x] Gui. Pancirollus, in his *Thesaurus variarum lectionum utriusque juris*, reads VI Solidos, instead of VII, *and* XII *instead of* XIV. And that it must necessarily be so, besides that the *Solidi* of *Constantine* now extant prove as much, may be collected out of the proportion of weight which is here assigned by *Constantine* himself to the *Solidi*, and that is four Scruples, or the *Sextula*. For the *Solidus* containing four Scruples, and the Ounce containing twenty four Scruples, there will therefore be six *Solidi* in the Ounce; again, the Pound consisting of twelve Ounces, and the Ounce of six *Solidi*, the whole Pound therefore will consist of seventy two *Solidi*. These

[x] Guil. Pancirol. lect. thesaur. var. lect. utr. juris.

[illegible] Where [illegible] distinction [illegible] right.

[illegible] *Quæ tam certa [illegible] ratio [illegible] ante [illegible] auri [illegible] in LXXII. solidos libra ferretur accepta.* This farther thing is implicitly confirmed by *Isidorus*, (*l.* 16. *Orig. c.* 25.) *Solidus alio nomine sextula dicitur, quod ita sex unciis compleatur. Hanc ut Latini, vulgus aureum solidum vocat, cujus tertiam partem [illegible] tremissem, quod [illegible] tres nummos.* Where [x] *Agricola*, I imagine, truly finds fault with him for calling the *Solidus*, *Sextula*; tho' the proportion he assigns is right; that is, that the *Solidus* was the sixth part of the *Roman* Ounce, and contained ἑξαΐτις σκλῆρα, *the weight of the Sextula*, as it is attested by [y] *Zonaras*: Or, which is all one, that seventy two *Solidi* were made out of a *Roman* Pound, as *Justinian* has expressly alleged. And as intimated there of the *Solidi*, or *Aurei*, from *Constantine* to *Focas*, which I have weighed, manifestly prove.

[x] Agricola, l. 2. de pond. & temperat. monetarum.

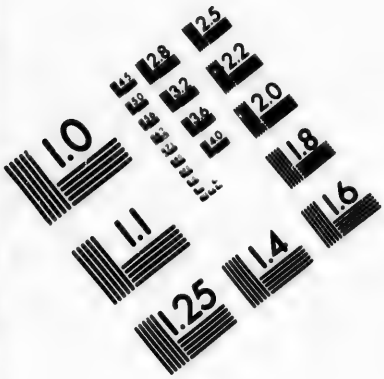
[y] Zonar. l. 3.

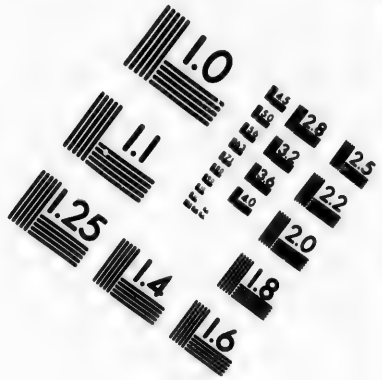
In the same place of [a] *Isidorus* we may collect the reason why the *Aureus* was called *Solidus*. After that, the *Semisses*, and *Tremisses Aurei* were coined, the *Aureus* was called *Solidus*, because nothing was wanting to it. *Solidum enim Antiqui integrum dicebant, & totum*: In which sense the *Solidus* was also taken for the *Libra*, or *Assis*; that is, as the *Assis* is taken for the whole, according to that usual Phrase of *Civilians*, *Ex asse hæres*, when one is Heir to the whole Inheritance: So the *Solidus* was taken for the whole *Assis*. [b] *Volusius Metianus*. *Primæ visio solidi, id est integræ [illegible] in duas partes dividendi delectatur. [illegible] bonæ*, (Tacit. *Annal.* [illegible]) the Romans [illegible] *idem pauci habere capti ac mori, quod Indus auri, sic Romani regis [illegible]* Salmas. de [illegible]

[a] Isidor. Orig. l. 16. c. 25.

[illegible] Hardly escaped [illegible] Emendator, who [illegible] needed to have [illegible] tick, and to have [illegible] For he thus writes: *[illegible] edice in rejam [illegible] ita reposuit just, [illegible] alterum, & fortasse [illegible] lectionem jubentem, [illegible] dum, duodecim uncias, aut certe quinquaginta.* A proper conference, because the Parchment was scraped, and the first writing altered, therefore the true reading must be expunged, and a false one put in: Whereas he might with more Candour and Ingenuity have concluded the contrary, that the false one was expunged by the Scribe, and the true one inserted. For who uses in Copying his *MSS.* to scrape any thing out of the *Apographum*, [illegible] when by collating it he found it to be different from the Original?

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [





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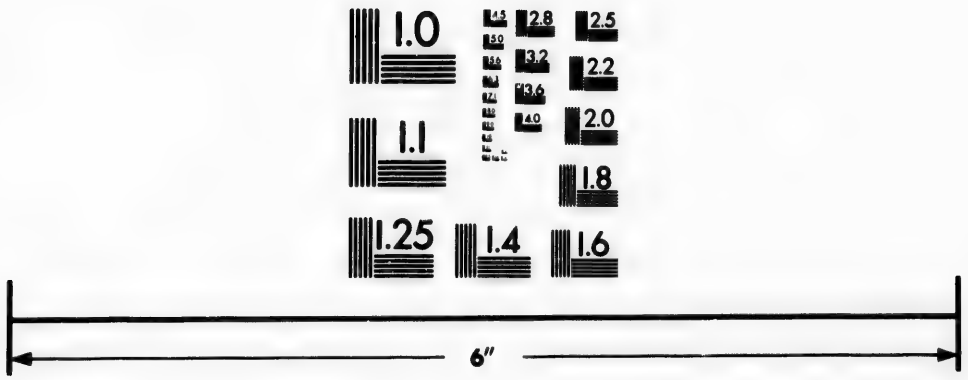

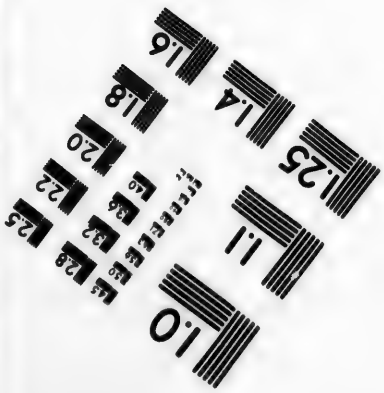

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Greeves.

called that the Solidus Aureus, *when it had the ſame weight in Gold, which the* Solidus, *that is, the* Aſſis *had in reſpect of Braſs, that is, two Drachmes.* Tho' I rather ſuppoſe that the *Aureus* was called *Solidus*, firſt of all in *Severus*'s time, not for containing two *Denarii* in weight, (which *Salmaſius* calls *Drachmes*) for ſo it always did under the later Conſuls, and firſt Emperors, but becauſe the *Aureus* was then firſt divided into two parts; that is, into the *Semiſſes*, and *Tremiſſes*, and ſo relatively to theſe the whole *Aureus* was rightly called *Solidus*. Of the ſame Opinion is [d] *Agricola*: *Quos aureos, cum reſpectum ad ſemiſſes & tremiſſes haberent, tunc primò dixerunt ſolides, quaſi ſemiſſes ex dimidia eorum parte, tremiſſes ex tertia conſtarent.*

[d] Agricola, l. 2. de pond. & temp. monetarum.

The *Semiſſes*, and *Tremiſſes*, of the other Emperors, at ſome diſtance after *Severus*, came to be leſs in the ſame proportion, as the *Aurei* were leſſened. For the *Aurei* of *Severus* were double to the *Denarii Ceſarei*, and therefore but forty eight in the Pound, and not fifty, as *Heliogabalus* made, whoſe Error *Severus* corrected. But when the later Emperors made ſeventy two *Aurei* out of the *Roman* Pound, the *Semiſſes* came alſo to be diminiſhed, and were half of theſe new *Aurei*, and not of the former, and the *Tremiſſes* the third part. And here the *Aurei* loſt that proportion which they kept before, of being double to the *Denarii*. Of theſe *Tremiſſes* is *Juſtinian* to be underſtood. *L. FORTISS. MILITIBVS. COD. DE MILITARI VESTE. Fortiſſimis militibus noſtris per Illyricum non binas tremiſſes pro ſingulis clamydibus, ſed ſingulas ſolides dare præcipimus.* And this may be farther proved by a fair * *Tremiſſis* in Gold of mine own of *Juſtinian*, with the Inſcription D. N. JUSTINIANUS, weighing twenty one Grains *Engliſh*, and therefore wanting only three Grains ½, which it may have loſt by Time: Otherwiſe it would be exactly the 216th part of the *Roman* Pound; that is, the third part of the *Aureus*, or *Solidus* of thoſe Times: Whereas if it had been coined to the proportion of the *Aureus*, when there were forty eight in the Pound, it ſhould have weighed 36 Grains ½, ſo that it muſt have loſt 15 ½, a difference ſo great in a piece of Gold ſo fair, and withal of ſo ſmall a quantity, altogether improbable. And therefore this Coin alone, if no more were extant, would confute [b] their Opinion, who maintain that the *Tremiſſis* of *Juſtinian* differed not from the *Tremiſſis* of *Severus*, and conſequently the *Aurei* of them both, better than the Reaſons produced by [b] *Covarruvias* to the contrary have done.

* I have ſince peruſed another *Tremiſſis* in Gold, a very fair one, with this Inſcription, D. N. JUSTINUS. P. F. AUG. weighing twenty two Grains, and better; which formerly belonged to the learned Geographer, *Ortelius*. Beſides a third, of *Majorianus*, with CONOB ſuperſcribed (which ſignifies, *Conſtantinopolitanum Obizum*, or *Conſtantinopoli Obſignatum*) weighing likewiſe twenty two Grains. And a fourth, of *Juſtinian*, weighing twenty three.

[b] Covarruvias, Tom. 1. c. 3. paragr. 1, & 2. de vet. aureis, & argenteis numis.

The Weight of ſome of the Faireſt AUREI *of the* Roman *Emperors, from* Nerva *to* Heraclius.

On the Fore-part of the AUREI *are theſe Characters:*	*On the Reverſe theſe:*	Eng. Grains.
IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M TR. P. II. COS. IIII. P. P.	FIDES. EXERCITVS	111½
IMP. TRAIANVS. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P.	DIVVS. PATER. TRAIANI	110½
IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG.	COS. II. P. M. TR. P. P. AVG	121½
ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. XII.	COS. IIII	119½
ANTONINVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS.	P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. *in Scuto Victoriæ.* VIC. AVG	118½
IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG.	CONCORDIAE. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. II. COS. II.	117½
L. VERVS. AVG. ARM. PARTHI. MAX.	TR. P. V. IMP. III. COS. II	113½

		Eng. Grains.	Grayes.
M. COMM. ANT. P. FEL. AVG. P. P.	IOVI VLTORI	112	
SEVER. P. AVG. P. M. TR. P. X. COS. III	FELICITAS. SAECVLI	114½	
IMP. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG	CAESAR. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG	114	
* *Trebonianus Gallus.*	P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P.	75½	
* *Gallienus*	P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P	74½	
IMP. PROBVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIOSO. SEMPER	100	
IMP. C. CARINVS. P. F. AVG.	SPES. AVGG	72	
DIOCLETIANVS. P. F. AVG. MAXIMIANVS.	IOVI. CONSERVAT. AVGG	77½	
CONSTANTINVS. MAX. AVG	VIRTVS. MILITVM T.	74½	
	SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE *Infra* T. R	70½	
CONSTANTINVS. P. F. AVG	VIRTVS. AVGVSTI. N	68	
CONSTANTIVS	GLORIA. REIPVBLICAE. VOT XXX. MVLTIS. XXXX. *infra* SNNS	70	
IM. CAE. MAGNENTIVS. AVG	VICTORIA AVGG. LIB. ROMANOR *Infra* TR	70¼	
FL. CL. IVLIANVS. P. F. AVG	VOT. X. MVLT. XX. *infra* ANT	68½	
D. N. IOVIANVS. P. F. PERP. AVG	SECVRITAS. REIPVBLICAE — VOT. V. MVLT. X. *infra* COS. P	68	
D. N. VALENS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIP. *infra* ANTO	68½	
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	RESTITVTOR. REIPVBLICAE—	69¾	
A Second		69	
D. N. GRATIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIAE. AVGG. *infra* TROES	69	
A Second		68¾	
D. N. THEODOSIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGG. *infra* CON	68	
A Second		69¼	
D. N. ARCADIVS. P. F. AVG	NOVA. SPES. REIPVBLICAE — *Intra Corollam* XX. XXX *Infra* CONOB	67½	
A Second		68	
D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG *Statua, cui Inscript.* R. V *infra* CONOB	69¼	
A Second		69¾	
A Third, D. N. HONORIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. N. D. *infra* CONOB	68½	
D. N. THEODOSIVS, P. F. AVG	IMP. XXXXII. COS. XVII. P. F *infra* CONOB	69½	
D. N. PLA. VALENTINIANVS	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68	
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	69¼	
D. N. VALENTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGG. *infra* TROES	68	
D. N. IVL. NEPOS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. A. *infra* CONOB	69¾	
D. N. ANASTASIVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68¾	
D. N. IVSTINIANVS. P. F. AVG	VICTORIA AVGGG. A. *infra* CONOB	69	
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG	VICTORIA. AVGGG. *infra* CONOB	68	
D. N. FOCAS. PERP. AVG	VICTORIA. AVG. *infra* CONOB	69¾	
HERACLIVS		69¼	
A Second		69½	

And

Of the Aureus.

And thus much of the *Aurei* under the former and later Emperors, as they ſerve to illuſtrate and prove the Weight of the *Denarii Cæſarei*, which is our next and principal Enquiry.

The *Denarii* under the *Cæſars* were almoſt as various and unconſtant as the *Aurei*, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs; and if they had not been ſo, they could not have kept that proportion to the *Aurei* of the former Emperors, which we aſſigned. From *Auguſtus*'s time to *Veſpaſian*, as I find by examining many of them, they continually almoſt decreaſed, till from being the ſeventh part of the *Roman* Ounce, they came now to be the eighth part: And therefore ninety ſix were coined out of the *Roman Libra*, whereas before under the Conſuls eighty four. From *Veſpaſian* to *Alex. Severus*, as far as I have obſerved, the Silver continued at a kind of ſtay in reſpect of weight, excepting only ſuch Coins, as upon ſome extraordinary occaſion, both then, and in the firſt Emperor's time, were ſtamped, either in Honour of the Prince, or of the Empreſs, and *Augaſta Faustina*, or elſe in Memory of ſome eminent Action. Theſe laſt, moſt uſually, were equal to the *Denarii Conſulares*, and many of them had theſe Characters, *S. A. S. C.* or elſe *S. P. Q. R.* Under *Severus* and *Gordianus*, the *Denarii* began to recover their primitive Weight, and came to be equal to the *Denarii Conſulares*, the beſt of which alſo were exactly the ſame; and ſo continued during the ſucceeding Emperors, till *Valerian*, with little diminution, but moſt commonly with a notable alteration and variance of alloy. After *Gallienus* there happened ſuch a Deluge of Barbarous Nations, which overflowed the greateſt part of *Europe*, that not only the Coins but even the Liberal Arts and Sciences, began with the Majeſty of the Empire to decline from their firſt Luſtre and Perfection.

Cedrenus and Glycas compared.

Whereſore I ſhall not ſpeak of the Mancuſes, or Myriarenſes, a ſort of Silver Coin in uſe before, and after *Juſtinian*, which ſome collect out of *Cedrenus* to have been the eighth part of the Ounce, and therefore equal to the *Denarius* in the loweſt valuation; tho' Scaliger, Mag. Ling. Sect. [illegible] and the *Scholiaſtes Baſilic.* Lib. 25. *Novellar.* and to contain twenty four *Siliquæ*. But I ſhall not poſitively determine either the Weight of this, or of the *Keration* or *Siliqua* in Silver, both coined when the Imperial Seat was tranſlated to *Byzantium*, unleſs I had examined ſome of the faireſt of them. And for the ſame Reaſon I ſhall not define the *Hebrew Denarius*, mentioned by *Elias* in *Lexicon*, in the word דינר and by *Maſius* in *Gerundenſis* upon *Exodus*, and by the *Chaldee Paraphraſe*, 2 *Reg.* 5. 5. which I imagine to have been no other than the *Roman Denarius*, uſed by the *Jews*. Nither ſhall I determine the *Arabian Dinar*, and *Derham*; the former of which the Rabbins call דינרא ערבאה uſed by *Rhaſis*, *Avicen*, *Maſue*, and by ſeveral other *Arabians*, both Phyſicians and Hiſtorians. All that can certainly be concluded is this, that by the *Dinar*, when we ſpeak of a Coin, is meant ſometime the *Denarius*, and ſometime the *Aureus*: But when we ſpeak of a Weight, always the *Aureus* is underſtood; as by the *Derham*, the Δραχμὴ, or Silver Drachme. But ſurely the quality of the thing is different from the name: The Silver Drachme of the *Arabians*, as it is generally now uſed in the *Mahometan Dominions* in the *Eaſt*, conſiſting of XLVII½ Grains *Eng'. Gas* I have found by weighing many of them) which is much leſs than either the *Drachma Attica*, or the *Denarius Conſularis*; and ſomewhat leſs than the *Denarius Cæſareus*. And yet it is not improbable but that this may have continued with them without any diminution, for ſix or ſeven hundred Years to our Times, as well as the *Roman* Pound and Ounce have continued entire ſixteen hundred Years and better. But to omit any further proſecution of the *Dinar* and *Derham* of the *Arabians*, which may hereafter more fully be diſcuſſed, when we ſhall handle their Meaſures and Weights, and to go on with our Diſcourſe of the *Roman Denarius*. After the breaking in of ſo many barbarous Nations, as of a Torrent, into the *Roman* Empire, the *Denarius* began generally to be diſuſed; every one almoſt of theſe, as an Argument of their Sovereignty and Conqueſts, making new Coins of their own: Or elſe ſuch as continued the former, either by Allays ſo abaſed the Fineneſs, and Valuation of the Coins, or by ſeveral Diminutions ſo impaired the Weight, that the *Denarius* totally fell, and at laſt almoſt vaniſhed into nothing. Neither will this ſeem ſtrange, if we ſhall conſider, that the like alteration, in reſpect of Weight, hath happened by the revolution of a leſs time, in our own Coins

Coins. I shall instance in our *Denarius* or Penny, which in *Ethelred*'s time, that is, a little more than IↃC Years since, was the twentieth part of the Troy, or Silver Ounce: As [b] M. *Lambard*, in his *Saxon* Glossary observes, and as by Experience I have found (and the same proportion was anciently observed by the [c] *French*, in their *Denier*). This proportion continued successively to *Edward* the First, in whose time we find the Weight of the *Denarius* by * Statute to be thus defined: *Per ordinationes totius regni Angliæ denarius Angliæ, qui vocatur Sterlingus, rotundus, sine tonsura, ponderabit* XXXII *Grana frumenti in medio spicæ, & XX denarii faciunt unciam, & XII unciæ faciunt libram.* Under [d] *Edward* the third it came first to be diminished to the twenty sixth part of the Troy Ounce; and under [e] *Henry* the Sixth it fell to the two and thirtieth; in [f] *Edward* the Fourth's time it came to be the fortieth; under [g] *Henry* the Eighth at first it was the fortieth, then the forty fifth. Afterward sixty Pence were coined out of the Ounce in the second Year of [h] Queen *Elizabeth*; and during her Reign sixty two: Which proportion is observed in these times. So that it is evident that *Ethelred*'s Penny was bigger than three of ours. And after times may see this of ours, as well as the *Roman Denarius*, to be quite diminished, and brought to nothing. For if either our own Exigencies, or the Exigencies of Foreign States with whom we have Commerce, cause us or them (as Occasions will never be wanting) to alter the Proportions of the Gold and Silver Coins, either in respect of Weight, or in respect of Purity, or lastly, in respect of the Valuation the Gold bears to Silver; by all, or some of these Causes, there will inevitably happen such a diminution of the Penny (and proportionably of our other Coins) that at length it will not be worth the Coining. But I leave this Speculation to such, whom it doth more nearly concern. And certainly it is a Consideration not of the least importance; Money being as the Sinews and Strength of a State, so the Life and Soul of Commerce: And if those Advantages which one Country may make upon another, in the Mystery of Exchanges, and Valuation of Coins, be not throughly discovered, and prevented, by such as sit at the Helm of the State, it may fare with them after much Commerce, as with some Bodies after much Food, that instead of growing full, and fat, they may pine away, and fall into an irrecoverable Consumption. But I return to the *Roman Denarius*, which we have brought so low, that there is nothing now left of it, but only the name; and that also suffered an * alteration: For the later *Greeks* instead of the Δηνάριον, called it the Δηνέριον: And both *Greeks* and *Latines*, and sometimes the *Arabians*, took it not in the same sense, as it passed for in the first institution; that is, for a Silver Coin, worth in Valuation ten or sixteen *Asses*, but for any sort of Coin whatsoever. And therefore [i] *Meursius*'s Observation, in his *Glossarium Græco-Barbarum*, is worth our consideration. *Postea* δηνέριον *dixerunt ævo corruptiore, & generaliter pro quavis pecunia. Sicut Itali denaro. Galli Denier. Hispani Dinero. Anonymus de bello sacro.*

Greaves.

[b] Lambardi Glossarium Cantabrig. 1644.

[c] *In appendice libri de limit. agrorum: Juxta Gallos vigesima pars unciæ denarius est, & XII Denarii solidum reddunt.*

* Stat. 31 Edov. 1.

[d] Stat. 9 Edov. 3.

[e] Stat. 2 Hen. 6.

[f] Stat. 5 Ed. 4.

[g] Stat. 36 Hen. 8.

[h] Stat. 2 Eliz.

* In the same manner the *Solidus*, or *Aureus*, as it lost its Valuation, so suffered an Alteration in the *Greek* Name: For instead of χρυσοῦς, we find the Glosses to render it χρύσινος. *Glossæ.* χρύσινος *Solidus*: And in the same Glosses we read δηνάρια interpreted *Biniones*, and δηνάριον *Sestertium*, and δηνάριον λευκὸν *Asprum*.

[i] Meursii Glossarium Græco-Barbar. in voce δηνάριον.

Δηνέρια ἔχετε πολλὰ, δῶτε τῷ ταβερνάρῃ,
Ἐπάρατε πολὺν κρασὶ καὶ πίνετε μετ' αὐτοῦ.

Whence the learned [k] *Jos. Scaliger* rightly observes, that, *Ultimis temporibus denarii pro exigua stipe usurpati sunt, ut hodie in Gallia. Imperator Aurelianus: Philippeos minutulos quinquagenos, æris denarios centum. Eos Vopiscus in Bonoso sestertios æris vocat. Macrobius de nummo ratito loquens, qui erat æreus:* Ita fuisse signatum hodieque intelligitur in aleæ lusu, cum pueri denarios in sublime jactantes, capita, aut navia lusu teste vetustatis exclamant. *In Evangelio secundum Marcum* 12. λεπτὰ δύο ὅ ἐστι κοδράντης. *Hilarius, duos denarios viduæ inopis Deo acceptiores. Luc.* 10. ἐκβαλὼν δύο δηνάρια, *Ambrosius, duo æra. Vetustissimus est igitur denarii usus,* ἀντὶ τοῦ χαλκισμοῦ, *vel stipe.* Thus far *Scaliger*.

[k] Scalig. de re numm.

Such an uncertainty being then, as we have mentioned, both of the *Aurei* and *Denarii*, under the first *Cæsars*, in whose Times the purest Coins, and the best Wits most flourished, and such an abasement and impureness of the Silver under the later Emperors, no reasonable Man can imagine, that either the ancient

Greaves.

cient Grammarians Poets, Orators, Hiſtorians, or eſpecially Phyſicians, whom it did moſt concern to be preciſe, and moſt of which lived under the former Emperors, did ever allude to the Weight of the *Denarius Cæſareus*, but rather to the *Conſularis*. And to this only, and to no other, did the *Attick Drachme* mentioned by *Dioſcorides*, *Cleopatra*, *Galen*, *Julius Pollux*, *Oribaſius*, and the reſt of the *Greek* Authors correſpond. And thus have we finiſhed our Diſcourſe concerning the *Denarius*, in the notion and acception of the Ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latines*.

Our next Labour ſhould be to compare it with the Standards for Weights of divers Nations uſed in theſe Times; For which I had recourſe to [illegible] publick *Zygoſtatæ*, and *Ponderatores*, in my Travels abroad; and for my Obſervations I muſt refer the Reader to this enſuing Table.

* Theſe Weights (excepting *the Rotulo of Damaſcus*) were diligently compared with the Originals and Standards; in like manner as I examined the Meaſures above deſcribed. In both which, if I ſhall find ſome little difference from ſome Originals, 'tis five or ſix Grains in the *Engliſh* Pound, and it may be one or two parts of a thouſand in the *Engliſh* Foot, different from *the Standards in the Exchequer*, or *the Tower*, or *at Winchester*, or ſome other place, it is not much to be wondred: For I have found as great differences in collating the *Engliſh* Standards themſelves: And have heard *Gio. Batt. Berti* (one of the exacteſt Men in this kind that I have known) to complain of the ſame diverſity at *Rome*. And tho' it be a ſhame, that in any well-governed Kingdom, or Common-wealth, the Standards, which are the Rules of *Commutative Juſtice*, ſhould be unequal, and therefore unjuſt; yet unleſs more Art and Circumſpection be uſed, than hitherto hath been put in practice, it is impoſſible but ſuch Inequalities will creep in.

But this Obſervation of mine, by ſome, may be thought too nice and curious. That which follows, I am certain, is as neceſſary, as the preſervation of the Life of many a Man. And that is, that ſome Phyſicians erroneouſly imagine the *Granum tritici* to be alike in all Nations. And Therefore *Cornelius*, a very able Man (who, I think, was the firſt Author of that Opinion) writes thus: (*Lib. 1. c. 6. Method. Medendi.*) *Granum, cui tanquam baſi reliqua innituntur ponderа, rerum conſtantiſque eſſe decet; neque id granum eſſe hordei, ne-*

*A TABLE of the Gold and Silver * Weights of ſeveral Nations: Taken from their Standards, and compared with the* Denarius.

	Eng. Grains.
SUCH Parts, or Grains, of the *Engliſh* Standard for Gold and Silver (or of the *Troy* Weight) as the *Denarius Conſularis* containeth ſixty two, according to the Weight of the beſt Coins, or according to the Weight of the *Congius* of *Veſpaſian*	62½
The Ancient and Modern *Roman* Ounce containeth	438
The Ancient and Modern *Roman* Pound conſiſting of twelve Ounces, containeth	5256
The *Troy* Pound, or *Engliſh* Standard of Gold and Silver, conſiſting of twelve Ounces, containeth	5760
The *Troy*, or *Engliſh* Ounce, (to which Five Shillings Two Pence of our Money, in theſe Times are equal) containeth	480
The *Paris* Pound, or Standard for Gold and Silver, of ſixteen Ounces	7560
The *Paris* Ounce	472½
The *Spaniſh* Pound, or Standard, for Gold and Silver, of ſixteen Ounces, taken by me at *Gibraltar*	7390
Another weighed by me at *Gibraltar*	7085
The *Spaniſh* Pound in *Villalpandus*, is (I know not by what Error) but	7025
The *Spaniſh* Ounce at *Gibraltar* (the Pound conſiſting of 7090 Grains *Engliſh*)	443⅛
The *Venetian* Pound, or Standard, for Gold and Silver, of twelve Ounces	5528
The *Venetian* Ounce	460⅔
The *Neapolitan* Pound, or Standard, for Gold and Silver, of twelve Ounces	4950
The *Neapolitan* Ounce	412½
The Pound, or Standard, for Gold and Silver, of twelve Ounces, at *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Leghorne*	5286
The Ounce at *Florence*, *Piſa*, and *Leghorne*	440½
The Pound, or Standard, at *Siena*, for Gold and Silver, of twelve Ounces	5178
The Ounce at *Siena*	431½
The Ounce at *Genoa*, for Gold and Silver	405½
The *Turkiſh Okeb*, or *Oke*, at *Conſtantinople*, conſiſting of four hundred Silver Drams	19128
The Silver Dram generally uſed in the *Great Turk's* Dominions: As alſo in *Perſia*, and in the *Mogul's* Countries, if I be not miſinformed	47⅞

The

The *Turkish Sultani*, or *Egyptian Sherif*, being a Gold Coin, with which the *Barbary* and *Venetian Chequeen*, and *Norimberg* Ducat, within a Grain more or less, agree	53½
The *Ratel*, or *Rotulo*, for Gold and Silver of 144 Drams at *Cairo*	6886, ⅞
The *Ratel*, or *Rotulo*, for Silk of 72 Drams at *Damascus* (with which I suppose they there formerly weighed their Gold and Silver; because most Countries use the same Weights for Silks, Gold, and Silver)	3443 ½

que tritici, neque ciceris, neque fragi ullius, aut legumi nis, quod nullius par sit ubique gentium pondus. At vero eum maximum minutum, quod nos fabri granum appellant, ex de tim momentum dici potest, in nibus mundi nationib. esse idemque est, & stultis, quos auri sacra fames, & quos virtutis libido, invitat. Tamen rupte Graec, idque fecit, & exemplaribus undiq. eisdem collatis. Indeed it was an useful Fancy of his to think of some common Measure, in which all Nations might concur; tho' it is more to be wished for, than ever to be expected. But that Asseveration of his, *Invitat, & incorrupte servat, idque signis & exemplaribus undique identidem collatis*, from a Man of such rare Abilities, I cannot but extremely wonder at: for if we shall go no farther to confute his Assertion, than to compare our *Grana Troy* with those of *Paris*, which *Cornelius* used, we shall find ours much bigger; XXIX *English* Grains almost equalling XXXV *Paris*. Or if we shall compare the *Spanish Grana Avoi*, with his, we shall find those much less, XXXVI *Spanish* Grains weighing but XXVIII and a half of his at *Paris*. The like could I demonstrate in those of other Countries. By which dangerous and notable Error, for want either of due Care, or an exact Balance, we may censure that whatsoever also is delivered by the Ancients, in the like nature, is not presently without due Examination to be credited

In this Table I judged it much fitter to compare the *Denarius* with the Standards for Gold and Silver of several Nations, than with their Gold and Silver Coins now current. Because the Pounds and Ounces of the Standard, continue alway the same; whereas the Gold and Silver Coins by several Princes several Proportions, according to the Exigencies of the State, admit of several Alterations and Diminution.

The CONCLUSION.

IT was my Intention from the *Pes Rom.* and *Denarius*, together with the *Congius of Vespasian*, to have deduced the other Weights and Measures, used by the *Romans*; and from those of the *Romans*, by such Testimonies as are upon Record in the Writings of the Ancients, to have inferred those of the *Hebrews*, *Babylonians*, *Ægyptians*, *Grecians*, *and of other Nations*. A Work, I confess, intricate and full of Difficulties; wherein I could expect neither to give my self, nor others Satisfaction, without first laying some sure and solid Principles for the *Basis* and Foundation. Therefore that occasioned me to insist the more largely in the prosecution of the *Pes Rom.* and *Denarius*, and to examine all the ways I could possibly imagine, for the evident Proof and Confirmation of them. What in this kind I have done, and with how much truth and diligence, I leave to the impartial Test of After-times, the rest at more leisure may be perfected. Yet these following Observations, as a *Coronis* to the whole Work, I thought would not be unacceptable, if by way of anticipation I communicated them to the World: And those are how the Originals and Standards of Weights and Measures, notwithstanding the Revolutions and Vicissitudes of Empires, may be perpetuated to Posterity. Amongst several ways, which I have thought of, I know none more certain and unquestionable, than to compare them with some remarkable and lasting Monuments, in remote Countries, that have stood unimpaired for many hundred Years, and are like to continue as many more. In which kind I made choice of *the First and most Easterly of the Three great Pyramids in* Ægypt; *of the Basis of that admirable* Corinthian *Pillar*, erected (as I suppose) by one of the *Ptolemys*, *a quarter of a Mile distant to the South from* Alexandria, being one vast and entire Marble-stone: *Of the Rock at Tarracina*, or *Anxur*, where it adjoyns to the *Via Appia*, and almost touches the *Tyrrhene* Sea: *Of the Gate or Entrance into the Pantheon*, or Temple of *Agrippa*, dedicated by him to all the Gods, and by the Christians to all Saints: *Of the Porta Sanda*, in that new and exquisite Structure of St. *Peter's Church in Rome*. If the like had been attempted by some of the ancient Mathematicians, our Times would have been freed from much uncertainty, in discovering the Weights and

and Meaſures of the *Greeks* and *Romans.*

Greaves.

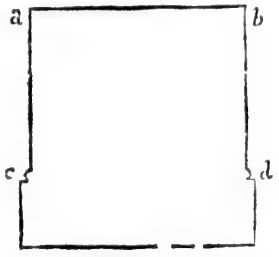
The Firſt and moſt Eaſterly of the three great Pyramids in *Ægypt*, hath on the North-ſide a ſquare Deſcent, when you are entred a little paſt the Mouth of it, there is a Joint, or Line, made by the meeting of two ſmooth and poliſhed Stones over your Head, which are parallel to thoſe under your Feet, the breadth at that Joint, or Line, is three Feet and $\frac{464}{1000}$ of the *Engliſh* Foot.

Within the Pyramid, and about the midſt of it, there is a fair Room, or Chamber, the top of which is flat, and covered with nine maſſy Stones; in it there ſtands a hollow Tomb of one entire Marble-ſtone: The length of the South-ſide of this Room at the Joint, or Line, where the firſt and ſecond Rows of Stone meet, is 34 Feet $\frac{330}{1000}$.

The breadth of the Weſt-ſide of the ſame room at the Joint, or Line, where the firſt and ſecond Row of Stones meet, is 17 Feet $\frac{165}{1000}$.

The hollow or inner part of the Marble Tomb, near the top, on the Weſt ſide of it, is in length ſix Feet $\frac{888}{1000}$.

The hollow, or inner part of the Marble Tomb, near the top of it, on the North ſide, is in breadth two Feet $\frac{333}{1000}$.



The Baſis of the vaſt *Corinthian* Pillar, about a quarter of a Mile from *Alexandria* to the South, on the Weſt-ſide of the Pillar at *a b*, is in breadth twelve Feet $\frac{333}{1000}$. At *c d* it is fourteen Feet $\frac{417}{1000}$.

The Rock at *Terracina*, or *Anxur*, near the *Via Appia*, cloſe by the *Tyrrhene* Sea, hath theſe Figures, beſides ſeveral others in the ſame perpendicular, very deeply engraven.

The uppermoſt Line *b c*, over the Figures CXX, in the innermoſt, and deepeſt part of the engraving, is in length four *Engliſh* Feet, and $\frac{500}{1000}$.

The lowermoſt Line *d a* in the innermoſt, and deepeſt part of the engraving, is in length four Feet $\frac{333}{1000}$.

The ſtately Gate or Entrance into the *Pantheon*, or Temple, built by *Agrippa* in *Rome*, the jambs, and top and bottom of it, being all of one entire Marble-ſtone, is in breadth between the jambes, or ſides, ſome three Inches above the bottom, and ſome nine Inches within, nineteen Feet $\frac{600}{1000}$.

The *Porta Sanctæ*, on the Right-hand of the Frontiſpice of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*, is in breadth on the Pavement, or Threſhold, between the jambes or ſides of the entrance, eleven Feet $\frac{933}{1000}$.

The great Gate, or Entrance, which is the middlemoſt of the five in the Frontiſpiece of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*, the Doors of which are covered with Leaves of Braſs, with very fair and exquiſite Figures, is in breadth on the Pavement, or Threſhold, between the jambes or ſides of it, eleven Feet $\frac{348}{1000}$.

The Meaſures being fixed, we may likewiſe fix the Weights in this manner; by making a Veſſel of a Cubical Figure, anſwerable to the proportion of any one of theſe Feet, or Palms, or Braces, which are deſcribed in the Table at the end of the firſt Treatiſe. This Cubical Veſſel being filled with clear Fountain-water, we are to weigh it with an exact Balance, and to expreſs the Weight of it by ſome one of thoſe Weights, which we have placed in a Table at the end of the ſecond Treatiſe. The ſide of this Cube being known, and the weight of it in Water defined, the reſt of the Weights in the ſecond Table, by way of conſequence, by thoſe Proportions which we have aſſigned, may be diſcovered. Thus for Example: The *Roman* Foot deſcribed by *Villalpandus*, is nine hundred eighty ſix parts, ſuch as the *Engliſh* Foot contains a thouſand: This being cubed (ſaith he) weighs of Fountain-water eighty *Roman* Pounds.

Pounds. If therefore there be given nine hundred eighty six parts of a thousand of the *Engliſh* Foot, the Cube of this will give us eighty *Roman* Pounds in Fountain-water; and conſequently the other Weights will be diſcovered by thoſe Proportions we have aſſigned to them, in reſpect of the *Roman* Pound. Again, eighty *Roman* Pounds of Water being given, if we reduce this into a Cubical Body, the ſide of it will give the *Roman* Foot deſcribed by *Villalpandus*: And conſequently the other Meaſures may be deduced by thoſe Proportions we have given them in a peculiar Table. Whereby it appears, that as *by Meaſures* Weights may be preſerved, ſo on the contrary, *by Weights* Meaſures may be reſtored. *Circuites*

Some DIRECTIONS *to be obſerved in comparing the Valuations of* COINS.

IN comparing the Valuations, either of ancient Coins with modern, or of modern one with another, we are to conſider: Firſt, the *intrinſick* of them, and then the *extrinſick*: The intrinſick is either the *fineneſs* of the Coin, in reſpect of Metal, or the *gravity* in reſpect of Weight. The extrinſick I term firſt, the *Character* imprinted on the Coin. And, Secondly, the *Valuation* enjoyned by the Prince, or State: By which Character and Valuation, what *originally* and *materially* was but common Metal, or Plate, comes now *legally* and *formally* to be current Money. With theſe Limitations, if we ſhall compare ancient Coins with modern, and modern one with another, it will be no difficult matter to proportion out their ſeveral reſpective Valuations; and withal to reconcile the ſeeming Repugnancies, either of ancient Coins now found, differing from the Traditions of ancient Authors, or the Traditions of ancient Authors differing amongſt themſelves.

I ſhall firſt give an inſtance of modern Coins compared with modern, in our *Engliſh* Money compared with that of *Spain*, as being moſt familiar to us; the application of which will by analogy ſerve for all other diſtinct States and Times, uſing diſtinct Coins.

In comparing therefore *Engliſh Money with Spaniſh* Money in *England*, or *Spaniſh Money with Engliſh* in *Spain*, we are thus to proceed: Firſt, We are to examine whether they be of a like fineneſs for the *intrinſick*; if they be, then an Ounce of *Engliſh* Money, and an Ounce of *Spaniſh* (ſuppoſing the Weight of the Ounce to be alike) will be of like value in any other Country out of *England* and *Spain*; where neither are current, but only conſidered as ſo much Metal, or Plate. Secondly, We are to conſider the *extrinſick*, that is, the Form and Stamp of the Coin, with the Valuation of it by the Injunction of the Prince of either State; and here that which before was *equal*, comes now to be *unequal*: For an Ounce of *Engliſh* Money in *England* comes to be more worth than an Ounce of *Spaniſh* Money in *England*; becauſe this wants the Character, Stamp, and Valuation of our Princes, whereby it is current: And for the ſame Reaſon will an Ounce of *Engliſh* Money be leſs in Valuation than an Ounce of *Spaniſh* Money in *Spain*, ſuppoſing (as I ſaid) the Ounce in both Countries to be exactly one and the ſame.

The ſame analogy will be, if we compare ancient Coins, as thoſe of the *Hebrews*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*, with our *modern Coins*. We are firſt to conſider the *intrinſick* of them, whether they be of a like weight and fineneſs for the Metal, with ours: And this is the *Natural or Phyſical Conſideration*. From whence we may conclude, that if, for Example, ſo many *Attick Tetradrachmes* do equal in pureneſs and weight, ſo many of our *Engliſh* Shillings, newly brought from the Mint, or ſo many of our *Troy or Silver Ounces*, taken from the Standard, then are they to be balanced with theſe in the acception of them as Plate; and a Silverſmith, abſtracting from the *extrinſick*, that were to melt them both, would give a like Value for them both. But if we, Secondly, look upon them with the Image and Character of the State, and in the Notion of Money, which is *the politick Conſideration*, then that which before in the *Trutina*, and Scale, was equal, in the *Foro*, and in Commerce, comes to be unequal: And an Ounce of *Engliſh* Money ſhall paſs for more than an Ounce in *Attick Tetradrachmes*, with reference to the Ex-

Greaves. pences of the Mint, and to the Civil Valuation, depending upon a Mandate, or Law, enacted by the Prince.

In like manner will it be, if we compare ancient Coins with ancient, made in different States, as it is in comparing ancient with modern.

Upon these Grounds of Reason it will follow, that whereas the *Roman* Authors make the *Denarius Consularis* to be equal to the *Drachma Attica*, and the *Greeks* equal the *Drachma Attica* to the *Denarius Consularis*, that both say true; and yet both of them, if we speak strictly and exactly, may be deceived. For the *Denarius Consularis* examined by *the Balance, which is the best Judge of the Intrinsick*, (I speak of the *Intrinsick in respect of weight*, and not of the *Intrinsick in respect of fineness*, that being best discovered by the *Scale*, and this by the *Test*: Which last, for the more clearness of my Discourse, I suppose in all these Coins to be alike). I say, the *Denarius Consularis* is found by me, contrary to the Opinion of all modern Writers, to be lighter than the *Drachma Attica*: And therefore to speak strictly, and precisely, cannot be equal to it in the *intrinsick*. But again, if we look upon the *extrinsick* of the *Drachma Attica*, and *Denarius Consularis*, that having the Stamp of *Athens*, and this of *Rome*, here Reason must be our Balance, and not the *Trutina*. For the *Athenian* Coin being a Foreigner, and not current in *Italy*, in the way of Exchange and Commerce, will lose of its primitive Valuation it had at *Athens*, and for want of the *extrinsick* of the *Roman* Stamp, necessarily rebate in the *intrinsick*. And therefore both *Greeks* and *Romans* writing in *Italy*, might truly say, that the *Denarius Consularis*, and *Drachma Attica*, were equal, that is, speaking in *Civil Commerce*, and *Popular Estimation*: Altho' they were unequal *in the Intrinsick* and *Natural Valuation*.

But if we shall change the Scene, and carry the *Denarius Consularis* to *Athens*, the Case will quite be altered. For the *Denarius* being a Stranger, and the *Drachma Attica* a Denizon, that cannot have the same Privileges with this: And therefore the *extrinsick* of the *Denarius* being there of no use, and the *intrinsick* in respect of weight falling short of the *Drachma*, it must necessarily be much less in Valuation at *Athens* than the *Drachma*: And I think no advised *Athenian*, writing in *Attica*, would make them equal, I am certain no *Nummularius* would.

The same may be said of the *Hebrew Shekel*, and *Attick Tetradrachme*, and of all other Coins of distinct States, mentioned in Classical Authors. Thus *Philo* and *Josephus*, in *Judæa*, both truly equal the *Shekel* to the *Attick Tetradrachme*, that is in way of *Commerce*; tho' the *Shekel* be unequal, and less than the *Tetradrachme*, (as I have found by examining many of them) in a just Notion of Weight. The Reason is evident by what hath been expressed before: For in *Judæa* the *extrinsick* makes amends for what the *Shekel* wants in the *intrinsick*; and on the contrary, what the *Tetradrachme* exceeds in the *intrinsick*, is diminished for want of the *extrinsick*, till at length in a popular Estimation they come to be equal. But the quite contrary would happen, in the transportation of *Shekels* from *Jerusalem* to *Athens*. Here the *Shekel* would necessarily fall from its primitive Valuation, and the *Tetradrachme*, being considered now no longer as a Foreigner, would recover what it lost in *Judea*, and consequently rise above the *Hebrew Shekel*; as having a double advantage in the *extrinsick* from the *State*, and in the *intrinsick* from its Weight.

But what need we to go so far for Examples, when as we instanced before, we have them nearer home? The *Spanish* Quarters of the *Dolar*, or *Double Rials*, pass ordinarily in our Sea-Towns but for *Shillings*, (whereas they are worth in the *intrinsick* Thirteen Pence Farthing) and our *Shillings* pass in *Spain* scarce for a *Rial* and an half. For theirs wanting in *England* our *extrinsick*, and ours in *Spain* wanting their *extrinsick*, must respectively rise and fall in their Valuation.

BORRI.

AN ACCOUNT OF *COCHIN-CHINA.*

In Two Parts.

The FIRST Treats

Of the TEMPORAL STATE *of that Kingdom.*

The SECOND,

Of what concerns the SPIRITUAL.

Written in ITALIAN,

By the R. F. *CHRISTOPHER BORRI*, a *Milaneze*, of the SOCIETY of JESUS, who was one of the First MISSIONERS in that Kingdom.

To the READER.

THIS Account is so short, it requires not much Preface, or to say the Truth, any at all; a little time sufficing the Curious to inform himself into the Value and Contents of it. Who the Author was appears by the Title, and what the Cause of his going into that Kingdom, his Profession and only Business being to preach Christianity to the Infidels: He liv'd five Years among them, and learn'd their Language to perfection; and therefore his Relation is not like those of Travellers, who just pass through a Country; or Merchants, that touch at Ports upon the Business of Trade, and consequently deliver very fabulous Accounts, either to make their Travels the more surprizing, or for want of knowing better, taking things upon hear-say, and not understanding the Language to get certain Information. This Father on the contrary frequently conversing with all sorts of People, and having a setled Residence there for Years, had the opportunity of knowing what he writ. He gives the Description of the Kingdom, a considerable part whereof he travell'd over: He speaks of its Product, which he had the benefit of for Sustenance and Cloathing: He tells us the Temper and Seasons of the Air, which he several times felt: He relates the Inundations which he often saw: He gives an Account of their Sects, which he learn'd from their Priests, or Omsays, *whom he converted to Christianity: He sets down the Power and Government of the Kingdom, which he could be no Stranger to, being familiar with several Men in great Authority: And to conclude, he particularizes how far the Christian Faith has been there propagated; which he well knows, as having been himself a Labourer in the Vineyard for the first five Years; and after that, receiving it from those that succeeded him. In fine, the Relation is curious, tho' short, and seems to carry all the Air of Truth imaginable, besides the general Approbation it has always receiv'd in all parts, which is the greatest Commendation that can be given it.*

BORRI.

AN ACCOUNT OF *COCHIN-CHINA.*

The First Part.

OF THE Temporal State of the Kingdom of *Cochin-China.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Name, Situation, and Extent of this Kingdom.

Name of *Cochin-China.*

Cochin-China, ſo call'd by the *Portugueſes*, is by the Natives call'd *Anam*, ſignifying a Weſtern Country, becauſe it lies Weſt of *China*; for which ſame Reaſon the *Japoneſes* in their Language give it the Name of *Cochi*, ſignifying the ſame as *Anam*, in the *Cochi-Chineſe* Language. But the *Portugueſes* having by means of the *Japoneſes* been admitted to trade in *Anam*, of the *Japoneſe* word *Cochi*, and this other word *China*, compounded the Name *Cochin-China*, applying it to this Kingdom, as if they call'd it *Cochin* of *China*, the better to diſtinguiſh it from *Cochin* the City in *India*, inhabited by the *Portugueſes*; and the Reaſon why in the Maps of the World we generally find *Cochin China* ſet down under the denomination of *Cauchin-China*, or *Cauchina*, or the like, is no other but the corruption of the right Name, or that the Authors of thoſe Maps would ſignifie, that this Kingdom was the beginning of *China*.

Bounds.

This Kingdom on the South Borders upon that of *Champá*, in 11 Degrees of North Latitude, on the North ſomewhat inclining Eaſt-ward with *Tunchim*, on the Eaſt is the *Chineſe* Sea, and on the Weſt North Weſt the Kingdom of *Laos*.

Extent.

As to its Extent, I ſhall here ſpeak only of *Cochin China*, which is part of the Great Kindom of *Tunchim*, uſurp'd by a King who was Grandfather to him now reigning in *Cochin-China*, who rebell'd againſt the Great King of *Tunchim*: For as yet the *Portugueſes* have traded only in this Province; and here only the Fathers of the Society have been converſant, in order to introduce Chriſtianity: Yet at the end of this Account, I ſhall diſcourſe concerning ſome Particulars of *Tunchim*, where our Fathers got footing ſince my return into *Europe*.

Cochin China extends above a hundred Leagues along the Sea, reckoning from the Kingdom of *Champá*, in the aforeſaid 11 Degrees of North Latitude, to the Gulf of *Anam*, in the Latitude of 17 Degrees, or thereabouts, where the King of *Tunchim*'s Dominions begin. The Breadth is not much, being about 20 Miles, all the Country plain, ſhut up on the one ſide by the Sea, and on the other by a Ridge of Mountains inhabited by the *Kemois*, which ſignifies a ſavage People; for tho' they are *Cochin-Chineſes*, yet they no way acknowledge or ſubmit to the King, keeping in the Faſtneſſes of the uncouth Mountains,

tains, bordering on the Kingdom of *Laos*.

Division.

Cochin-China is divided into five Provinces, the first bordering on *Tunchim*, where this King resides, is call'd *Sinuvá*; the second *Cachiam*, here the Prince, the King's Son resides and governs; the third, *Quamguya*; the fourth *Quignin*, by the *Portuguese* call'd *Pulucambi*; and the fifth confining on *Chiampa*, is *Renran*.

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CHAP. II.

Of the Climate, and Nature of the Country of Cochin-China.

Great Heat of *India*.

THO' this Kingdom, as has been said, lies between 11 and 17 Degrees of North Latitude; hence it follows of Course, that the Country is rather hot than cold, and yet it is not so hot as *India*, tho' it be in the same Latitude, and within the Torrid Zone. The Cause of the difference is, because in *India* there is no distinction of the four Seasons of the Year, so that the Summer lasts there nine Months without intermission, without seeing so much as a Cloud either Day or Night, and therefore the Air is continually, as it were, inflamed with the great reflection of the Sun-beams. The other three Months are call'd Winter, not because there is any want of Heat, but because at that time it generally rains Day and Night; and tho' to appearance, such continual Rains should naturally cool the Air, yet they falling in the three Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, when the Sun is in its greatest Elevation, and in the *Zenith* of *India*, and no Winds blowing but what are hot, the Air continues so inflam'd, that sometimes the Heat is more intense than in Summer, when for the most part there are pleasant Winds blowing from the Sea, which cool the Ground, wherewith, if Almighty God did not relieve those Countries, they would be uninhabitable.

Four Seasons in *Cochin-China*.

But *Cochin-China* enjoying the Distinction of the four Seasons, tho' not in so perfect a manner as *Europe*, is much more temperate: For tho' its Summer, which comprehends the three Months of *May*, *June*, and *July*, be violent hot; because it lies within the Torrid Zone, and because the Sun is then in its Zenith, yet in *September*, *October*, and *November*, the Autumn Season, the Heat ceases, and the Air becomes very temperate by reason of the continual Rains, which at this time usually fall upon the Mountains of the *Kemois*, whence the Waters running down in abundance do so flood the Kingdom, that meeting with the Sea, they seem to be all of a piece. These Inundations during these three Months, for the most part happen once a Fortnight, and last three Days at a time. They serve not only to cool the Air, but to fertilize the Earth, making it fruitful and abounding in all things, but particularly in Rice, which is the most common and universal Food of all the Kingdom. During the other three Winter Months, which are *December*, *January*, and *February*, there are cold Northerly Winds, bringing cool Rains, and so sufficiently distinguishing the Winter from other Seasons. To conclude, in *March*, *April*, and *May*, the Effects of Spring appear, all things being green and blossoming.

Notable Inundations.

Now since we have spoke of these Inundations, I will not conclude this Chapter without first observing some Curiosities that occur on occasion of them.

The first is, That all Men in general wish for them, not only that they may cool the Air, but much more for the fertilizing of the Earth: For which reason as soon as they appear, all the People are so pleas'd and joyful, that they express it by Visiting, Feasting, and Presenting one another, all of them crying, and often repeating, *Daden Lut*, *Daden Lut*; that is, the Inundation is come, it is here: And this is done by Persons of all Degrees, even to the King himself.

And in regard the Inundations often come so unexpectedly, that very often when they do not think of it at Night, they find themselves the next Morning surrounded with Water; so that they cannot go out of their Houses, throughout the whole Kingdom, as has been said: Hence it is that abundance of Cattel are drowned, for want of time

to

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to retire to the Mountains, or higher Grounds. For this Reaſon there is a pleaſant ſort of Law throughout the Kingdom; which is, that if any Oxen, Goats, Swine, or other Beaſts, are drowned, the Owner loſes them, and they belong to him that firſt takes them: Which cauſes much Sport and Jollity; becauſe when the *Lut* happens, they all go out in Boats, to ſeek the drowned Cattel; upon which they afterwards feaſt and treat one another.

A pleaſant Law.

Beneficial Sport.

Nor are the younger ſort without their Paſtime; for there being in thoſe Fields of Rice, an infinite number of Rats, their Neſts filling with Water, they are forced to ſwim out, and get upon the Trees to ſave themſelves: And it is pleaſant to ſee the Boughs loaded with Rats, like Fruit hanging on them. Then do the Boys run out in their Boats, ſtriving to out-do one another, in ſhaking the Trees, that the Rats may fall and be drowned: Which Childiſh Paſtime is wonderful Beneficial to the Country, delivering it from thoſe miſchievous Creatures, that otherwiſe, by degrees, would devour all the Harveſt.

Market and Fairs on the Waters.

In ſhort, the *Lut* cauſes another conſiderable Advantage: Which is, that it affords every Body the opportunity of furniſhing his Houſe with all Neceſſaries, becauſe the Country being all navigable, during theſe three Days, Commodities are very eaſily convey'd from one City to another, and therefore then are held the greateſt Fairs and Markets, and with greater Concourſe of People than at any other time in the Year. Then alſo it is, that they lay in Proviſion of Wood to burn and build, bringing it from the Mountains in Boats; which to this purpoſe come into the Streets, and into the very Houſes, built for this purpoſe upon high Pillars, that Water may have free paſſage, the People living during that time in the upper Floors; to which it were a wonder if the *Lut* ſhould ever riſe, they being built according to the Situation of the place, to ſuch a height, as they know by long Experience, is ſufficiently above the Waters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Fruitfulneſs of the Country.

IT is an eaſie matter to conceive the Fertility of *Cochin China*, by the Advantages accruing from the *Lut*; yet we will mention ſome other Particulars relating to it. The *Lut* leaves the Land ſo fruitful, that Rice is gather'd three times a Year, in ſuch great plenty and abundance, that there is no Body will work for Gain, all Perſons having enough to live on plentifully.

Rice.

Oranges.

There are great Quantities of Fruit of ſeveral ſorts, all the Year about; and they are the ſame with thoſe in *India*, *Cochin-China* being within the ſame Climate. But to come to Particulars, the Oranges there are bigger than ours in *Europe*, and very full; the Rind of them is thin, tender, and ſo well taſted, that it is eaten with the Juice, which has a pleaſant reliſh like Limons in *Italy*.

Banana's.

There is a ſort of Fruit which the *Portugueſes* call *Banana's*, and others *Indian* Figs; tho', in my Judgment, the Name of a Fig is neither proper to thoſe in *India*, nor in *Cochin-China*, becauſe neither the Tree nor Fruit has any reſemblance with our Figs, the Tree being like that we call *Indian Wheat*, but higher, and the Leaves ſo long and broad, that two of them would ſerve to wrap a Man in quite round, and from Head to Feet. Hence ſome have taken occaſion to ſay, that this was the Tree in Paradiſe, with the Leaves whereof *Adam* cover'd himſelf. This Tree at the top produces a Cluſter of twenty, thirty, or forty of theſe *Banana's* together; and each of them is in ſhape, length, and thickneſs, of an indifferent Citron in *Italy*. Before the Fruit is ripe, the Rind is green; but afterwards yellow, as the Citrons are. There is no need of a Knife to pare this Fruit, for the Rind comes off as we ſhell Beans. This Fruit has a moſt fragrant ſmell; the Pith or Fleſh of it is yellow, and firm, like that of a *Bergamot* Pear, when full ripe, that melts in the Mouth. By this it appears to be no way like our Fig, except in the taſte and ſweetneſs. There is another ſort of them

them, which is only eaten roasted, and with Wine: The Stem dies every Year, when it has produc'd the Fruit, and leaves a young Sprout at the Foot, which grows up against the next Year. That which in *Italy* they call an *Indian* Fig, is nothing like the Plant, or Fruit of this *Banana*, we now speak of; nor is this which we have in *Italy* call'd an *Indian* Fig, in those parts. This Fruit is common throughout all *India*. There is another sort in *Cochin China*, that is not found in *China*, nor *India*: It is as big as the largest Citrons we have in *Italy*; so that one of them is enough to satisfie a Man. These are nourishing, very white within, and full of black round Seeds, which chew'd together with the white Substance, are of a delicious Taste, and a good Medicine against the Flux.

Can. There is another Fruit in *Cochin-China*, which I have not seen in any other Country of *India*; and this they call *Can*: The outward form and nature of the Rind is like our Pomegranate; but within it contains a Substance almost liquid, which is taken out, and eaten with a Spoon; the Taste is Aromatick, and the Colour like that of a ripe Medlar.

Gnoi. They have another peculiar to the Country, that grows, and is like our Cherries, but tastes like Raisins, and is call'd *Gnoo*.

Melons. There are also Melons, but not so good as ours in *Europe*; nor are they eaten without Sugar or Honey. The Water-Melons are large and delicate.

Giacca. There is a Fruit they call *Giacca*, which is common to the other parts of *India*, but much larger in *Cochin-China*: It grows on a Tree as high as the Walnut, or Chesnut, and has much longer Prickles than the *Jubeb*. It is as big as a very large Pompion in *Italy*, so that one of them is a Man's Load. The outrind is like that of a Pine-Apple, but soft and tender within. This Fruit is full of certain yellow round Kernels, like a small piece of Coin, that is round and flat; and in the middle of every one of them, is a Stone that is thrown away. There are two sorts of this Fruit; one in *Portugueze* is call'd *Giacca Barca*: The Bone of this is thrown away, and the Pulp is stiff; they do not take out the Stone of the other; nor is the Pulp hard, but soft as Glue: Both these in taste somewhat resemble that delicious Fruit called the *Durion*, whereof we shall speak next.

Durion. This *Durion* is one of the most delicious Fruits in the World, and only found in *Malaca*, *Borneo*, and the adjacent Illands. The Tree differs little from the *Giacca* last mention'd, and the Fruit it self is like it without, and that resembles the Pine-Apple, even in the hardness of the Rind. The Meat within is very white about the Bone, to which it sticks like Glue, and tastes very like our *Mangiare Bianco* (a Dainty among the *Italians*.) This Meat and Liquor is divided into ten or twelve little Apartments, in each of which the Flesh and Moisture is about its Stone, which is as big as a large Chesnut. And it is to be observ'd, that when they break and open the Shell of this Fruit, there comes from it an ill scent, like that of a rotten Onion, all the Substance within remaining of a most sweet and unexpressible flavour, whereupon I will relate what hapned in my presence: A Prelate arrived at *Malacca*, and one there open'd a *Durion* before him to give him a taste; the Prelate was so offended at that nauseous Smell that came from it when broke, that he would not taste it by any means. Being afterwards set down to Dinner, they gave the rest of the Company *Mangiare Bianco*; but on this Prelates Plate they laid the white Substance of this Fruit, which is so like the *Mangiare Bianco*, that he could not distinguish the difference by the sight. The Prelate tasted it, and thought it so much more delicious than usual, that he ask'd, What Cook dress'd it so rarely? Then he that had invited him to Dinner, smiling, told him, It was no other Cook but God himself, who had produc'd that Fruit, which was the very *Durion* he would not taste. The Prelate was so astonish'd, that he thought he could never eat enough; and they so dear, that even at *Malacca*, where they grow, they sometimes cost a Crown apiece.

BORRI.

Cochin China abounds in another sort of Fruit, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Ananas*; which tho' it be common to all *India*, and *Brazile*, yet because I have not found it well describ'd by those that have writ of it, I would not pass it by. This Fruit does not grow on a Tree, nor from a Seed, but on a Stalk, like our Artichokes, and the Stem and Leaves are much like those of the Thistle or Artichoke. The Fruit is like a Cilinder, a span long, and so thick that it requires both Hands to grasp it. The pulp within is close, and like a Radish, the Rind somewhat hard, scaly like a

Ananas.

Fish. When ripe, it is yellow both within and without, is par'd with a Knife, and eaten raw, the taste of it in eager Sweet, and as soft as a full-ripe *Bergamot*-Pear.

There is besides, in *Cochin-China*, a Fruit peculiar to that Country, which the *Portuguese* call *Areca*. The Trunk of it is as strait as a Palm-Tree hollow within, and produces Leaves like those of the Palm, only at the top among these Leaves, there grow some small Boughs, which bear the Fruit in shape and bigness like a Walnut, green without, just as the Nut is; within it is white and hard like a Chesnut, and has no taste at all. This Fruit is not eaten alone, but is wrapp'd up in Leaves of *Betle*, well known in *India*, which are like our Ivy leaves in *Europe*, and the Plant it self clings to Trees like the Ivy. These Leaves are cut in pieces, and in them they wrap a bit of *Areca*, each of them making four or five Morsels; and with the *Areca* they put some Lime, which is not there made of Stone, as in *Europe*, but of Oister-shells; and as among us there are Cooks and Caterers, &c. so in *Cochin China* there is one in every Family, whose Business is to wrap up these Morsels of *Areca* in *Betle*, and these Persons being commonly Women, are call'd *Betleres*. They fill their Boxes with these Morsels, and chew them all Day, not only when they are at home, but when they are walking, or talking, at all times, and in all places, never swallowing, but spitting them out when they are well chew'd, retaining nothing but the relish and virtue of it, which wonderfully comforts the Stomach. These Morsels are so much in use, that when one of them goes to make a Visit, he carries a Box full of them, and presently presents some to the Party visited, who claps it into his Mouth; and before the Visitor departs, he that is visited sends to his *Betler*-Woman for a Box of the same, and presents it to the Visitor, to return his Kindness; and these Morsels must be still making. And there is so much of this *Areca* us'd, that the greatest Revenues of that Country come from the Fields of it, as among us of Olive Gardens, and the like.

Tobacco is also us'd there, but not so much as *Betle*. The Country also abounds in all sorts of Pumpions and Sugar-Canes. The *European* Fruits are not yet come thither; but I believe Grapes and Figs would take very well. Our Herbs, as Lattice, Endive, Colworts, and the like, come up well in *Cochin China*, as they do throughout all *India*: But they all grow into Leaf, without producing any Seed, so that it must be still supplied out of *Europe*.

There is also great plenty of Flesh, by reason of the great multitude not only of tame Cattel, as Cows, Goats, Swine, Buffaloes, and the like; but of wild, such as Deer, much bigger than those of *Europe*, wild Boars, &c. and of Hens both tame and wild, of which sort the Fields are full, Turtles, Pigeons, Ducks, Geese, and Cranes, which are savory enough; and in short, other sorts, which we have not in *Europe*. Cattel and Fowl.

Their Fishery is very great, and Fish so delicious, that tho' I have travell'd so many Countries, I do not think I have met with any to compare to that of *Cochin-China*. And the Country, as was said before, lying all along upon the Sea, there are so many Boats go out a fishing, and they bring in so much Fish to all Ports of the Kingdom, that it is really very remarkable to see the long Rows of People continually carrying Fish from the Shore to the Mountains; which is duly done every Day, for four Hours before Sun-rising. And tho' generally among the *Cochin-Chineses*, Fish is more valu'd than Flesh, yet the main Reason why they apply themselves so much to Fishing, is to furnish themselves with a kind of Sauce, which they call *Balachiam*, which is made of Salt Fish macerated and steeped in Water. This is a sharp Liquor, not unlike Mustard, whereof every Body lays in such store, that they fill Barrels and Tubs of it, as many in *Europe* lay in their Stocks of Wine. This of it self is no Food, but serves to sharpen the Appetite to the Rice, which they cannot eat without it. For this Reason, tho' Rice be the general and most common Sustenance in *Cochin China*, there must be vast Quantities of *Balachiam*, without which it is not eaten, and consequently there is continual Fishing. There is no less plenty of Shell-fish, Oisters, and other Product of the Sea, especially of one sort, which they call *Cameron*. (I suppose this to be the *Portuguese* word *Camerano*, signifying Shrimps, or Prawns.) Fish. Balachiam.

Besides all this, Providence has furnish'd them with a sort of Food so rare and delicate, that in my Opinion it may be compar'd to the *Manna*, wherewith the

the chosen People of God were fed in the Defart. This is so peculiar to *Cochin-China*, that it is no where else to be found: And I will give an Account of what I know of it by Experience, and not by Hear-say, having seen and eaten of it several times.

Wonderful Nests. In this Country there is found a small Bird like a Swallow, which fattens its Nest to the Rocks, the Sea-waves break against: This little Creature with its Beak, takes up some of the Foam of the Sea, and mixing it with a certain moisture it draws from its own Stomach, makes a sort of Slime, or Bituminous Substance, which serves to build its Nest, which when dry and hardned, remains transparent, and of a Colour between green and yellow. The Country People gather these Nests, and being soften'd in Water, they serve to season Meat, whether Fish, Flesh, Herbs, or any sort whatsoever; and give every thing so different a relish, and so proper to it, as if they had been season'd with Pepper, Cinamon, Cloves, and the richest Spice; this Nest alone being enough to season all sorts of Provisions, without Salt, Oil, Bacon, or any other addition; and therefore I said I thought it like Manna, which had in it the taste of all the most delicious Meats; saving that this is the Work of a small Bird, and that was made by God's Angels. And such great store of them is found, that I my self saw ten small Boats loaden with Nests, taken among the Rocks, in not above a Mile's distance. But they being so precious a Commodity, only the King deals in them, they being all kept for him; and his greatest Vent is to the King of *China*, who values them at a great rate.

They eat no sort of White Meats, looking upon it as a Sin to milk the Cows, or other Creatures: And the Reason they give for this Nicety, is, that Milk was by Nature appointed for the Sustenance of the Young Ones: As if the Owner of the Young Ones could not dispose of their Sustenance. They eat some things which we loath, and Camelions eaten. count venemous, as Camelions, which are here somewhat bigger than those that are sometimes brought dry'd up into *Italy*, out of other Countries. I saw a Friend buy some ty'd together in a Cluster, and lay them upon the live Coals, which having burn'd the String, they walk'd about gently, as they use to do, till they felt the Heat of the Fire; which being of a violent cold Nature, they resisted a-while, but were at last broil'd: My Friend took them up, and scraping off the burn'd Skin with a Knife, the Flesh remain'd extraordinary white; then he bruis'd and boil'd them in a certain sort of Sauce like Butter, and then eat them as a great Dainty, inviting me to bear him Company: But I had enough with the sight of it. BORRI.

Cochin-China abounds in all other things necessary for the Support of Human Life; and in the first place for Cloathing: There is such plenty of Silk, that the Peasants and Mechanicks All wear Silk generally wear it; so that I was often pleas'd to see Men and Women at their Labour, carrying Stone, Earth, Lime, or the like, without the least fear of tearing or spoiling the rich Cloaths they had on. Nor will they wonder it, who shall know, that the Mulberry Trees, whose Leaves feed the Silk-worms, grow in vast Plains, as Hemp does among us, and run up as fast; so that in a few Months the said Worms appear upon them, and feed in the open Air, spinning their Thread at the proper time, and winding their Bottoms in such plenty, that the *Cochin-Chineses* have not only enough for their own uses, but they furnish *Japan*, and send it into the Kingdom of *Lais*, whence it afterwards spreads as far as *Tibet*; this Silk being not so fine and soft, but stronger and more substantial than that of *China*.

The Structures the *Cochin-Chineses* Buildings. use of Wood, are nothing inferiour to those of any other part of the World; for without falsifying, this Country has the best Timber in the Universe, in the Opinion of all that have been there to this time. Among the variety and multitude of their Trees, there are two that most usually serve for Building, and are so incorruptible, that they do not decay in the least, either under Incorruptible Trees call'd *Tin*. Ground, or under Water; and they are so solid and heavy, that they do not swim upon the Water, and a Log of them serves instead of an Anchor to a Ship, One of them is black, but not so as Ebony; the other is red, and both of them, when the Bark is taken off are so smooth and slick, that they scarce need any plaining. These Trees are call'd *Tin*; and they would not deviate much from the Truth, who should say, they were that incorruptible Wood, which *Solomon* made use of for building the Temple: For we know the Scripture

BORRI. gives them a Name much like this, calling them *Ligna Thyina*. The Mountains of *Cochin China* are all full of these Trees, all ſtrait, of ſuch a prodigious height, that they ſeem to touch the Clouds, and ſo thick that two Men cannot fathom them. Of this Timber the *Cochin-Chineſes* build their Houſes, every Man being free to cut down as many as he pleaſes.

The Houſes. The whole Fabrick of their Houſes reſts upon high, ſolid, and well ſetled Pillars, between which they they place Boards to remove at pleaſure; either to exchange them for Cane-Lattices, which they weave neatly, to let in the Air in hot Weather; or to leave a free paſſage for the Water and Boats, at the time of the Inundation, as we obſerv'd above. They have alſo a thouſand curious Inventions, and ingenious Contrivances to ſet off their Houſes, with Carving, and other Works on Wood, which are a very great Ornament.

Aquila, and *Calamba*, odoriferous Wood. Since we have begun to talk of the Trees, before we proceed upon any other matter, I will here mention ſomething of a ſort of Wood, accounted the richeſt Commodity that can be carried out of *Cochin China* to other Parts; which is the moſt famous Wood call'd *Aquila*, or Eagle-Wood, and *Calamba*; which are the ſame thing as to the Tree, but differ in their Value and Virtue. Of theſe Trees, which are thick and high enough, the *Kemois* Mountains are very full; if the Wood be cut of a young Tree, it proves *Aquila*, or Eagle Wood, and this there is moſt plenty of, every one cutting as much as he can: But when the Wood is of an old Tree, that proves *Calamba*; which were very hard to be found, had not Nature it ſelf provided for it, cauſing theſe ſame Trees to grow on the tops of inacceſſible Mountains, where growing old without being expos'd to deſtruction, ſome Boughs of them now and then drop down, breaking off either for want of Moiſture, or through Age, and are therefore found rotten and worm-eaten, infinitely exceeding the common *Aquila*, or Eagle-Wood, in Virtue and ſweet Scent; and this is the ſo highly valu'd and famous *Calamba*. The *Aquila* is ſold by any Body, but the *Calamba* belongs only to the King, becauſe of the high Value of its Perfume and Virtue. And to ſay the truth, it is ſo ſweet where they gather it, that ſome Pieces being preſented me, for a Trial, I buried them above a Yard and half under Ground, and yet they diſcovered themſelves by their Fragrancy. The *Calamba*, where taken, is worth five Ducats a Pound; but in the Port of *Cochin-China*, where the Trade is, it bears a much greater Price, and is not ſold under ſixteen Ducats a Pound. In *Japan* it is worth two hundred Ducats a Pound; but if there be a Piece big enough for a Man to lay his Head on like a Pillow, the *Japoneſes* will give after the rate of three or four hundred Ducats a Pound: The Reaſon of it is, becauſe they inſtead of a ſoft Down-Pillow, when they ſleep, lay their Head on ſome hard thing, and generally it is a piece of Wood, which every one according to his Ability endeavours to have of as great Value as he can; and a piece of *Calamba* is look'd upon as a Pillow fit for none but a King, or ſome Great Lord. Yet the *Aquila*, tho' of leſs Price and Eſteem than the *Calamba*, is ſo conſiderable, that one Ship's Load of it, enriches any Merchant for ever: And the beſt Advantage the King can allow the Governour of *Malacca*, is to grant him one Voyage of *Aquila*; becauſe the *Brachmans*, and *Banians*, of *India*, uſing to burn their Dead with this ſweet Wood, the Conſumption of it is continually very great.

Great Wealth of *Cochin-China*. To conclude, *Cochin China* abounds in rich Mines of the moſt precious Metals, eſpecially of Gold; and to reduce to a few words, what might be ſaid more at large of the Plenty of this Country, I will conclude with that which the *European* Merchants trading thither commonly ſay of it; which is, That in ſome meaſure the Wealth of *Cochin China*, is greater than that of *China* it ſelf; and we all know how rich that Country is in all reſpects.

I ought in this place to ſay ſomething of the Beaſts, whereof we before obſerv'd there was great Variety and Numbers in *Cochin China*: But that I may not dilate too much, I will only treat of the Elephants, and Abadas, or Rhinoceroes, chiefly found here; of which many curious Things may be ſaid, which perhaps very many have not heard of.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Elephants, and Abadas, or Rhinoceroes.

THere are abundance of Elephants in the Woods of *Cochin-China*, which they make no uſe of, becauſe they know not how to take or tame them: Therefore they bring them tame and well taught from *Cambogia*, a neighbouring Kingdom. Theſe are twice as big as thoſe of *India*, the round Print of their Feet they leave behind them, is not leſs than half a Yard Diameter; the two Teeth ſtriking out of the Mouth, whereof Ivory is made, are very often four Yards and a half long; that is, thoſe of the Males, for thoſe of the Females are much ſhorter; by which it is eaſie to compute, how much thoſe Elephants of *Cochin-China* are bigger than thoſe ſhewn about in *Europe*, whoſe Teeth are not above three Quarters of a Yard long. The Elephants live many Years; and I asking, how old one might be? The Driver of it told me, It was ſixty Years old before it came from *Cambogia*, and had liv'd forty in *Cochin-China*: And having my ſelf ſeveral times travell'd upon Elephants in that Kingdom, I can relate many things that will ſeem ſtrange, but yet are very true.

Elephants, their Age.

They carry by Land and Water.

An Elephant generally carries thirteen or fourteen Perſons, who are thus diſpos'd of: As we lay a Saddle on a Horſe, ſo they clap a certain Machine upon the Elephant, which is like a Coach, wherein there are four Seats, it is faſtned with Chains under the Elephant's Belly, as a Horſe's Saddle is girt. The Coach has two Doors on the ſides, where ſix Perſons ſit, three on a ſide; and another behind, where there are two more; and laſtly, the *Nayre*, who ſupplies the place of a Coachman, ſits over the Elephant's Head, and guides him. Nor have I travell'd in this manner by Land only, but very often by Sea too, croſſing Arms of it above a Mile over: And it was wonderful to any Body that knew it not before, to ſee ſuch a vaſt great Lump of Fleſh ſwimming under ſuch a Weight, ſo that it look'd like a Boat rowing. True it is, the Beaſt groan'd under the Toil, occaſion'd by the unreaſonable Bulk of its own Body, and the difficulty of Breathing; and therefore to eaſe it ſelf in that Pain, it ſuck'd in Water with the Trunk, and ſpouted it out ſo high, that it look'd like ſome great Whale gliding along the Ocean.

For the ſame Reaſon of its mighty Corpulency it finds much difficulty in ſtooping down; and this being abſolutely neceſſary for the Conveniency of Paſſengers to get up to, or down from the Coach, he does it not but when commanded by the *Nayre*; and if when he is kneeling, any one ſtops but a little, upon Ceremony, or any other Account, he riſes up, not having Patience to continue in that Poſture, it is ſo painful.

They help up Paſſengers.

Nor is it leſs wonderful to behold, how at the *Nayre*'s Command, he makes, as it were, a Ladder of his Limbs, for the greater Conveniency of thoſe that are to get up into the Coach: The firſt Step is his Foot, which is high enough; for the ſecond, he turns out the firſt Joint above the ſame Foot, diſtant enough from the other; for the third, he bends his Knee; for the fourth, his Hip-bone, ſticking out to that purpoſe; and from whence, he that gets up, lays hold of a Chain faſtned to the Coach it ſelf, where he ſeats himſelf.

By this it plainly appears, how much they are miſtaken, who ſay and write, that the Elephant can neither kneel nor bow down; and that the only way to take him, is to cut the Tree he leans againſt to ſleep: For that falling together with the falſe Support, and not being able to riſe, he becomes a certain Prey to him that lies in wait: Which is all a Fable, tho' it be true that he lies not down to ſleep, that being an uneaſie poſture to him, as has been ſaid, but ſleeps always ſtanding, with a continual agitation of his Head.

How they Sleep.

Upon occaſion of War or Battel, they take off the Roof of the Coach, whence, as it were from a Tower, the Soldiers fight with Muskets, Arrows, and ſometimes a ſmall Piece of Cannon, the Elephant being ſtrong enough to carry it, his Strength being anſwerable to all the reſt: And I have ſeen one my ſelf, that would carry vaſt Weights upon his Trunk; and another that lifted up a great Piece of Cannon with it; and another, who by himſelf launch'd ten

Their vaſt Strength.

Galliots

BORRI.

Galliots one after another, taking hold of them very dexterously with his Teeth, and ſhoving them into the Sea. I have ſeen others pull up large Trees with as much eaſe as we do a Cabbage, or a Lettice: With the ſame eaſe they throw down Houſes, levelling whole Streets when they are commanded, either to do harm to an Enemy in War, or to ſtop the Fury of the Flames upon occaſion of any Fire.

The Trunk.

The Trunk's length is proportionable to the height of the reſt of his Body, ſo that he can take up any thing off the Ground with it without ſtooping. It is made of abundance of ſmall Sinews knit together, which makes it ſo pliable, that he can take up the leaſt thing, and yet ſo ſtrong and firm as we have ſhewn.

All the Body is cover'd with a rough Aſh-colour Skin. An Elephant's uſual Day's Journey is twelve Leagues, and his Motion has the ſame effect upon thoſe that are not us'd to it, as that of a Ship has at Sea.

Great Senſe of the Elephant.

I ſhall ſay nothing more wonderful concerning the Elephant's Docility, or aptneſs to learn, than what is generally reported; by which it will appear, there was Reaſon to ſay, *No Beaſt was more ſenſible than the Elephant*: For it does ſuch things as ſeem to be the Acts of Prudence and Underſtanding. In the firſt place, tho' the *Nayre* makes uſe of a certain Inſtrument of Iron a Yard long, which has a Hook at one end, wherewith he ſtrikes and punches him, that he may be watchful and mind what he bids him do, yet for the moſt part, he governs him only by Words: By which it appears he underſtands the Language very well; and ſome of them underſtand three or four that are very different, according to the ſeveral Countries they have liv'd in. Thus he that I travell'd on, ſeem'd to underſtand the Language of *Cambegia*, whence he came, and that of *Cochin-China*, where he was. And who would not admire to hear the *Nayre* diſcourſe with his Elephant? Tell him the Way and Road he is to take, what Place he is to paſs by, what Inn they are to lie at, what they ſhall there find to eat; and in ſhort, give him an exact Account of all that is to be done during the Journey? And to ſee the Elephant perform what he expects from him, as regularly as any Man of good Sence could do: Inſomuch, that when the Elephant ſeems to have underſtood what Place he was to go to, he takes the ſhorteſt Cut to it, without minding the beaten Road, Rivers, Woods, or Mountains, but goes on, not doubting to overcome all Difficulties, as in effect he does: For if any Rivers be in the way, he either fords or ſwims them; if Woods, he breaks the Boughs of the Trees, pulls them up whole, or cuts them with a ſharp Iron like a Scithe, which to this purpoſe is faſtned to the fore-part of the top of the Coach, wherewith upon occaſion having firſt laid hold of the Boughs, he cuts them with his Trunk, and makes himſelf way, cutting through the thickeſt Foreſt, where it is eaſily known to have been an Elephant that made the way: And all this he does with great eaſe and expedition, in Obedience to the *Nayre*.

The Elephant underſtands what is ſaid.

One only thing diſturbs this Creature, and puts it to great pain; which is, when a Thorn, or ſuch like thing, runs into the bottom of his Foot, which is extraordinary ſoft and tender, and therefore he treads very cautiouſly, when he goes through Places where there may be danger of ſuch an Accident. I went a Journey once with ſeven or eight Elephants in a Company, and heard the *Nayres*, every one warn his own Beaſt, to look out carefully where he ſet his Feet: For they were to paſs over a ſandy place about a Mile in length, where Thorns grew up among the Sand; upon this intimation all the Elephants held down their Heads, and looking out, as it were, for ſome ſmall thing that is loſt, they walk'd that Mile very cautiouſly, ſtep by ſtep; till being told there was no more to fear, they lifted up their Heads, going on as they had done at firſt. Being come at Night to the Inn, the *Nayres* ſent the Elephants to the Wood to feed, without taking the Coach off their Backs; and I asking, Why they did not take it down? They anſwer'd, That the Elephants fed on the Boughs of Trees, and therefore they left the Coach on their Backs, that they might cut them with that Iron we ſaid was before it. The next Day being come where there was no Wood, every *Nayre* carry'd a large Bundle of Green Boughs for his Elephant. I took particular Satisfaction to obſerve one, who more nimbly than the reſt, laying hold of thoſe Boughs with his Trunk, bark'd them with his Teeth, and then eat them up as quick, and with as good a Guſt, as we would a Fig, or any other ſort of Fruit. Diſcourſing the next Day with my

my Fellow-Travellers, who were about twenty, I told them, how much I was pleas'd to see that Elephant eat the Boughs so cleverly. Then the *Nayre*, by Order of the Elephant's Master, call'd him by his Name, which was *Gnin*, he being at some distance, but presently lifted up his Head to give Ear to what was said to him. *Remember*, said the *Nayre*, *that Father, the Passenger that took Lupon you yesterday, when you was eating; take such a Bough as one of them was, and come before him, as you did yesterday.* No sooner had the *Nayre* spoke the words, but the Elephant came before me with a Bough in his Trunk, singling me out among all the Company, shew'd it me, bark'd, and eat it; then inclining himself very low, he went away, as it were, laughing, making Signs of Joy and Satisfaction; leaving me full of astonishment, to see that a Beast should be so apt to understand, and do what it was commanded. Yet the Elephant is obedient to none but the *Nayre*, or his Master; and he will only endure to see them get upon him: For if he should see any other Person mount, there were danger that he would throw down the Coach with his Trunk, and kill him: And therefore when any Body is to get up, the *Nayre* generally covers his Eyes with his Ears, which are very large and ill shap'd.

The Elephant understands what is said.

How they are corrected.

If at any time the Elephant does not obey so readily as he should, the *Nayre* beats him cruelly on the middle of his Forehead, standing himself all the while upright on his Head. One time when I was upon him, with several others, the *Nayre* beat him, as has been said, and every Stroke he gave him, it look'd as if we should have been all thrown down headlong. Generally they give him six or seven Strokes on the middle of the Forehead; but with such force, that the Elephant quakes, and yet bears all patiently. There is only one time when he obeys neither the *Nayre*, nor any other Body; which is, when on a sudden he is inflam'd with Lust: For then, being quite besides himself, he bears with no Body, but lays hold of the Coach with all that are in it, killing, destroying, and beating every thing to pieces. But the *Nayre* by certain Signs discovers it a little before it comes, and getting down speedily with all the Passengers, unloads him, taking down the Coach, and leaves him alone in some By-place, till that Fury be over: After which, being sensible of his Error, and as it were asham'd of himself, he goes with his Head low to receive the Blows that are to be given him, thinking he has deserv'd them.

Formerly the Elephants were of great use in War, and those Armies were formidable that carried great Troops of them into the Field; but since the *Portugueses* found out the way of using artificial Fireworks to them, they are rather hurtful than otherwise: For not being able to endure those Sparks of Fire which get into their Eyes, they betake themselves to flight, breaking their own Armies, killing and confounding all that stands in their way.

Now useless in War.

The tame Elephant fights with only two Creatures, which are the wild Elephant, and the Abada, or Rhinoceros, the latter it overcomes, by the first is generally conquer'd. The Rhinoceros is a Beast of shape between a Horse and an Ox, but as big as one of the smallest Elephants, cover'd all over with Scales, as it were so many Plates of Armour. He has but one Horn in the middle of the Forehead, which is strait and pyramidal, and his Feet and Hoofs are like those of an Ox. When I was at *Nuccemon*, a City in the Province of *Pulacambi*, the Governour went out to hunt a *Rhinoceros*, that was in a Wood near our Dwelling place. He had with him above a hundred Men, some a Foot, and some a Horseback, and eight or ten Elephants. The Rhinoceros came out of the Wood, and seeing so many Enemies, was so far from giving any Tokens of Fear, that it furiously encountred them all; who open'd and making a Lane, let the Rhinoceros run through: It came to the Rear, where the Governour was a top of his Elephant, waiting to kill it: The Elephant endeavours to lay hold with his Trunk, but could not by reason of the Rhinoceros's swiftness and leaping, that striving to wound the Elephant with its Horn. The Governour knowing it could receive no hurt, by reason of the Scales, unless they struck it on the side, waited till leaping it laid open the naked place, and casting a Dart, dexterously struck it through from side to side, with great Applause and Satisfaction of all the multitude of Spectators; who without any more to do, laid it upon a great Pile of Wood, and setting Fire to it, leap'd and danced about, whilst the Scales were burning, and Flesh roasting, cutting pieces as it roasted, and eating them. Of the Entrails, that is the Heart, Liver,

The Rhinoceros.

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CHAP. V.

Of the Qualities, Cuſtoms, and Manners, of the Cochin-Chineſes: *Of their Way of Living, their Habit and Cures.*

Colour and Diſpoſition of Body of the *Cochin-Chineſes.*

THE *Cochin-Chineſes* are in Colour like the *Chineſes*; that is, inclining to an Olive colour: I mean thoſe that are neareſt the Sea; for thoſe up the Inland, as far as *Tonchin*, are as white as the *Europeans*. The Shape of their Faces is exactly like the *Chineſes*, with flat Noſes, little Eyes, but of an indifferent Stature, not ſo ſmall as the *Japoneſes*, nor ſo tall as the *Chineſes*. Yet they are ſtronger and more active than either of them, and braver than the *Chineſes*, but are out done by the *Japoneſes* in one thing, which is the Contempt of Life in Dangers and Battels; the *Japoneſes* ſeeming to make no Account of Life, nor to apprehend the leaſt Fear of Death.

Their Civility.

The *Cochin-Chineſes* are naturally the moſt courteous and affable of all the *Eaſtern* Nations; and tho' on the one ſide they value themſelves much upon their Valour, yet on the other they look upon it as a great ſhame, to ſuffer themſelves to be tranſported with Paſſion. And whereas all the other *Eaſtern* Nations, looking upon the *Europeans* as a profane People, do naturally abhor them, and therefore fly from us when firſt we come among them: In *Cochin-China* it falls out juſt contrary; for they ſtrive who ſhall be neareſt us, ask a thouſand Queſtions, invite us to eat with them, and in ſhort uſe all manner of Courteſie with much Familiarity and Reſpect. So it hapned to me and my Companions when we firſt came there, being, as it were, among Friends of an old ſtanding. This is a very good Diſpoſition to facilitate the Preaching of the Goſpel.

Liberality.

This loving and eaſie Diſpoſition is the Cauſe of much Concord among them, they all treating one another as familiarly as if they were Brothers, or of the ſame Family, tho' they have never known or ſeen one another before; and it would be look'd upon as a moſt vile Action, if one Man eating any thing, tho' never ſo little, ſhould not ſhare with all about him, giving every one a bit. They are alſo naturally kind and free hearted to the Poor, to whom it is cuſtomary among them never to deny an Alms, when ask'd; and it would be reputed a great Fault to deny it, as if it were due to them. Thus it hapned, that ſome Strangers eſcaping from a Shipwreck in a Port in *Cochin-China*, and not knowing the Language to make known their want, but learning only this word *Doii*, which ſignifies, *I am hungry*: When the Natives ſaw Strangers at their Doors, crying out *Doii*, as if the greateſt Misfortune in the World had befallen them, every one ſtrove to be before another in giving them to eat; ſo that in a ſhort time they gather'd ſo much Proviſion, that a Ship being afterwards given them by the King to return to their Country, they took ſuch an Affection to that Country, where they found all things for their Suſtenance at ſuch an eaſie rate, that not a Man of them would go away; ſo that the Captain of the Ship was forc'd to drive them aboard with many Blows and Cuts, which he effectually did, loading the Ship with the Rice they had gather'd only by going about, crying, *I am hungry.*

But as ready as the *Cochin-Chineſes* are to give, ſo are they as apt, if not more, to ask any thing they ſee, ſo that as ſoon as ever they caſt their Eye on any thing that is new to them, and curious, they ſay, *Schin Mocaii*; that is, *Give me one of theſe Things*: And it is ſuch a Rudeneſs to refuſe them, tho' the thing be rare and precious, that whoſoever ſhould do it, would be ever after look'd upon as a vile Perſon; ſo that a Man

Man muſt either hide, or be ready to give what he ſhews. A *Portugueze* Merchant diſliking this uncommon Cuſtom, as not uſed to it, reſolv'd, ſince every one ask'd of him whatſoever he ſaw, to do the ſame with them: Accordingly he came to a poor Fiſherman's Boat, and laying hold of a Pannier full of Fiſh, in the Country Language, ſaid to him, *Schin Mocaii*, the honeſt Man made no Anſwer, but gave him all the Pannier as it was, for him to carry home, as he did, admiring the Liberality of the *Cochin-Chineſes*; but taking Compaſſion on the poor Fiſherman, he afterwards paid him the full Value of it.

Their Breeding.

The manner of Breeding and Civility the *Cochin-Chineſes* uſe, is more or leſs the ſame with that of the *Chineſes*, always punctually obſerving all Niceties; we know theſe latter obſerve between Superiours and Inferiours, Equals, and the Reſpect due to ancient Perſons, ever preferring the Eldeſt, of what Degree ſoever, and giving them preference before the Younger. Wherefore ſome of thoſe Gentlemen coming often a Viſiting to our Houſe, tho' the Interpreter told them, that a Father we had there ſomewhat elder than the reſt, was not our Superiour: Yet they could never be brought to pay their Reſpect to the Young Superiour, before the Old Man. In every Houſe, tho' never ſo poor, the *Cochin-Chineſes* have three ſorts of Seats: The firſt and meaneſt, is a Mat upon the bare Floor, on which Perſons of equal Quality ſit, as thoſe that are of the ſame Family. The next is, a low Stool, cover'd with a very fine Mat; which is for Perſons of better Account. The third, is a Couch about three quarters of a Yard high, on which only the Lords and Governours of Places ſit, or Perſons dedicated to the Divine Service, and on this they always make our Father's ſit.

This Good Nature and Civility of the *Cochin-Chineſes*, makes them ſo courteous to Strangers, whom they allow to live according to their own Laws, and to wear what Cloaths they pleaſe; and ſo they praiſe their Cuſtoms, and admire their Doctrine, frankly preferring them before their own; quite contrary to the *Chineſes*, who deſpiſe all but their own Cuſtoms and Doctrine.

Faſhion of Cloaths.

As for their Habit, we have before obſerv'd, that it is the general Cuſtom in *Cochin China* to wear Silk; it only remains to ſpeak of the Faſhion of their Cloaths. To begin with the Women; I think the modeſteſt Garb of all *India*; for even in the hotteſt Weather, they ſuffer no part of the Body to be uncover'd: They wear five or ſix Petticoats one over another, all of ſeveral Colours; the firſt reaches to the Ground, which they train along the Ground with ſuch Gravity and State, that the tips of their Toes are not ſeen: The ſecond is half a Span ſhorter than the firſt: The third ſhorter than that; and ſo one over another; ſo that all the ſeveral Colours appear: And this is the Womens Habit from the Waſte downwards, for on their Bodies they wear Doublets checkered, of ſeveral Colours; over all they have a Veil; but ſo thin, that tho' it covers them, yet it is tranſparent, and ſhews all their Gaiety with Modeſty, and makes a beauteous majeſtick Appearance. Their Hair is looſe, ſpreading over their Shoulders, ſo long that it reaches to the Ground, and the longer the greater Beauty they are reckoned. On their Head they wear ſuch a broad Cap, that it covers all their Faces, ſo that they cannot ſee above four or five paces before them; and theſe Caps are interwoven with Silk and Gold, according to the Quality of the Perſon. The Women when met, are not oblig'd to any other Return of Civility, but to lift up the Brims of their Caps, ſo much, as their Face may be ſeen. The Men, inſtead of Breeches, ſwath themſelves with a whole Piece of Stuff, putting on over them five or ſix long and large Gowns, all of fine Silk, and of ſeveral Colours, with wide Sleeves, like thoſe of the Monks of the Order of St. *Benedict*; and theſe Gowns, from the Waſte downwards, are all ſlaſh'd curiouſly, ſo that as a Man moves, he makes a ſhew of all thoſe ſeveral Colours together, and if any Wind blows to lift them up, they look like Peacocks with their fine Feathers ſpread abroad.

Hair and Nails never cut.

They let their Hair grow as the Women do, down to their Heels, and wear the ſame ſort of Hats, or broad Caps. Thoſe who have any Beard, and they are but few, never cut it; being in this like the *Chineſes*, as they are in ſuffering the Nails of their Hands to grow, which the People of Note never pare; this being a Mark of Diſtinction between them and the Commonalty, who always keep them ſhort, for the conveniency of their Trades; whereas the Gentry have them ſo long, that they cannot graſp any ſmall thing in their

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hands. Nor can they approve of our Fashion of cutting our Hair and Nails; being of Opinion, that they were given by Nature, as an Ornament to Man: So that some Discourse arising once concerning Hair, they started an Objection, which was not so easie to answer at sight, saying: *If the Saviour of the World, whom in your Actions you profess your selves to imitate, wore his Hair long, after the manner of the* Nazarites, *as you your selves do affirm, and shew by your Pictures, why do not you do so too?* Adding, *That our Saviour's wearing long Hair, demonstrated it to be the better Fashion.* But at last they were satisfi'd with the Answer we made, that this Imitation did not consist in the outward Dress.

The Scholars.

The Scholars and Doctors are somewhat more gravely clad, without so many Colours and Slashes, and therefore cover all their Gowns with one of black Damask. They also wear a thing like a Stole about their Necks, and a blew Silk Maniple on their Arms, covering their Heads with Caps made after the manner of Miters.

Both Men and Women carry Fans in their Hands, rather for Ornament than Use, and they are not unlike to those the Women in *Europe* use. For Mourning, as we *Europeans* use black, they wear white. They never uncover their Heads in Saluting, that being look'd upon as an uncivil Action: Wherein they agree with the *Chineses*, among whom that Custom is reputed so unmannerly, that to comply with them in this particular, the Fathers of the Society were forced to obtain leave of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass cover'd. In short, the *Cochin-Chineses*, wear neither Shoes nor Stockins, only saving their Feet with Leather Soles fastned acros the Toes with Silk, like Sandals; nor do they think it indecent to go quite bare-foot; and tho' going shod, or unshod, they are apt to dirty their Feet, they value it not, there being in every House at the Door of the chief Room, a large Pan of clean Water, in which they wash their Feet, leaving those Soles or Sandals they use there, to take them again when they go away, because they cannot then dirt their Feet, all the Floors being cover'd with Mats.

The *Cochin-Chineses* not being so fond of their own Customs, as to despise those of Strangers, as the *Chineses* do, our Fathers in those parts have no occasion to change their Habit, wherein they differ but little from the generality of all *India*. They wear a thin Cotton Cassock, which they call *Ehingon*, and is generally blew, without any Cloak, or other Upper-Garment. They have no Shoes, neither after the *European*, nor Country Fashion; the first they cannot get, because there is no Body knows how to make them; and the latter they cannot endure, because of the pain it is to any Body that is not us'd to it, to have his Toes spread at a distance from one another, by reason of the Buttons that fasten them on, and therefore they choose as the less Evil, to go quite bare foot, tho' it exposes them to continual Pains in the Bowels, especially at first, by reason of the dampness of the Country, and their not being us'd to it. True it is, that in time Nature complies, and the Skin grows so hard, that it is no pain to walk upon Stones or Briars. When I return'd to *Macao*, I could not endure Shoes, thinking them a weight and encumbrance to my Feet.

Their Diet.

The chief Sustenance of the *Cochin-Chineses* is Rice; and it is wonderful, that tho' the Country abounds in Flesh, Fowl, Fish, and Fruit, of so many several sorts, yet when they eat, they first fill their Belly with Rice, and then taste of other things, as it were for Fashion-sake. They make more account of Rice than we do of Bread, and that it may not clog them, they eat it alone without any seasoning of Salt, Sugar, Oil, or Butter, but boil'd in so much Water as will keep it from burning to, so that the Grain remains whole, only softned and moistned. For this very reason that the Rice is not season'd, it is the easier of Digestion, and therefore they that live upon Rice, as they do in the *East*, commonly eat it at least four times a Day, and a great quantity of it to support Nature. The *Cochin-Chineses* eat sitting cros legg'd on the Ground, with a round Table before them Breast-high, with Mouldings, or adorn'd with Silver or Gold, according to the People's Quality or Wealth. It is not very large, because the Custom is for every Man to have one to himself; so that at a Feast, as many Guests, as there are, so many Tables are provided, and the same is done when they dine privately; only, sometimes, Man and Wife, or Father and Son, will make a shift with the same Table. They neither use Knives nor Forks; of the first they have no need, because every thing is brought up from the Kitchin cut into small bits; the place of the last is supplied by two little Sticks, wherewith they

they neatly and very readily take up any thing; not have they any need of Napkins, for they never foul their Hands, nor touch any thing with them.

Their Treats. There are frequent Invitations among Neighbours, and at theſe Entertainments they provide other ſorts of Diſhes than what we have hitherto ſpoke of; for they make no account of Rice, ſuppoſing every Man has enough of that at home; and tho' he that treats be never ſo poor, he does not come off with Credit, unleſs every Gueſt's Table be ſerv'd with at leaſt an hundred Diſhes; and it being the Cuſtom to invite all their Friends, Kindred, and Neighbours, there is no Feaſt where there is leſs than thirty, forty, fifty, ſometimes a hundred, and even two hundred Gueſts: I was once my ſelf at a ſolemn Entertainment, at which no leſs than two thouſand were feaſted, and therefore theſe Banquets muſt be made in the Country, that there may be room for ſo many Tables. Nor muſt any Body admire that the Tables being ſmall, they be furniſh'd with a hundred Diſhes at leaſt; for upon theſe Occaſions they very curiouſly make Frames of Sugar-Canes on the Table, on which they diſpoſe of the ſaid Diſhes; and there muſt be in them all the Varieties of Meat the Country produces, as well Fleſh as Fiſh, and Butchers Meat as Fowl, wild and tame Creatures, with all ſorts of Fruit the Seaſon affords; for if but one were wanting, it would be a great Fault in the Entertainer, and they would not count it a Feaſt. The Men of Quality that are invited eat firſt, being waited on by their chief Servants. When the Maſters have taſted of all they like beſt, theſe ſame principal Servants take their places, and eat, being waited on by the inferiour ſort: Then theſe ſucceed in their places; and becauſe all of them are not able to conſume ſuch Plenty, and according to Cuſtom all the Diſhes muſt be emptied; when theſe are ſatisfied, then the very meaneſt Servants of every Great Man come in, and do not only eat their Belly-full, but put up all the Fragments in Bags they carry for that purpoſe, and carry them home, where they merrily divide it among the Boys, and other mean Fry, and ſo the Feaſt ends.

Their Drink. *Cochin-China* produces no Grapes, and therefore inſtead of Wine they drink a Liquor diſtill'd from Rice, which taſtes like Brandy, and reſembles it in colour and harſhneſs, ſpirit and briskneſs, and they have ſuch plenty of it, that all People in general drink as much as they will of it, and are as drunk as People are among us with Wine. Graver Perſons mix that Liquor with ſome other Water diſtill'd from *Calamba*; which gives it a delicious Smell, and is a delicate Compoſition. *BORRI.*

Between Meals they drink hot Water, wherein they boil the Root of an Herb they call *Chia*, from which the Liquor takes name. It is cordial, and helps to diſpel Humours from the Stomach, and advance Digeſtion. The *Japoneſes* and *Chineſes*, uſe ſuch a ſort of Drink, only that in *China*, inſtead of the Root, they boil the Leaves of the Herb; and in *Japan*, a Powder made of the ſame Leaves; but the effect is the ſame, and they all call it *Chia*.

Amidſt this great plenty of Meat, and abundance of Proviſions, it is incredible how much Hunger and Thirſt we *Europeans* endure; not ſo much for want of Food, as becauſe we are not us'd to that Diet, Nature finding a very great miſs of Bread and Wine: And I believe the *Cochin-Chineſes* would be in the ſame Condition, ſhould they come into *Europe*, where they would be depriv'd of their uſual Suſtenance of Rice, tho' they had plenty of other delicate Proviſions. To this purpoſe I will not omit to relate what hapned to us with a Governour of *Cochin-China*, he being a Friend of ours, was invited by us to eat at our Houſe; and the more to ſhew our Affection, we endeavour'd to have ſeveral Diſhes dreſs'd for him after the *European* manner. He ſate down to Table, and when we expected he ſhould acknowledge our Kindneſs, commend the Cookery, and thank us for the Rarity, becauſe we had been at much trouble about it: When he had taſted them all, he could not eat of any one, tho' out of Civility he ſtrove againſt his Stomach; and we were forc'd to dreſs more Meat after the Country-faſhion, the beſt we could, whereof he afterwards eat very ſavourily, to his own and our ſatisfaction. Yet Providence does not neglect a thouſand ways to ſupport thoſe that undergo theſe Hardſhips for the Preaching of the Goſpel, finding means, even in this World, to requite what they ſuffer for the ſake of God, as happens in this particular of Food, as was before ſaid of going bare-foot; for by degrees Nature grows familiar with it, and comes to be ſo habituated to the Cuſtom of the Country, that it looks ſtrange

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ſtrange when to return to its firſt ways. This hapned to me, who when I return'd from thence, coveted nothing but the Rice of *Cochin-China*, which I thought ſatisfied me more than any other thing.

Phyſicians. As for Phyſicians, and their Way of Practice, there are abundance of Doctors, not only *Portugueſes*, but Natives; and it often is experimentally known, that the Country Phyſicians eaſily cure ſeveral Diſeaſes, which the *European* Phyſicians know not what to doiwith: So it ſometimes happens, that after our Phyſicians have given over a Patient, they call one of the Country, and he cures him.

Way of Practice. The Phyſicians of the Country uſe this ſort of Practice: Being come to the Patient's Bed-ſide, they ſtay a little to ſettle themſelves after the motion of coming; then they feel the Pulſe for a long while together, very attentively, and with much conſideration; after which they uſually ſay, You have ſuch a Diſtemper; and if incurable, they honeſtly ſay, I have no Cure for this Diſeaſe: Which is a ſign the Patient will die. If they find the Diſeaſe curable, they ſay, I have a Medicine that will cure him; and I will do it in ſo many Days. Then they agree what they are to have if they cure the Sick Man, bargaining the beſt they can, and ſometimes they draw up Writings to bind the Contract. After this the Phyſician himſelf prepares the Medicine, without the help of an Apothecary; for which reaſon there are none in the Country: And this they do, that they may not diſcover the Secret of the Art they work; and becauſe they will not truſt another to put together the Ingredients they preſcribe. If the Patient recovers within the time appointed, as generally happens, he pays the Price agreed on; if he miſcarries, the Phyſician loſes his Labour and Medicines.

Medicines. The Medicines they give are not like ours, which cauſe a loathing, and are laxative; but theirs are palatable as their Broaths, and nouriſhing without any other Suſtenance, hich makes them give the Patient ſever Doſes in a Day, as we give Broath at many Hours interval; and theſe not alter the Courſe of Nature, bu only help the uſual Operations of N re, diſperſing the peccant Humours, w hout wracking the Patient.

A notable Story. I remember a paſſage worth the relating in this place: A *Portugueze* falling ſick, ſent for the *European* Phyſicians; who having us'd their Endeavours, gave him over. When they were gone, a Phyſician of the Country was call'd; who undertook to cure him in ſo many Days, ſtrictly enjoining him, whilſt he was under his Hands, to have a care of having to do with Women, upon pain of certain Death, from which the Virtue of his Medicine could not deliver him. They agreed upon the Price, and the Phyſician undertook to cure him in thirty Days. The Patient took the Medicines preſcribed him, and in a few Days found himſelf ſo well recovered, that he was not afraid to tranſgreſs the Phyſician's Injunction; who coming to viſit him, by the alteration of his Pulſe diſcover'd the ſick Man's Incontinency, and bid him prepare to die, becauſe there was no Cure for him; but that he ſhould pay him his Money, ſince it was none of his fault that he muſt die. The Caſe was try'd; the ſick Man was adiudg'd to pay: And ſo he dy'd.

Bleeding. Bleeding is alſo uſed, but not ſo much as in *Europe*, nor is it done with a Steel Lancet; but they have abundance of Gooſe-Quills, in which they fix ſome bits of fine Porcelane, made ſharp, and ſhap'd like the Teeth of a Saw, ſome bigger, ſome leſs, of ſeveral ſizes. When they are to let Blood, they apply one of theſe Quills to the Vein, proportionable to the bigneſs of it, and giving it a tillip with the Finger, open the Vein, only ſo much of the Porcelane entring as is requiſite: And what is moſt wonderful, when they have drawn the Blood, they uſe no Fillet or Binding to ſtop it; but wetting their Thumb with Spittle they preſs the Orifice, ſo that the Fleſh returning to the place whence it was parted, the Blood is ſtopt, and runs out no more: Which I ſuppoſe to proceed from the manner of opening the Vein, as it were ſawing it with that Porcelance full of Teeth, and therefore it cloſes again the eaſier.

Surgeons. There are alſo Surgeons, who have ſome wonderful Secrets, whereof I will give but two Inſtances, one practis'd upon my ſelf, the other upon one of our Brothers, my Companion: I hapned to fall from a very high place, with my Breaſt againſt the corner of a Stone, whereupon I preſently began to ſpit Blood, and had a Wound in my Breaſt outwardly. We applied ſome Medicines after our *European* manner, but to no purpoſe. A Surgeon of the Country came and took a quantity of a certain

Great Cures.

certain Herb like that we call Mercury, and making it into a Plaiſter, laid it on my Breaſt, then he caus'd ſome of that Herb to be boil'd for me to drink, and made me eat the ſame Herb raw: And thus in a few Days perfectly cur'd me. I to make another Experiment, caus'd the Leg of a Hen to be broke in ſeveral places, and making a Plaiſter as he had done of the ſame Herb, bound it upon the broken Leg, and in a few Days it was whole and ſound.

A Scorpion bit a Brother of ours, my Companion, in the Neck; and in that Kingdom the Bite of a Scorpion is mortal. All his Throat ſwell'd immediately, and we were about giving him Extreme Unction. A Surgeon was ſent for, who immediately ſet a Pot of Rice a boiling in nothing but fair Water, then clapping the Pot to the Brother's Feet, cover'd him and it cloſe with Cloths, that the Steam might not go out, and as ſoon as the ſaid Steam and hot Smoke of the Rice came up to the place where the Bite was, the Brother felt the Pain aſſwage, the Swelling in his Throat fell, and he remain'd as ſound as if nothing had ail'd him.

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Many other inſtances might be added, but I ſhall only ſay, that the Medicines in thoſe Parts have a greater Virtue than when they come to us; and particularly I can affirm, that I brought with me a ſmall Cask of *Rhubarb*, which was extraordinary good there, and when I came into *Europe*, having ſpent two Years by the way, I found it ſo chang'd, that I ſcarce knew it my ſelf, ſo that thoſe Medicines loſe much of their Virtue in bringing from thoſe Countries to our Parts.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Civil and Political Government of the Cochin-Chineſes.

I Will give a brief Account of as much as may ſuffice for the Reader's Information; for it would be too tedious, and from the purpoſe of this my ſhort Relation, to diſcourſe of every thing in particular. The Government of *Cochin-China*, in general, is a Medium betwixt thoſe of *China* and *Japan*: For whereas the *Japoneſes* make leſs account of Learning than Military Knowledge: And on the contrary, the *Chineſes* attribute all to Learning, taking little Notice of Warlike Affairs. The *Cochin-Chineſes* following the Example of neither, equally encourage Learning, and Skill in War, according as occaſion offers, ſometimes preferring the Soldier, and ſometimes the Scholar, and ſo repulſing them as appears moſt convenient.

Learning.

In *Cochin China* there are ſeveral Univerſities, in which there are Profeſſors, Scholars, and Degrees conferr'd by way of Examination, in the ſame manner as is practis'd in *China*, the ſame Sciences being taught, and the ſame Books and Authors read; that is, *Zinſu*, or *Confucius*, as the *Portugueſes* call them; which are Authors of ſuch profound Learning, and in ſuch Eſteem and Reputation among them, as *Ariſtotle* is among us, being much ancienter than he. Theſe Books of theirs are full of Erudition, of Stories, of grave Sentences, of Proverbs, and ſuch like things, for the directing a Civil Life, as are *Seneca*, *Cato*, and *Cicero*, among us; and they ſpend many Years in learning the true ſenſe of the Phraſes, Words, Characters, and Hieroglyphicks, they are writ in; but that they moſt value is Moral Philoſophy, or Ethicks, Oeconomy, and Policy. It is comical to ſee and hear them, when they are Studying, read and repeat their Leſſons in ſuch a Tone as if they were ſinging, which they do to uſe themſelves to it, and give every Word its proper Accents, which are many, every one expreſſing a ſeveral thing: And therefore one would think, that to converſe with them, a Man muſt underſtand the Grounds of Muſick.

The Language they generally ſpeak, is different from that they read and teach in at the Schools, and which their Books are writ in: As among us the Vulgar Language differs from the *Latin* generally us'd in the Schools. Wherein they differ from the *Chineſes*, who, if they are Learned, or Noble, always uſe the ſame Language, which they call of *Mandarines*; that is, of Doctors, Judges, and Governours, and the Characters they uſe in writing and printing their Books, are

BORRI. are above 8000, all differing from one another. And for this Reaſon the Fathers of the Society ſpend eight, and even ten Years, in ſtudying the *Chineſe* Books, before they can be Maſters, and go abroad to converſe with them. But the *Cochin Chineſes* have reduced the Characters to 3000, which they generally make uſe of: And theſe are enough to expreſs themſelves in their Harangues, Letters, Petitions, Memorials, and ſuch things which do not belong to printed Books; for thoſe of neceſſity muſt be in *Chineſe* Characters. The *Japoneſes* have been more ingenious, who tho' in all that belongs to Books, whether written or printed, they agree with the *Chineſes*; yet for all common uſes have found out 48 Letters, wherewith they expreſs whatſoever they pleaſe, as well as we do with our Alphabet: And yet the *Chineſe* Characters are in ſuch eſteem even among the *Japoneſes*, that theſe 48 Letters, notwithſtanding the uſe they are of above the others, are contemn'd in compariſon of them; inſomuch, that in ſcorn they call them Womens Letters.

The ingenious Invention of Printing was found out in *China*, and *Cochin-China*, long before it was in *Europe*: but not in ſuch perfection: For they do not Compoſe joining Letters and Characters, but with a Graver, Penknife, or ſuch Inſtrument, cut and carve the Characters upon a Stone as they will have them in their Books: On this Board ſo carv'd they lay their Paper, and print it off, as we in *Europe* do Copper-plates, or the like.

Beſides theſe Books of Morals, they have others, which contain things they account ſacred; as for inſtance: The Creation and Beginning of the World: Of the rational Souls of Demons: Of Idols, and of their ſeveral Sects. Theſe Books are call'd *Saye Kim*, to diſtinguiſh them from the profane, which they call *Saye Chiu*. Of the Doctrine of their Sacred Books, we ſhall treat in the Second Part of this Account, where the Subject will be more ſuitable.

The Language. Tho' the Language of the *Cochin-Chineſes* be in one reſpect like that of the *Chineſes*, both of them uſing all Monoſyllables, deliver'd in ſeveral Tones and Accents; yet they utterly differ in the word it ſelf, the *Cochin-Chineſe* being more full of Vowels, and conſequently ſofter and ſweeter, more copious in Tones and Accents, and therefore more harmonious. The Language of *Cochin China* is, in my Opinion, the eaſieſt of any, for thoſe that have a Muſical Ear, to take the Tones and Accents; for it has no variety by way of Conjugation of Verbs, or Declination of Nouns, but one and the ſame word, with the addition of an Adverb, or Pronoun, ſignifies the Preſent, the Preterit, and Future Tenſes, the Singular Number, and the Plural; and in fine, ſerves for all Moods, Tenſes, and Perſons, and the diverſity of Numbers and Caſes. For inſtance: This word, *To have*, which in the *Chineſe* Language is *Co*, by only adding a Pronoun, ſerves all occaſions, ſaying, *I have*, *Thou have*, *He have*; the Name of the Perſon making that diverſity, which we expreſs by altering the termination, thus, *I have*, *Thou haſt*, *He has*. In the ſame manner they make the ſeveral Tenſes; ſaying, for the Preſent, *I now have*; for the Preterit, *I heretofore have*; and for the Future, *I hereafter have*: And ſo without ever altering the word *Co*; by which it appears how eaſily this Language may be learn'd: As it hapned to me, who in ſix Months underſtood ſo much, that I could diſcourſe, and even hear their Confeſſions, tho' not ſo perfectly, for it requires at leaſt four Years to be a Maſter. [*This variety of Moods and Tenſes, appears better by the* Latin, *or other Languages, than in* Engliſh, *where we uſe much the ſame Method, as he repreſents in* Cochin-China; *our Variations the ſame, being but few, as to inſtance in the ſame word,* I have, You have, We have, They have, I ſhall have, May we have: *And ſo in this, and many others.*]

But to return to our Relation: I was ſaying, that the *Cochin-Chineſes* reward not only the Learned with Dignities, Employments, and Revenues; but that they make great account of good Soldiers, in which particular they act differently from us; for inſtead of aſſigning brave Commmanders, ſome Land, Earldom, or Marquiſate, as a Reward of their Valour, they allot him ſuch a number of People, and Vaſſals, belonging to the King himſelf, who whatſoever part of the Kingdom they live in, are oblig'd to own him as their Lord, to whom they have been aſſign'd by the King, being bound upon all Occaſions to ſerve him with their Weapons, and to pay him all thoſe Duties they before paid to the King himſelf; and therefore, as we ſay, ſuch a one is Lord, Earl, or Marqueſs of ſuch a place; they ſay, ſuch Rewards for Military Men.

such a one is a Man of fifty, such a one of a thousand Men, to such a one the King has added three thousand, to such a one two thousand; their Dignity, Wealth, and Grandeur increasing by the addition of many Vassals. We shall speak of the Wars of this Kingdom in the next Chapter.

Trials at Law.

It remains that we say somewhat worth being known of the Civil Government. In the first they govern rather after a Military manner, than by Judges, Counsellors, and Lawyers, and their Formalities, the Vice-Roys and Governours of Provinces performing that Function; for every Day they give Publick Audience for four Hours daily, in a large Court within their own Palace, two Hours in the Morning, and two after Dinner. Hither all Suits and Complaints are brought, and the Vice-Roy, or Governour, sitting on a Tribunal rais'd like a Balcony, hears every Man in his turn; and these Governours being generally Men of sound Judgment, Capacity, and Experience, they easily discover the truth of the matter by the Questions they put, and much more by the common Consent of the Stander by, which is gather'd by the Applause they give the Plaintiff, or Defendant, and accordingly they immediately, without delay, give Judgment with a loud Voice, which is immediately executed without any Demur, or Appeal, whether the Sentence be Death, Banishment, Whipping, or Fine, every Crime being punish'd as the Law appoints.

False Witnesses, how punish'd.

The Crimes generally try'd and severely punish'd are many, but they are particularly rigid against false Witnesses, Thieves, and Adulterers. The first of these being convicted of having given false Evidence, are themselves indispensably condemn'd, as if they themselves had committed the Crime they accuse others of. And if the Crime they alledg'd deserv'd Death, they are sentenc'd to die: And Experience teaches, that this way of Trial is very proper to find out the truth.

Thieves.

Thieves, if the Theft be considerable, are beheaded, if small, as for Example, a Hen, for the first Offence they have a Finger cut off, for the second another Finger, for the third an Ear, and for the fourth the Head.

Adulterers.

Adulterers, both Men and Women, indifferently, are cast to the Elephants to be kill'd, which is done thus: They lead the Criminal out into the Field, where in the presence of an infinite number of People flocking together, he is set in the middle with his Hands and Feet bound, near an Elephant, to whom the condemn'd Persons Sentence is read, that he may execute every part of it orderly; first that he lay hold of, grasp, and hold him fast with his Trunk, and so hold him in the Air, shewing him to all the Company; then that he toss him up, and catch him upon the Points of his Teeth, that his own weight may strike them through him; that then he dash him against the Ground; and lastly, that he bruise and crush him to pieces with his Feet: All which is exactly perform'd by the Elephant, to the great Terror and Amazement of the Spectators, who are taught by this Punishment, at another Man's cost, what Fidelity is due between married Persons. BORRI.

Matrimony.

Since we are upon this Point of Matrimony, it will not be from the purpose to deliver some farther Particulars concerning it, before we conclude this Chapter. The *Cochin-Chineses*, tho' Heathens, never use to contract Matrimony within those Degrees forbid by the Laws of God and Nature, not within the first Degree of the Collateral Line of Brothers and Sisters. In other Degrees Matrimony is lawful to every Man with only one Woman; tho' rich Men use to have many Concubines, under pretence of Grandeur and Generosity, looking upon it as Covetousness not to have as many as every Man's Income will conveniently maintain; and these are call'd second, third, fourth, and fifth Wives, and so on, according to every one's Rank, all which wait upon the first, which is accounted, and really is the true Wife, whose Business it is to chuse the others for her Husband. But these Marriages of theirs are not indissoluble, the Laws of *Cochin China* allowing of Divorces, but not at the Will of either Party, it being first requisite, that the Person suing for it, convict the other of many Offences; which being made out, it is lawful to dissolve the first Marriage, and marry again. The Husbands bring the Portion, and leave their own Houses to go to the Wife's; upon whose Fortunes they live, the Women managing all the Household-Affairs, and governing the Family, whilst the Husband lives idle at home, hardly knowing what there is in the House, satisfy'd that they have Meat and Cloth.

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CHAP. VII.

Of the Power of the King of Cochin-China, *and of the Wars he has in his Kingdom.*

Their Skill in Cannon and ſmall Arms.

I Took Notice at the beginning of this Account, that *Cochin-China* was a Province of the great Kingdom of *Tonchin*, uſurp'd by the Grandfather of the King now Reigning; who being made Governour of it, rebell'd againſt the ſaid King of *Tonchin*; to which he was not a little encourag'd, by having in a ſhort time got together a great many Pieces of Cannon of the Wrecks of ſeveral *Portugueſe* and *Dutch* Ships, caſt away upon thoſe Rocks, which being taken up by the Country People, there are above ſixty of the biggeſt, at this time, to be ſeen in the King's Palace. The *Cochin-Chineſes* are now become ſo expert in managing Artillery, that they perform it better than the *Europeans*, practiſing continually to ſhoot at a Mark, with ſuch ſucceſs, that being proud of their Skill, as ſoon as any *European* Ship arrives in their Ports, the King's Gunners challenge ours, who being ſenſible that they cannot ſtand in competition with them, as near as they can, avoid this Trial of Skill, being convinced by Experience, that they will hit any thing as exactly with a Cannon, as another ſhall do with a Firelock; which they are alſo very expert at, often drawing out into the Field to exerciſe. Another great Encouragement to Rebellion, was, his having above a hundred Gallies, which rendring him formidable by Sea, and the Artillery by Land, he eaſily compaſs'd his Deſigns againſt the King of *Tonchin*. Beſides, by reaſon of the conſtant Trade in *Japan*, there were in *Cochin-China* abundance of *Catana's*, which are Scimitars made in *Japan*, and excellently temper'd: And all the Country abounding in Horſes, which tho' ſmall, are handſome and mettleſome, on which they fight, caſting Darts, and daily exerciſe themſelves.

Gallies, Scimitars, and Horſes.

The Power of this King is ſo great, that whenſoever he pleaſes, he can bring 80000 fighting Men into the Field, and yet is always in fear of the King of *Tonchin*, whoſe Power is four times as great; to whom, for quietneſs ſake, he, by Agreement, pays a Tribute, of all ſuch things as his Kingdom affords, and are uſeful for that of *Tonchin*, particularly of Gold, Silver, and Rice; furniſhing, beſides all this, Plank and Timber for building of Gallies. And for the ſame Reaſon he was about entring into a League with the fugitive Son of the late King, who Lorded it in the utmoſt Province of *Tonchin*, which boders upon *China*, that in caſe he ſucceeded, and became Maſter of *Tonchin*, *Cochin China* might remain free from all Tribute and Acknowledgment.

King's Power.

For the better underſtanding hereof, it is to be obſerv'd, that when I was in *Cochin China*, that Kingdom was in the poſſeſſion not of the precedent King, but the Tutor or Governour of that Son, who made his eſcape from the ſaid Governour to ſave his Life. The ſaid Prince liv'd like a Fugitive, in the fartheſt Province adjoining to *China*; where being known to be what he was, that is, the late King's Son, he was receiv'd by that People as their Sovereign Lord, and by his good Government he had ſo ſtrengthned himſelf, that his Tutor already declar'd King of *Tonchin*, was much afraid, ſeeing him grow ſo great, leſt he ſhould agree with the King of *Cochin-China*, who is on the oppoſite ſide, to catch him between them, and expel him his unjuſt Poſſeſſion. He therefore every Year form'd a conſiderable Army to deſtroy the aforeſaid Prince; but always to no purpoſe, becauſe the Army being of neceſſity to march five or ſix Days, tho' a Country where there is no other Water to drink, but that of ſome Rivers coming from the Enemies Country; the Army always found it poiſon'd by the Prince's Party, with a ſort of Herb, the effect whereof was ſuch, that it deſtroy'd both Men and Horſes; which oblig'd him always to retire after much Trouble and Expence caſt away.

Wars in *Cochin-China*.

The Military Diſcipline, and Art of War in *Cochin-China*, is almoſt the ſame as in *Europe*, the ſame Form being obſerv'd in drawing up, fighting, and retiring. This King has generally War in three parts of his Kingdom: Firſt, he is always upon

upon his Defence againſt the King of *Tonchin*, who as has been ſaid continually threatens and aſſaults his Frontiers, and therefore the King of *Cochin-China* has his Reſidence in *Sinoua*, the extream part of his Dominions, the better to oppoſe him, and march his Forces towards the Confines of *Tonchin*, which is a powerful Province, and generally under experienced and martial Governours.

The next is a ſort of Civil War, raiſ'd by two of his own Brothers, who aiming to be equal in Command and Power, not ſatisfy'd with what has been allotted them, have rebell'd againſt him, and craving Succours from *Tonchin*, gave him perpetual trouble. Whilſt I liv'd in thoſe parts, they having got ſome Pieces of Cannon, which they carry'd upon Elephants, fortify'd themſelves ſo well upon the Frontiers, that the King's Army marching againſt them, was in the firſt Engagement routed with the loſs of 2000 Men; but coming to a ſecond Battel, the King's Brothers loſt all they had gain'd before, being both made Priſoners; and they had both immediately loſt their Lives, had not his Majeſty's Natural Clemency and Brotherly Affection prevail'd, and taken place of his Anger, ſo far as to ſpare their Lives, yet ſo as to keep them Priſoners.

The third place where he has continual War, is on the Weſt-ſide, and utmoſt Bound of his Kingdom call'd *Renran*, againſt the King of *Chiampa*; whoſe Efforts being weaker, are ſufficiently repuls'd by the Troops of that ſame Province, and the Governour.

He is alſo in continual Motion, and making Warlike Preparations to aſſiſt the King of *Cambegia*, who has marry'd his Baſtard Daughter, ſending him Succours of Gallies, and Men, againſt the King of *Siam*; and therefore the Arms of *Cochin-China*, and their Valour, is famous and renowned, as well by Sea as by Land.

The Gallies. At Sea they fight in Gallies, as has been ſaid, each of which carries Cannon, and is mann'd with Musketiers: Nor will it ſeem ſtrange, that the King of *Cochin China* has an hundred, or more, Gallies in a readineſs, when the Method of furniſhing them is known. It is therefore to be obſerv'd, that the *Cochin-Chineſes* do not uſe to have a Crew of Criminals, or other Slaves, to row in their Gallies; but when they are to go out to fight, or for any other purpoſe, the way to man them immediately is this: A great number of Officers, and Commiſſaries, go out privately, and ſcouring on a ſudden all together throughout the whole Kingdom, with the King's Authority, preſs all they find fit for the Oar, conducting them all together to the Gallies, unleſs they be exempted by Birth, or any other Privilege. Nor is this Method ſo troubleſome as it appears at firſt ſight: For in the firſt place they are well us'd and paid aboard the Gallies; and beſides, their Wives and Children are fed and provided with all things neceſſary, according to their Condition, all the while they are from their Houſes. Nor do they only ſerve at the Oar, but upon occaſion lay hold of their Weapons, and behave themſelves bravely; for which purpoſe every one has his Musker, Darts, and Scimitar allotted him; and the *Cochin-Chineſes* being of an undaunted Spirit, and brave, they give good Tokens of their Valour, either rowing to join their Enemies, or with their Arms when join'd. Their Galleys are ſomewhat leſs, but particularly narrower than ours, but ſo neat, and ſo well adorn'd with Gold and Silver, that they afford a glorious ſight. Chiefly the Stem, which they account the moſt honourable Poſt, is all over Gold, there the Captain and Perſons of chief Note have their Station; and the Reaſon they give for it is, that it being the Captain's Duty to be the firſt upon any danger, it is fit he ſhould be in the propereſt part of the Gally for that purpoſe.

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Among other ſorts of Defenſive Arms they uſe in War, they have certain oval, hollow Targets, ſo long that they cover a Man quite, and ſo light, that they can manage them without any trouble. The Cities of this Kingdom have a great advantage in the manner of their Houſes, which being all of Wood upon Pillars of Timber, as has been ſaid before, when the Enemy comes ſo ſtrong, that they perceive they cannot oppoſe him, every Man flies to the Mountain with what he has, firing the Houſes, ſo that the Enemy finds nothing but the Ruines left by the Flames, and having no place to fortifie himſelf, nor any thing to ſubſiſt on, is forced to retire back to his own Country, and the Inhabitants returning to the ſame place in a ſhort time, with great eaſe rebuild their Houſes.

BORRI.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Trade and Ports of Cochin-China.

Trade of *Cochin-China.*

THE great plenty *Cochin-China* affords of all things neceſſary for the ſupport of Human Life, as has been ſaid before, is the cauſe that the People have no Curioſity, or Inclination to go into other Kingdoms to trade; and therefore they never go ſo far to Sea, as to loſe ſight of their beloved Shore; yet they are very ready to admit of Strangers, and are very well pleas'd they ſhould come not only from the neighbouring Countries, but from the remoteſt Parts to trade with them. Nor do they need to uſe any Art for this purpoſe, Strangers being ſufficiently allur'd by the Fruitfulneſs of the Country, and the great Wealth which abounds there, and therefore they reſort thither not only from *Tonchin*, *Cambogia*, *Chincheos*, and other neighbouring places, but from the remoteſt, as *China*, *Macao*, *Japan*, *Manilla*, and *Malacca*, all of them carrying Silver to *Cochin-China*, to carry away the Commodities of the Country, which are not bought, but exchang'd for Plate, which is here put off as a Commodity, being ſometimes worth more, and ſometimes leſs, according as there is more or leſs plenty of it, as is uſual with Silk and other Goods.

All the Coin they uſe is of Braſs, and of the ſame value, like a *Quatrine*, 500 of which make a Crown. Theſe Pieces are quite round, with the King's Arms and Enſign ſtamp'd on them, and every one of them has a hole through the middle, which ſerves to ſtring them by thouſands, and every thouſand is worth two Crowns.

Rich Trade of the *Chineſes* and *Japoneſes.*

The *Chineſes*, and *Japoneſes*, drive the chief Trade of *Cochin China*; which is manag'd at a Fair held yearly at one of the Ports of this Kingdom, and laſting about four Months. The *Chineſes*, in their Veſſels they call *Junks*, bring the value of four or five Millions in Plate; and the *Japoneſes*, in their Ships call'd *Sommes*, an infinite quantity of very fine Silk, and other Commodities of their Country. The King has a vaſt Revenue from this Fair by Cuſtoms, and Impoſts, and all the whole Country receives great profit. The *Cochin-Chineſes* applying themſelves very little to Arts, becauſe plenty makes them lazy; and being ſoon taken with the Curioſities of other Countries it comes to paſs, that they put a great Value upon, and buy at great Rates, many things, which to others are of very ſmall worth; as for inſtance, Combs, Needles, Bracelets, and Pendants of Glaſs, and ſuch-like Womens Tackling. I remember a *Portugueze*, who bringing into *Cochin China* from *Macao*, a Box full of Needles, which could not be worth above thirty Ducats, made above a thouſand of it, ſelling that for Six-pence in *Cochin-China*, which had not coſt him above a Farthing at *Macao*. In ſhort, they out-bid one another, in buying any thing that is very new and ſtrange, without ſparing for Price. They are very fond of our Hats, of Caps, of Girdles, Shirts, and all other ſorts of Garments we wear, becauſe they are quite different from theirs; but above all, they put a great Value upon Coral.

Sea-Ports.

As for their Ports, it is wonderful that in a Coaſt little more than an hundred Leagues in length, there ſhould be above ſixty moſt convenient Landing-places; which is ſo, becauſe there are many large Arms of the Sea. But the principal Port, to which all Strangers reſort, and where the afore mention'd Fair is kept, is that of the Province of *Cacchian*; which has two Mouths, or Inlets from the Sea, the one call'd *Pulluchiampello*, and the other of *Turon*, being at firſt three or four Leagues diſtant from one another, but running in ſeven or eight Leagues like two great Rivers, at laſt join in one, where the Veſſels that come in both ways meet. Here the King of *Cochin-China* aſſign'd the *Chineſes*, and *Japoneſes*, a convenient Spot of Ground, to build a City for the benefit of the Fair. This City is call'd *Faifo*, and is ſo large, that we may ſay they are two, one of *Chineſes*, the other of *Japoneſes*; for they are divided from one another, each having their diſtinct Governour, and the *Chineſes* living according to the Laws of *China*, as the *Japoneſes* do according to thoſe of *Japan*.

All Nations admitted to trade.

And becauſe, as we ſaid before, the King of *Cochin-China* gave free admittance to all Nations whatſoever, the

Dutch

Dutch reſorted thither with all ſorts of Commodities. Hereupon the *Portugueſes* of *Macao*, reſolv'd to ſend an Embaſſador to the King, to demand in their Name, that the *Dutch*, as mortal Enemies to their Nation, ſhould be excluded all *Cochin-China*. One Captain *Ferdinand da Coſta*, a Man well known for his Valour, was appointed to go upon this Embaſſy; which he deliver'd, and was favourably heard, with Aſſurances of obtaining his Demands. Nevertheleſs, whilſt he was yet at that Court, there arriv'd a *Dutch* Ship, and coming to an Anchor in the Port, ſome of them landed with much Mirth and Jollity, and preſently went with rich Preſents to the King: He accepted of them very graciouſly, and granted them the uſual Liberty of Trading freely in his Kingdom. *Acoſta* hearing of it, went preſently to the King, and complaining, That His Majeſty did not keep his Word with him, in a *Portugueſe* Bravado gave a Stamp on the Ground to ſhew his Reſentment. The King, and all the Courtiers, were pleas'd at his Paſſion, and bidding him have Patience, and expect the Event, and he ſhould find he had no cauſe to complain, diſmiſs'd him. In the mean while he order'd all the *Dutch* to go aſhore, and land all their Goods againſt the Fair at *Turon*, as the *Portugueſes* did; which they perform'd: But as they were going upon the River in Boats, they were on a ſudden aſſaulted by the Gallies, which deſtroy'd moſt of them. The King remain'd Maſter of their Goods; and to juſtifie this Action, alledg'd, That he very well knew the *Dutch*, as notorious Pyrates, who infeſted all the Seas, were worthy of ſeverer Puniſhment; and therefore, by Proclamation, forbid any of them ever reſorting to his Country: And it was actually found, that thoſe very Men had robb'd ſome Veſſels of *Cochin-China*, and therefore took this juſt Revenge; admitting the *Portugueſes* as good and ſincere Friends: Who not long after ſent another Embaſſador from *Macao*, to obtain of the King a Confirmation of the aforeſaid Edict, at the inſtance of *Acoſta*, alledging as a Motive, the Danger that the *Dutch*, in time, might cunningly poſſeſs themſelves of ſome part of *Cochin-China*, as they had done in other parts of *India*. But the new Embaſſador was adviſ'd by knowing Men of that Country, not to mention any ſuch thing to the King, becauſe that very thing would be a Motive to him to grant the *Dutch* a free Trade, and invite all *Holland* to come over, he pretending to be afraid of no Nation in the World; quite contrary to the King of *China*, who being afraid of every Body, forbids all Strangers trading in his Kingdom; and therefore the Embaſſador muſt urge other Motives to obtain his Deſire.

Dutch baniſh'd.

Book I.

The King of *Cochin-China* has always ſhewn himſelf a great Friend to the *Portugueſes* that trade in that Kingdom, and has ſeveral times offer'd them three or four Leagues of the fruitfulleſt Country about the Port of *Turon*, that they may build a City there with all ſorts of Conveniences, as the *Chineſes*, and *Japoneſes*, have done. And were it allow'd me to give his Catholick Majeſty my Opinion in this point, I ſhould ſay, he ought, by all means, to command the *Portugueſes* to accept of the kind Offer made them, and to build a good City there as ſoon as poſſible; which would be a Refuge, and brave Defence, for all the Ships that paſs by towards *China*: For here a Fleet might be kept in readineſs againſt the *Dutch*, that ſail to *China* and *Japan*, who of neceſſity muſt paſs through the middle of the Bay, that lies between the Coaſt of this Kingdom, in the Provinces of *Ranran*, and *Pulucambi*, and the Rocks of *Pulufi*.

Portugueſes favour'd in *Cochin-China*.

This is what ſmall Matter I thought I could, with Truth, give an Account of, concerning the Temporal State of *Cochin-China*, according to the Knowledge I could gain in ſome Years I reſided there; as will farther appear in the Second Part of this Relation.

The End of the Firſt PART.

BORRI.

The Second PART.

TREATING

Of the SPIRITUAL STATE of *Cochin-China.*

CHAP. I.

Of the first Entring of the Fathers of the Society of JESUS into that Kingdom: And of the two Churches built at Turon, *and* Cacchian.

The Jeſuits the firſt that taught Chriſtianity in *Cochin-China.*

BEfore the Fathers of the Society of Jeſus went into *Cochin China*, it was the Cuſtom of the *Portugueſes* trading thither, to carry thither with them from *Malacca*, and *Macao*, and the *Spaniards* from *Manila*, ſome Chaplains, to ſay Maſs and adminiſter the Sacraments to them, during their ſtay there, which generally was three or four Months in a Year. Theſe Chaplains having no other Obligation but only to ſerve the *Portugueſes*, never thought of promoting the Spiritual Welfare of the Natives of that Country, not applying themſelves to learn their Language, nor uſing any other means to communicate the Light of the Goſpel to them. And yet there was one of theſe who had the Face to publiſh in *Spain*, in a Book call'd, *The Voyage of the World*; that he had Catechiz'd and Baptiz'd the Infanta or Princeſs of *Cochin China*, and a great many of her Ladies: Whereas never Infanta, nor any other Perſon of all that Royal Family, till this time, has ſhewn any Inclination to become Chriſtian, notwithſtanding we Fathers go every Year to viſit the King, and diſcourſe with all the Great Men of the Court; and yet the Infanta has not given any Token of being a Chriſtian, or ſo much as knowing what a Chriſtian is. And it may well be diſcern'd, how fallly he talks in this Point, by the other Fables he adds in the ſame Book, concerning that Infanta; as that ſhe would have marry'd the ſaid Chaplain, and the like. We know of none but ſome Fathers of the Order of St. *Francis*, that went from *Manila*, and one of St. *Auguſtine* from *Macao* to *Cochin-China*, merely for the Converſion of thoſe Souls. But they meeting with no Succeſs, by reaſon of the many ſeveral Difficulties that occur, they return'd to their Countries: Providence ſo ordering it, which had deſign'd that Land to be cultivated by the Sons of the holy Patriarch *Ignatius*, which was done as follows:

Manner of their going thither.

Certain *Portugueſe* Merchants acquainted the Superiours of the Society of Jeſus at *Macao*, with the great Advantages that might be gain'd, to advance the Glory of God in *Cochin-China*, if there were undaunted and zealous Labourers ſent thither; and particularly one Captain earneſtly preſs'd the Father Provincial, not to abandon a Kingdom ſo capable of being inſtructed in the Holy Faith. The Propoſal ſeem'd to the Father very agreeable to the Spirit of our Vocation, and therefore without demurring upon the execution of it, he made choice for this Enterprize of F. *Francis Buzome*, who had been Profeſſor of Divinity at *Macao*, by Birth a *Genoeſe*, but educated in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he was admitted into the Society, and whence he ſet out for *India*: Together with F. *James Carvalho*, a *Portugueſe*, who from *Cochin-China* was to attempt to go over to *Japan*.

Japan, as he did. This was he, who being put into a Pool of cold Water in the dead of Winter, and expos'd to the Wind and Snow, gave up his Life for the ſake of his Redeemer, freezing leiſurely to Death. F. *Caravalho* being gone, F. *Buzome* was left alone in *Cochin-China*, with only a Lay-Brother to attend him: Being zealouſly inflam'd with the deſire of ſaving Souls, he us'd all poſſible means for their Converſion, and to this purpoſe began his Miſſion at *Turon*. But as yet he knew not the Language, nor could he find any Interpreter that knew any more *Portugueze* than what was requiſite for buying and ſelling, and ſome Words or Phraſes, which the Interpreters of the Chaplains of Ships, who were there before the Fathers of the Society, made uſe of to ask the *Cochin-Chineſes*, Whether they would be Chriſtians? After this manner they had made ſome, but ſuch as might rather be accounted ſo by Name than by Profeſſion; for they did not ſo much as underſtand what the Name of a Chriſtian meant: And this by reaſon of the Phraſe the Interpreters us'd to ask them, Whether they would be Chriſtians: For the Words they made uſe of, ſignify'd nothing more, than that they would become *Portugueſes*; which F. *Francis Buzome* found out by this following Accident: A Play was acted in the publick Market-place, at which the Father ſaw one in the Habit of a *Portugueze*, brought in by way of ridicule, with a great Belly ſo artificially made, that a Boy was hid in it; the Player, before the Audience, turn'd him out of his Belly, and ask'd him, Whether he would go into the Belly of the *Portugueze*? Uſing theſe words, *Con gnoo muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam?* That is, *Little Boy, will you go into the Belly of the* Portugueſes, *or not?* The Boy anſwer'd, *He would:* And then he put him in again, often repeating the ſame thing to divert the Spectators. The Father obſerving, that the Phraſe the Player ſo often repeated, *Muon bau tlom laom Hoalaom chiam*, was the ſame the Interpreters us'd, when they ask'd any one, Whether he would be a Chriſtian? Preſently conceiv'd the miſtake the *Cochin-Chineſes* were under; who thought, that to become a Chriſtian was only to ceaſe being a *Cochin-Chineſe*, and become a *Portugueſe*; which to make Sport was expreſs'd in the Play, by making the Boy go into the Belly of him that acted the *Portugueſe*. The Father took care, that ſo pernicious an Error ſhould ſpread no farther, teaching thoſe already baptiz'd their Duty, and inſtructing thoſe that were newly converted, what it was to be baptiz'd and become a Chriſtian, taking particular care that the Interpreters ſhould be well inform'd in this particular, that they might afterwards ſerve faithfully in teaching of others; changing the above-mention'd Phraſe into this, *Muon bau dau Chriſtiam chiam?* That is, *Will you enter into the Chriſtian Law, or no?* His great Diligence and Charity was ſo ſucceſsful, that within a few Days he began to reap the Fruit of his Labours, as well by the Reformation of thoſe who before were Chriſtians only in Name, as the Converſion of many more. Nor was the Fame of his Charity and Zeal for the gaining of Souls confin'd to *Turon*, his uſual Place of Reſidence, but ſpread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to inſtruct, convert, and diſpoſe the People to receive Baptiſm with ſuch Fervour, and ſo great a Concourſe about him, that in a ſhort time thoſe new Chriſtians built a very large Church at *Turon*, in which the moſt Holy Sacrifice of the Maſs was publickly celebrated, and the Chriſtian Doctrine preach'd and taught, by means of the Interpreters, then well inſtructed; all Perſons being very much taken with F. *Francis Buzome*: Who beſides his being a Perſon of great Knowledge and Vertue, entirely gain'd the Affections of thoſe Heathens, by his great Meekneſs and Affability, inſomuch that they all flock'd after him. This particularly happned at *Cacchiam*, the City where the King reſides, ſix or ſeven Leagues from *Turon*, up the River.

Miſtaken Converſions.

Churches erected.

Here F. *Buzome* made ſo great an Impreſſion, that a place was preſently allotted him for a Church, which was built in a very ſhort time, every Body contributing to the Expence, and to the Work, according to their Power. Beſides, he had a good Houſe aſſign'd him, fit for to make a Reſidence of Fathers, who were to go thither in time to inſtruct that People in Matters of Faith: All which was done with the aſſiſtance of a moſt Noble Lady, who was converted, and in Baptiſm took the Name of *Joanna*. She not only undertook the Foundation of the Houſe and Church, but erected ſeveral Altars and Places of Prayer in her own Houſe, never ceaſing to bleſs and praiſe God for the Mercy ſhewn her, in enlightning and

BORRI.

BORRI. and drawing her to the Faith. All this his Divine Majesty brought to pass in the space of a Year, through the means of his Servant, F. *Francis Buzome*; whose Fame being spread as far as *Macao*, the following Year our Father Provincial thought fit to send him another Father, that was younger, with a *Japonese* Brother, that learning the Language, he might afterwards preach without standing in need of an Interpreter. This was F. *Francis de Pina*, a *Portuguese*, who had learn'd Divinity under F. *Francis Buzome*. And tho' this second Year the Increase was not answerable to that of the first, as to the Conversion of Souls, yet the Advantage was much greater in the Sufferings of a cruel Persecution, rais'd by the Enemy that sow'd the Tares, who could not endure to see the Divine Seed grow up so prosperously in those Parts, and endeavour'd to choke it; as shall be shewn in the next Chapter.

CHAP. II.

Of the Persecution the New Church of Cochin-China *endur'd, at its first Institution: And how I was sent thither to be assisting to it, by my Superiours.*

Cause of the Persecution. THE Persecution against the Fathers took its beginning from an Accident at first sight ridiculous, and of no moment, which afterwards gave them much cause to lament. That Year there hapned an universal Barrenness throughout the whole Kingdom, for want of the usual Inundation in Autumn; which, as was said in the first part, is so necessary for bringing up the Rice, the chief Support of Life in that Country. Hereupon their Priests, whom they call *Omsaiis*, held a Great Council, to find out the Cause why their Idols were so angry with all their Kingdom, that seeing the People starve to Death about the Fields, yet they were not the least mov'd to Compassion for so great a Calamity. It was there unanimously agreed, that there was nothing new in the Kingdom, so opposite to the Worship of the Idols, as the admitting of Strangers freely to preach up a Law there, that utterly contradicted the Honour given to those Idols; and that they being justly provok'd at it, reveng'd themselves by denying them their desired Rain.

The Fathers banish'd. This being agreed on as a most undoubted Truth, according to their Ignorance, they presently went in a tumultuous manner to the King, and press that the Preachers of the New Law may be banish'd all the Kingdom, that being the only Means to appease the Wrath of their Gods. The wise King laugh'd at their Project, knowing it to be a foolish Notion of those Priests, and made little Account of it, having a great Esteem for the Fathers, and a Kindness for the *Portugueses*. Yet this Favour of the King avail'd them but little to oppose the Fury of the Ministers of Satan; for they so stirr'd up the People to press that the Preachers of the Gospel might be expell'd the Kingdom, that the King, not able to resist without danger of a Mutiny, sent for the Fathers, and with much Concern told them, He was sensible of the Folly of the People, and Ignorance of the Priests; but that it was not Prudence to withstand a Multitude; so eagerly bent upon such an Affair as that was, which was designed for the removing so General a Calamity; and therefore they must depart his Kingdom as soon as possible. The Fathers having heard these Words with Tears in their Eyes, seeing themselves oblig'd to forsake those new and tender Plants of Christianity, yet ever submitting to the Will of God, went away to embark; but being got aboard, in Obedience to the King's Command, they could never get out of the Harbour, because at that time a sort of contrary Winds, which usually hold three or four Months, had begun to blow, which by the *Portugueses* are call'd *Moncao*, or General Winds. The *Cochin-Chineses* observing it, would not allow them to return into the City, but oblig'd them to remain upon the Shore depriv'd of all human Comfort, and expos'd to the burning Heat of the Sun, which in those parts is

is very violent. It was a great Satisfaction to them in the midst of their Sufferings, to see the Constancy of some of those new Christians, who never forsook their Masters, following, accompanying, and relieving them the best they could, becoming voluntary Companions in their Sufferings. F. *Buzome* had here a new Trial of his Vertue; for the uneasiness of this uncomfortable Life, in a few Days, caus'd an Impostthume to break out in his Breast, from which abundance of Corruption ran, and was a mighty weakning to him.

An Hypocrite Priest of the Idols detected and punish'd.

The infernal Fiend, not satisfy'd to have brought the Preachers of the Gospel to this miserable Condition, made yet farther efforts to discredit their Doctrine, and Catholick Religion, making use to this purpose of one of those *Omsaiis*, who living a solitary Life, was therefore in great Reputation of Sanctity. This Man coming one Day from his Hermitage, publickly boasted, That by his Prayers he would cause the Idols immediately to send Rain: And without more to do, went away follow'd by an innumerable multitude to the top of a Mountain, where he began to call upon his Devils, and striking the Earth three times with his Foot, the Sky was presently clouded, and there fell a Shower of Rain; which tho' not sufficient to supply the want, yet was enough to give a Reputation to that Minister of Hell, and to discredit our Holy Faith, every one saying They had not yet seen the Foreign Priests obtain so much by their Prayers of the Great GOD, whose Servants they profess'd themselves. This Accident troubled the Fathers more than the Misery they liv'd in; but Providence comforted them by the means of the Lady *Joanna* above-mention'd. She, as it were, with a Prophetick Spirit, bid them not be concern'd at any thing that had hapned; for in a little time God would make the Hypocrisie of that *Omsaii*, and the Vanity of his Idols, known to all Men, by destroying the Reputation he had gain'd till then; all which was verified to a tittle soon after. For the Fame of his Sanctity being spread abroad upon account of the Rain, and coming to the King's Ear, he presently sent for him, and gave him an Apartment in the Palace. There he fell in Love with one of the King's Concubines, and found no difficulty to compass his Design; but the matter being known, tho' in *Cochin-China* this be accounted a most heinous Crime, and it be Death to have to do with a Woman the King has once touch'd; yet they could not proceed to Execution against him, as being a Person Sacred among them, but according to the Form appointed by their Laws. The King therefore gave the Sentence, That the *Omsaii* should vanish; but that he should neither go East, West, North, nor South, nor through any part whatsoever of his Kingdom. This Decree being publish'd, was immediately executed in such manner, that the *Omsaii* vanish'd with great shame, and was never more seen in the Kingdom, nor out of it. *BORRI.*

The Church burnt.

But the Devil being enrag'd, vented his Fury against God's Servants, stirring up the People to fire the Church in *Turon*, to the great Grief of the Fathers, who beheld all from the Shore without hopes of redress.

In the mean while the News of the Fathers Misfortune was spread all about the neighbouring Countries, and even as far as *Macao*, which was a great trouble to the Fathers of that College, who pitying their Brethren, resolv'd to send them some Relief by a *Portuguese* Vessel that was ready to sail to *Cochin-China*; and the Fathers judg'd the Business might succeed the better, if two Fathers going in it, one had the Name of Chaplain of the Ship, to return in it; and that the *Cochin-Chineses* might have no cause to complain, or be incens'd, he that remain'd was to go disguis'd: F. *Peter Marques*, a *Portuguese*, was appointed Chaplain; and I had the good Fortune to be his Companion, Obedience so ordering it: For tho' I had been destin'd for *China* by our Father General, I freely and affectionately embraced the opportunity of dedicating my self to God in the Mission of *Cochin China*, and for the Comfort of those afflicted Fathers, seeing my self quite shut out of *China*, by Reason of the Persecution rais'd there. I set out from *Macao* in the Habit of a Slave, and soon arriv'd in *Cochin China* upon my Birth-Day, which was very near opening the way for me to a blessed Life; but it pleas'd Providence to order Matters otherwise, either because my Sins made me unworthy of such a Mercy, or for other Causes only known to God: As the Vessel was entring the Harbour, upon which there were abundance of the Country People, there hapned, I know not how, a Quarrel between two *Portugueses*, and one

The Author in *Cochin-China*.

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of them falling down for dead, the other leap'd into the Sea to eſcape the wounded Man's Friends and Companions, who would have kill'd him. He ſwam a-while, but being tir'd, drew towards the Ship again, to ſave himſelf from ſinking, and endeavouring to catch hold could not, becauſe they were ready above with Half-pikes, Javelins, and Swords, to wound him. I ſeeing him in that diſtreſs, endeavour'd to relieve him; and tho' I was in a ſervile Habit, ran among them, and calling out to one, and pulling another, took ſuch Pains that I appeas'd them. The *Cochin-Chineſes* who were aboard the Ship, ſeeing the *Portugueſes* pacified at the ſight of a Slave, began preſently to ſuſpect the matter; and knowing by Experience, that the *Portugueſes*, when in a Paſſion, are not ſo eaſily quell'd, unleſs Religious Men interpoſe, ſaid to one another, This Man is certainly no Slave, as his Habit ſeems to ſuggeſt; and being no Merchant, as the reſt are, he is certainly one of their Religious Men, that endeavours, contrary to the King's Command, to be conceal'd in our Country, but we will diſcover him to the King himſelf, that he may be puniſh'd as he deſerves. Immediately they flock'd about me, and tho' I did not underſtand their Language, yet I plainly perceiv'd they had all a Jealouſie of me; and notwithſtanding all my Endeavours not to diſcover my ſelf, I could not prevent their ſending Advice to Court. When I had ſatisfy'd my ſelf as to this point, believing I was certainly a dead Man, I reſolv'd to die as what I was: Accordingly I put on my Habit of the Society, a Surplice over it, and a Stole about my Neck; and in that Habit I began publickly to preach the Faith of Chriſt by means of the Interpreter; then erecting an Altar on the Shore, I ſaid Maſs, and gave the Communion to the *Portugueſes* that were preſent, ſtanding ready for whatſoever it ſhould pleaſe God to appoint: But it pleas'd him not that I ſhould then ſhed my Blood for him. Whilſt my Cauſe was in hand, it rain'd ſo abundantly Day and Night, without ever ceaſing, that every Man apply'd himſelf to tilling of the Ground, and ſowing of Rice, and perhaps reflecting that they had obtain'd that at my Arrival, which they had ſo long wiſh'd for, looking upon it as a good Omen; and concluding it was not the Fault of the Fathers that they had wanted Rain, they repented them, of all they had done againſt us, and never gave us any farther trouble, but ſuffer'd us to live freely throughout the Kingdom.

Matters being thus pacified, I reſolv'd to go look out F. *Buzome*, and his Companion, ſince I was gone thither to that end; and whilſt I was endeavouring to hear ſome News of him, the Report of my Arrival being ſpread about the City, that Lady *Joanna* above-mention'd found me out. By her I underſtood, that F. *Francis de Pina*, with the *Japoneſe* Brother, had been privately convey'd by *Japoneſe* Chriſtians to the City *Faiſo*, all People certainly concluding that the Fathers were then got out of the Kingdom. Upon this Information, F. *Peter Marques*, who knew the Language of *Japan* very well, would have us go to *Faiſo*, where we found F. *Francis de Pina*, who was there hid, but very well uſed by thoſe good *Japoneſe* Chriſtians, to whom he privately adminiſtred the Sacraments. We receiv'd incredible Joy in meeting: For beſides the general Charity of Religion, we had been Companions, and great Friends, in the College of *Macao*; and the Kindneſs of the *Japoneſes* was extraordinary, for they treated us during a Fortnight very ſplendidly, with great Demonſtrations of Affection and Joy.

Here I alſo underſtood how, through God's ſpecial Providence, F. *Buzome* was alſo ſafe in the Kingdom, as if God had particularly defended him for the good of that Miſſion, where whilſt he was upon the Strand amidſt ſo many Afflictions, and with that Impoſthume in his Breaſt, the Governour of *Pulucambi* came to *Turon*; who ſeeing that Man ſo ill us'd, that he look'd like a walking Ghoſt, being mov'd to Compaſſion ask'd who he was, and what Misfortune had brought him to that miſerable Condition. He was told all that had hapned; and that the want of Rain being laid to his and his Companion's Charge, he had been baniſh'd by the King's Order. The Governour was not a little amaz'd, and laugh'd to think that this ſhould be attributed to a poor Religious Man, which could no way depend of him; therefore he order'd him to be taken from that open Shore, and carry'd into one of his Gallies, in which he carry'd him to his Province, entertain'd him in his own Houſe, had him look'd after by the moſt skilful Phyſicians in that City, and made his own Children attend him during a whole Year; for ſo long his Sickneſs laſted:

All

All Men admiring that a Heathen ſhould behave himſelf ſo charitably towards a Stranger utterly unknown to him only out of mere natural Compaſſion.

Thus we were four Prieſts of the Society in *Cochin China*: F. *Buzome*, at *Pulucambi*, 150 Miles from the Port of *Turon*; F. *Peter Marques* remain'd at *Faifó*, as Superiour, and to ſerve the *Japoneſes*; keeping F. *Francis de Pina* for his Companion: And I return'd to *Turon*, there to ſerve the *Portugueſes*, to ſay Maſs, preach to them, and hear their Confeſſions, and learning at the ſame time the Language of *Cochin-China*, endeavour'd, with the aſſiſtance of the Interpreters, to perſuade ſome of thoſe Heathens to be baptiz'd; and above all, to encourage and confirm thoſe that were already baptiz'd. Soon after my firſt coming, there happned to mean Accident worthy to be known: I was call'd to make a dying Infant a Chriſtian; I did ſo, and ſoon after it gave up the Ghoſt. I was concern'd, not knowing where to bury it, which made me think of fixing a Burying place for all the Chriſtians that ſhould die for the future. To this purpoſe I order'd a Maſt of a Ship that was caſt by, to be taken, and a ſtately Croſs to be made of it: Which done, I invited all the *Portugueſes*, and Sailors, to help to carry it to the appointed place, I attending with my Surplice and Stole. Whilſt the Hole was digging to erect the Holy Croſs, a Company of Armed Men came out from the Neighbourhood, who with their Muskets threatned to kill me; which I perceiving, caus'd the Interpreter to endeavour to know of them, what it was they would be at? And was told, they would not have that Croſs erected there, becauſe they fear'd the Devils would infeſt their Houſes. I anſwer'd, It would be quite contrary; becauſe the Croſs had ſuch a Virtue, that it put the Devil to flight. With this they were ſo well pleas'd, that laying down their Arms, they all ran to help: And thus the Croſs was ſet up to the general Satisfaction of all Parties, and the Burial-place fix'd. Soon after the Governour of *Pulucambi* came thither, and brought F. *Buzome* with him; and we met all four Fathers of the Society, to our unſpeakable Joy at *Faifó*, together with two Lay-Brothers, one a *Portugueſe*, and the other a *Japoneſe*. After a charitable Reception, we conſulted together about the moſt proper means of promoting that Miſſion. It was unanimouſly agreed, that F. *Peter Marques* ſhould ſtay at *Faifó* with the *Japoneſe* Brother, becauſe he was a good Preacher; and the other three, with the *Portugueſe* Brother, ſhould follow the Governour of *Pulucambi*, who earneſtly deſir'd it; which was accordingly done, as ſhall be here related. BORRI.

CHAP. III.

The Governour of Pulucambi *introduces the Fathers of the Society into his Province, building them a Houſe and Church.*

F. *Francis Buzome*, F. *Francis de Pina*, and I, ſet out from *Faifó*, for *Pulucambi*, with the Governour of that Province; who all the way treated us with unexemplable Courteſie and Kindneſs, always lodging us near himſelf, and behaving himſelf in ſuch manner, that there being no human Motives to incline him ſo to do, it plainly appear'd to be the Work of Providence.

Great Goodneſs of the Governour of *Pulucambi*.

He appointed a Gally only to carry us and our Interpreters, not ſuffering ſo much as our Baggage to be put aboard it, but order'd another Boat for it. In this eaſie manner we travell'd twelve large Days Journey, putting into a Port Morning and Evening, and all the Ports being near great Towns or Cities of the Province of *Quanghia*, in which Province the Governour had as much Power as in his own of *Pulucambi*; all People ran to pay their Reſpects and Acknowledgments, bringing him rich Preſents, the firſt of which always fell to our ſhare, he himſelf ſo ordering it, every one admiring to ſee us ſo honour'd; which gain'd us much Eſteem and Reputation among thoſe People, that being the deſign of the Governour: And this was much forwarded by the great

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count he made of our Intercession, when any Criminal was to be punish'd: For we no sooner open'd our Mouths, but we obtain'd all we desir'd; by which means we not only gain'd the Reputation of being great with the Governour, but of having Compassion and Kindness for those People, who therefore lov'd and respected us. Besides, during the whole Voyage, he treated us as if we had been some great Lords, contriving Sports and Pastimes in all parts, causing the Gallies sometimes to represent a Sea-fight, sometimes to row for Rewards. Nor did there a Day pass but he came aboard our Gally to visit us, seeming much pleas'd with our Conversation, especially when we discours'd of Religion and our Holy Faith. In this manner we came to the Province of *Pulucambi*, through which we had still some Days Journey to make, before we arriv'd at the Governour's Palace, who for our greater Diversion would have us travel by Land. To this purpose he order'd seven Elephants to be provided; and the more to honour us, would have one for each, causing an hundred Men, some on Horseback, and some a Foot, to attend us: And the Journey being for Recreation, we spent eight Days in it, being Royally entertain'd wheresoever we came; but particularly in the House of a Sister of his, we had a most splendid Entertainment, not only for the Variety and Number of Dishes, but much more for the Rarity of the Dressing, all things being dress'd after the *European* manner, tho' neither the Governour, nor any of the Family were to taste of them.

His Grandeur, and Affection to the Fathers.

Being at length come to the Governour's Palace, all the Entertainments and Dainties of the Journey concluded in such a Reception as he us'd to make for Kings and Great Princes, treating us for eight Days together in most splendid manner, making us sit in his Royal Throne, and eating with us himself in publick, with his Wife and Children; to the great astonishment of all that City, where it was unanimously affirm'd, such a Reception had never been seen, unless it were for some Royal Person: And this was the Cause of the Report generally spread throughout the Kingdom, that we were a King's Sons, and were come thither about Matter of great Concern; which being known by the Governour, he was mightily pleas'd; and before the chiefest Men of the Court he publickly said, *It is very true, that the Fathers were the Sons of a King, for they were Angels, come thither, not for any Want or Necessity of their own, being provided with all Things in their own Countries, but only out of pure Zeal to save their Souls:* And therefore he advis'd them, *to give ear to the Fathers, and observe the Law they would preach to them, learn the Doctrine they taught, and receive the Faith they deliver'd: For* (said he) *I have often discours'd and convers'd with these Men, and plainly perceive by the Doctrine they teach, that there is no true Law but theirs, nor no Way but that they shew, which leads to Eternal Salvation. But take heed what you do; for unless you learn that true Doctrine, which I, your Chief, bring to you by means of these Fathers, your Neglect and Infidelity will be punish'd eternally in Hell.* Thus spoke that Lord, becoming a Preacher of the Gospel, tho' himself a Heathen; all Men being the more amaz'd and astonish'd at it, because of the great Conceit they had of his Wisdom.

After the first eight Days, we gave him to understand, that we would rather go live in the City, the better to promote the preaching of the Gospel, which we could not so well attend in the Palace, because it was three Miles from the City, in an open Field, according to the Custom of the Country. The Governour would not have parted with us, because of the great Affection he had for us, but preferring the Publick Good before his own Satisfaction, he immediately order'd there should be a very convenient House provided in the City *Nuocman*: And moreover told us, we might see above a hundred Houses that were about his Palace, and take our choice of the convenientest of them, to make a Church of it; and acquainting him with it, he would provide all that was necessary. We return'd him Thanks for so many Favours bestow'd on us during our Journey, and those we still receiv'd. Having taken our Leaves for the Present, we mounted the Elephants again, and with a great Attendance went away to the City *Nuocman*, which extends it self five Miles in length, and half a Mile in breadth, where we were by the Governour's Order receiv'd with extraordinary Honour. He not being able to endure to be so far from us, came the next Day to visit us, to know whether the House we had given us was convenient; and told us, he knew that we being Strangers, could not have Money

The Fathers settled

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and other Neceſſaries, but that he took upon him to provide every thing; and immediately order'd a good Sum to be paid us Monthly, and every Day Fleſh, Fiſh, and Rice, to be ſent in for us, our Interpreters, and all the Servants of the Houſe: And not ſo ſatisfied, he frequently ſent us ſo many Preſents, that they alone were ſufficient to furniſh us plentifully with all things. The more to honour and credit us among all Men, he one Day gave Publick Audience in the Court of our Houſe, in the manner as we ſaid above was practis'd in *Cochin-China*. Here ſeveral Criminals were try'd, every one receiving Sentence according to his Crime; among the reſt, two were condemn'd to be ſhot to Death with Arrows, and whilſt they were bound we undertook to beg their Pardon; which was immediately granted, and he order'd them to be diſcharg'd, publickly proteſting, he would not have done it at the Requeſt of any other, but to theſe Holy Men, who teach the True Way for the Salvation of Souls, (ſaid he) I can deny nothing; and I am my ſelf impatient to be rid of thoſe Impediments that obſtruct my being Baptiz'd, and receiving their Holy Faith; which is what you all ought to do, if you deſire to oblige me.

A rare way of building a Church.

Then turning to us, he again deſired we would appoint the Place for the Church, that he might give Orders for its ſpeedy fitting up. We ſhew'd him a place that ſeem'd convenient enough, and he approving of it, went away to his Palace. Before three Days were over, News was brought us, that the Church was coming: We went out with great Joy, and no leſs Curioſity, to ſee how a Church could come, which tho' we knew was to be made of Timber, as had been agreed, yet it could not chooſe but be a great Pile, according to the ſpace it muſt fill, ſtanding upon great Pillars. On a ſudden, in the Field, we ſpied above a thouſand Men, all loaded with Materials for this Fabrick. Every Pillar was carry'd by thirty luſty Men; others carry'd the Beams, others the Planks, others the Capitals, others the Baſes, ſome one thing, ſome another, and ſo all of them went in order to our Houſe, filling all the Court, which was very large to our unſpeakable Joy and Satisfaction. One only thing diſpleas'd us, that we had not Proviſions enough in the Houſe, to give ſo great a Multitude a ſmall Entertainment; for tho' they were paid by the Governour, yet it look'd like ill Breeding to ſend them away without ſome Refreſhment: But we were ſoon eas'd of this Trouble; ſeeing every one ſit down upon the Piece he brought, being oblig'd to keep and deliver it, and take out of his Wallet, his Pot with Fleſh, Fiſh, and Rice, and lighting a Fire, fall to Cooking very quietly, without asking any thing. When they had eaten, the Architect came, and taking out a Line, view'd the Ground, mark'd out the Diſtances, and calling thoſe that carry'd the Pillars, fix'd them in their places; this done, he call'd for the other Parts, one after another, that every Man might give an Account of what he brought, and go his way: And thus all things proceeding very regularly, and every Man labouring his beſt, all that great Pile was ſet up in one Day; yet either through over-much haſte, or the negligence of the Architect, it prov'd ſomewhat awry, and leaning to one ſide; which being made known to the Governour, he preſently commanded the Architect, upon pain of cutting off his Legs, to call all the Workmen he had need of, and mend it. The Architect obey'd, and taking the Church to pieces with a like number of Workmen, rebuilt it in a very ſhort time very compleatly. And we bleſs'd God, for that at a time when Chriſtians were ſo lukewarm, it had pleas'd him to ſtir up a Heathen ſo zealouſly to build a Church, in Honour of his Divine Majeſty.

And to ſhew how affectionately the Governour look'd to our Affairs, I will give one particular Inſtance, and ſo end this Chapter. In the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, the South-Weſt Winds generally reign in *Cochin-China*, which cauſes ſuch an extraordinary Heat, that the Houſes are perfectly parch'd and dry'd up; and being all of Wood, the leaſt Spark of Fire, that through negligence or other accident falls upon them, immediately takes, as it would do in Tinder; and therefore during thoſe Months, there are generally great Fires throughout the Kingdom; for when it has taken hold of one Houſe, the Flame ſoon catches hold of thoſe that lie the way the Wind blows, and miſerably conſumes them. To deliver us from this Danger, our Houſe being in the middle of the City, and to make it farther appear what

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CHAP. IV.

Of the Governour of Pulucambi's *Death.*

OUR Affairs advanced very proſperouſly in this City, and it was now the time, when the Divine Providence was, according to its uſual Method, to give us a Taſte of Sufferings, wherewith God frequently tries his Servants; and ſo we ever ſee he gives ſuch a mixture of Proſperity and Adverſity, that they neither be depreſs'd by the one, nor puff'd up by the other: And as the Primitive Church was founded by the holy Apoſtles upon theſe two Pillars of Proſperity and Tribulation, even ſo it pleas'd the Almighty, that the new Church of *Cochin China* ſhould be eſtabliſh'd by his Apoſtolical Miniſters. The firſt Beginnings of this Miſſion were very ſucceſsful, as has been ſeen in the Firſt Chapter of this Second Part; but very ſoon after enſu'd that terrible Perſecution for want of Rain, which had like to have ruin'd all. Afterwards, with the Favour of the Governour of *Pulucambi*, the Storms ſeem'd to be blown off, and the budding Vine ſeemed to promiſe abundance of Fruit: But it pleas'd him that diſpoſes of all things, that the Governour of *Pulucambi*'s Death, like a violent North-wind, almoſt deſtroy'd all in the Bud. This Misfortune hapned as follows: The Governour went out one Day a Hunting on his Elephant, very well pleas'd, and the Sport drawing him on, he made no reflection that he rode all Day over a ſcorching Plain, where the Heat pierc'd his Head in ſuch manner, that at Night he fell into a burning Fever; upon Notice whereof we haſted to the Palace to Viſit, or rather to Baptize him, if we found him in imminent Danger. He kept us with him two Days, we ſtill preſſing him to be Baptiz'd, as he had often ſaid he would; to which he always anſwer'd, he was ordering his Affairs for that purpoſe, but came to no concluſion. The third Day he loſt his Senſes, God ſo permitting, for Cauſes only known to himſelf; and perhaps that vain Honour he ever paſſionately coveted, was the Reward of the Good Turns he did us: In fine, he began to rave, and ſo continu'd three Days, till overcome by the Violence of the Diſtemper, he died without Baptiſm.

The Governour's Death.

Any Man may gueſs how much we were concern'd at this Accident, ſeeing our ſelves forſaken in a ſtrange Country, and deſtitute of all human help; but it chiefly griev'd us, that a Perſon ſo well diſpos'd, and through whoſe means we had conceiv'd hopes, that the Faith might ſpread throughout the whole Kingdom, ſhould die ſo in our Hands without Baptiſm. Abundance of their Rites and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies were perform'd at this Governour's Death, at which we were preſent till the laſt. It would be endleſs to relate them all, and therefore I will ſet down two or three, by which the others us'd by thoſe Gentiles upon ſuch Occaſions may be gueſs'd at. Firſt, Whilſt he lay in his Agony, there was a multitude of arm'd Men, who did not ceaſe to cut and make thruſts in the Air with their Scimitars, caſt Darts and fire Muſkets in the Rooms of the Palace; but particularly two, that ſtood on each ſide of the dying Man, were continually ſtriking the Air about his Mouth with their Scimitars, and both theſe and the others being ask'd, why they did ſo, told us, They frighted the Devils, that they might not hurt the Governour's Soul, as it was departing his Body. Theſe ſuperſtitious Ceremonies made us pity their Ignorance, but not fear any Harm to our ſelves, as follow'd when the Governour was dead: For we had much cauſe to fear being expell'd that Province of *Pulucambi*, and perhaps all the Kingdom, with the loſs of all we had acquir'd towards ſetling Chriſtianity

Heathen Ceremonies at the Governour's Death.

nity, and perhaps worſe. It is the Cuſtom when any Great Perſon dies, for all the *Omſaiis*, or Prieſts of the Country, to meet together, in order to find out not the natural, but the ſuperſtitious Cauſe of his Death; and being agreed upon what it may be, immediately that thing to which it is attributed, is order'd to be burnt, whether it be a Houſe, Garment, Man, or Beaſt. Accordingly all the *Omſaiis* being aſſembled in a great Hall, they began to argue this Point: We who were preſent, remembring the Perſecution for want of Rain, there being at that time nothing extraordinary in the Province, but the Governour's kind Reception to us, and his aſſigning a Houſe, and building a Church in the City, with ſuch extraordinary Tokens of Affection for our Holy Law; did not at all queſtion, but that theſe things being repreſented to them, they would lay the Death of that Lord to our charge, and conſequently would order us all to be burnt alive, together with our Houſe and Church, and all our Goods. Therefore we ſtood in a Corner of the Hall, recommending our ſelves to God, and preparing our ſelves for whatſoever his Divine Majeſty ſhould ſuffer to be decreed againſt us; when one of the *Omſaiis*, who was the eldeſt of them, and as it were their Dean, ſtanding up, ſaid with a loud Voice, That, in his Opinion, the only Cauſe of the Governour's Death, was the falling of a Beam ſome Days ſince in the new Palace; and he was the more apt to believe it, becauſe all the Diſtemper was in his Head, as appear'd by his Raving; an evident Sign, as he ſaid, of the Stroke he had receiv'd in his Head by the aforeſaid Beam: All which he meant metaphorically, and in a ſuperſtitious Sence, and therefore it pleas'd the other *Omſaiis*, who all unanimouſly agreed in the ſame Sentiment: And ſo riſing without more to do, they went and ſet fire to that Palace, which was all reduc'd to Aſhes, whilſt we gave Thanks to God for having eſcap'd ſo manifeſt a Danger.

Heathen Ceremonies at the Governour's Death.

Sorcery to diſcover the State of the Soul departed.

This done, ſome other *Omſaiis*, who profeſs Necromancy, came to the Governour's Palace, to perform another ſuperſtitious Ceremony, according to the Cuſtom of the Country. The Kindred of the Party deceaſed looking upon it as a great Bleſſing, that any Body inſpir'd by an evil Spirit, ſhould ſpeak concerning the State of the Soul departed; and to this purpoſe thoſe Wizzard *Omſaiis* were call'd, of whom they all earneſtly beg that Deviliſh Favour, he that obtains it being much envy'd by the reſt. Theſe Conjurers made their Circles, and us'd ſeveral Charms both in Words and Actions, that the Devil might enter into ſome one of the Governour's Kindred, who were there in a ſuppliant poſture, but all in vain. At laſt a Siſter of the Governour's, for whom he had an extraordinary Kindneſs, came in, and begging the ſame Favour, immediately gave manifeſt Signs that ſhe was poſſeſt: For being decrepid, by reaſon of her great Age, and not able to go alone, ſhe began, to the aſtoniſhment of the Spectators, to skip as nimbly as if ſhe had been a young Girl, and the Stick ſhe threw from her hung in the Air, all the while the Devil was in her Body, during which time talking in a raving manner, and doing many diſorderly Actions, ſhe utter'd ſeveral Extravagancies about the State and Place her Brother's Soul was in; and concluding her mad Diſcourſe, the Devil leaving her, ſhe fell down as if ſhe had been dead, remaining ſo ſpent for the ſpace of eight Days, that ſhe could not ſtir for meer weakneſs, all the Kindred and Friends flocking to viſit her, and congratulate her Happineſs, in that ſhe had been choſen among all the Relations for an Action (as they thought it) ſo glorious and honourable for the dead Man.

Heathen Canonization.

At length they began to order the Funeral of this Lord; and as in the Catholick Church it is the Cuſtom to honour the Memory of Men renown'd for Sanctity of Life, by a ſolemn Canonization; ſo in *Cochin-China*, the Devil always mimicking Holy Things, the more to delude the People, it is cuſtomary to honour the Death of thoſe who have been univerſally reputed juſt Men, and upright in their Actions, and adorn'd with Moral Vertues, with great Solemnity and Magnificence, Canonizing them, if we may ſo call it, after their manner, by eternizing their Memory, and giving them immortal Veneration. For this Reaſon, the Governour of *Pulucambi*, who by all Men, not only in his own Province, but throughout all the Kingdom was, for his extraordinary Natural Parts, reputed a Man of great Wiſdom, and incomparable Prudence, his Government being adorn'd with ſingular Juſtice and Integrity, together with an unuſual Inclination and Affection for all needy Perſons, was judg'd not

BORRI. not to require a doleful ſad Funeral Pomp, as was due to others; but on the contrary, all Demonſtrations of Joy and Grandeur, which might declare him worthy of Religious Honours, and to be added to the number of their Gods. This being decreed, they all endeavour'd to lay aſide their Mourning and Sorrow, and to expreſs all Pleaſure and Satisfaction; and to this purpoſe all the Governour's Kindred, for the ſpace of eight Days, ſumptuouſly treated all the People, during which time, they did nothing from Morning till Night, but eat and drink, ſing, dance, and play upon Muſical and Warlike Inſtruments.

The Governour's Funeral.

After the eight Days, the Body was carry'd in a Silver Coffin gilt, under a Canopy, to the City where he was born, call'd *Chiſu*, three Days Journey diſtant, attended by a multitude of all ſorts of People, dancing and rejoycing, leaving the Palace where he dy'd utterly diſinhabited, that it might run to ruin, and no ſign of it remaining; ſo the Memory of the Governour's Death might be loſt in perpetual Oblivion, he ſtill remaining alive with perpetual Praiſe and Veneration in the Hearts and Mouths of all Men. Being come to a ſpacious Plain without *Chiſu*, they all fell to work upon a Palace, twice as magnificent and ſumptuous as that the Governour dy'd in; and to make a greater ſhew of the dead Man's Wealth, they built as many Gallies as he us'd to keep, upon Wheels, for them to run upon dry Land. In the ſame manner they made wooden Elephants and Horſes, and all the other Movables us'd when the Governour went abroad when alive, without ſparing any Coſt. In the midſt of the Palace they erected a ſtately Temple, with a fine Altar, on which they placed the Coffin cover'd, and hid with ſuch curious Workmanſhip, that the Hieroglyphicks, Carving, and Painting, greatly mov'd thoſe Gentiles to reſpect. For three Days continually they perform'd ſeveral Sacrifices and Ceremonies, by the Miniſtry of five or ſix hundred *Omſaiis*, all clad in white, who ſpent the time in Singing and Sacrificing, offering Wine, Oxen, and Buffaloes, in great numbers, the Publick Entertainments continuing theſe three Days, for above two thouſand Men of Note, every one having his Table to himſelf, according to Cuſtom, and each of them cover'd with above two hundred Diſhes. At the end of theſe three Days they ſet fire to all that Pile, burning the Palace and Temple, with all the Perfumes and Furniture, only ſaving the Coffin with the Body, which was afterwards bury'd, and privately remov'd to twelve ſeveral Graves, that the People being always in doubt where it had been left, that uncertainty might increaſe the Honour of the new Idol, they adoring it in all thoſe places where they thought the Bones might be. Thus the Solemnity ended for that time, till ſome Months after, that is, in the Seventh Moon, according to their Computation of Time, it was repeated in the ſame manner as it had been perform'd at firſt; a few Months after it was done a third time, and ſo from time to time for three Years, all the Revenues aſſign'd the Governour of that Province by the King, being ſpent upon this Solemnity for thoſe three Years, and therefore no other Governour was appointed during that time, they being perſuaded that the dead Man's Soul, which was placed among the Gods, would continue in the Government for thoſe three Years. However, his own Son was appointed his Deputy-Governour, or Lieutenant.

The Fathers queſtion'd concerning the Governour's Soul.

We three Fathers of the Society then in that Province, were preſent at moſt of this Solemnity; and tho' we did not attend at their ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, yet to avoid being thought ungrateful, and unmannerly, we were forced to accept of ſome Invitations, in one of which we were forewarn'd we ſhould be ask'd where the Governour's Soul was; aſſuring us, that if we ſaid it was in Hell, we ſhould preſently be cut to pieces. We were a little after publickly ask'd the Queſtion, and anſwer'd, That no Man could be ſav'd without Baptiſm; but that, through the Mercy of God, an earneſt Deſire to be Baptiz'd ſufficing, where better cannot be; if the Governour, at laſt, had ſuch a Deſire, as it was likely he had, becauſe of the Affection he bore our Faith, as was ſaid above, and that he would have ask'd it, but that the Violence of his Diſtemper hindred, therefore it might be believ'd he was ſav'd, and not damn'd.

This Anſwer, tho' new and unexpected, in ſome meaſure ſatisfy'd them, in Token whereof they offer'd us ſome whole Buffaloes, ſome boil'd, ſome roaſted, which had been ſacrificed to their new Idol, the dead Governour; but we refuſing them, ſaying, Our Law forbid us to eat of that Fleſh ſo defiled by their Sacrifice, inſtead of the dead

ſacrificed

ſacrific'd Buffaloes, they order'd others alive to be given us; the Governour's Kindred afterwards ſending us Elephants, that we might return on them to *Pulucambi*, with as much Honour as when the Governour was living.

The Fathers in diſtreſs.

Theſe were the laſt Favours we receiv'd in Virtue of the Governour of *Pulucambi*'s Favour; and therefore returning home, we were left like Fatherleſs Children, forſaken by all the World. Now no Body minded us, the Allowance of Rice for our Maintenance fail'd, and we having but twenty Crowns muſt in a few Days have been reduced to great Miſery and Want; and if any one fell ſick, we durſt not call any Body to breathe a Vein, becauſe we had not wherewithal to pay for it; and tho' there were among them People very ready to ſupply the Needy, eſpecially with Suſtenance, as was ſaid above, yet it was not convenient for us to ask any thing, leaſt we ſhould loſe all the advantage we made, as to the Converſion of Souls, becauſe they would have ſaid, we went not thither to preach the Law of Jeſus Chriſt, but to ſupply our own Wants under the Protection of the Governour. No Body now came to our Houſe, that firſt ſhew of Authority ceaſing, and tho' we had learn'd the Language of the Country, yet they made no account of the Words of three poor Men, left in the midſt of infinite Idolaters, and deſpis'd our Doctrines, as an Invention of our own, carry'd thither to oppoſe their ancient Sects and Tenets.

Three Years paſs'd after this manner, and yet we were not ſo much troubled at our own Wants, which God knows were very great, as to ſee every Day leſs hopes of promoting the Service of God among thoſe Pagans, having during thoſe three Years converted but very few, and that with unſpeakable labour and toil. Things being in this poſture, in ſome meaſure deſperate, we being inclinable to believe the time was not yet come, when it would pleaſe God to enlighten the Darkneſs of thoſe People, either becauſe our Sins obſtructed it, or for ſome other hidden Judgments of God. But when our Human Frailty ſhew'd it ſelf moſt diffident of Divine Aſſiſtance, even then, the more to confound us, the God of Mercy ſhew'd the wonderful Effects of his Divine Omnipotency, that the noble Undertaking of converting Souls might be wholly attributed to him, we then owning we had no power to proceed in it, and that we might know experimentally, that *neither he who waters, nor he who plants, does any thing; but it is God that gives the Increaſe*; as will appear in the following Chapter.

The Fathers queſtion'd concerning the Governour's Soul.

CHAP. V.

How God made way for the Converſion of the Province of Pulucambi, *by means of the Nobleſt Perſons in it.*

The Fathers diſperſe.

WE having nothing to maintain us at *Pulucambi*, and converting no Body, diſpers'd our ſelves into ſeveral parts: F. *Francis de Pina* went to live at *Faifo*, a *Japoneſe* City, as has been ſaid, with a deſign to ſerve thoſe Chriſtians, whoſe Paſtor he had been before, and to live upon their Alms. He being well ſkill'd in the Language of *Cochin-China*, and talking of it naturally, never ceas'd there to preach our Holy Faith. F. *Francis Buzome* went away for *Turon*, carrying along with him the beſt Interpreter we had, to endeavour to obtain ſome Alms of the *Portugueſes* there, that might at leaſt maintain us two in *Pulucambi*, in our Houſe at *Nuocecman*, till ſome Supply came from *Macao*.

Converſion of a great Lady.

Thus was I left in *Pulucambi*, ſolitary and diſconſolate, without any hopes of the Converſion of thoſe Gentiles. When one Day being at home, far from any ſuch thought, I ſaw a number of Elephants before our Door, with many Ladies, and a large Retinue of Gentlemen, after whom follow'd a great Lady, and principal Matron, moſt richly clad, and adorn'd with abundance of rich Jewels, according to the Country Faſhion. I was much ſurpriz'd at the unuſual Spectacle, and Majeſty of the Lady, and in ſuſpence, not imagining what might be the deſign of the new Viſit.

BORRI.

Viſit. Going out at laſt to receive her, I underſtood ſhe was Wife to the Embaſſador the King of *Cochin-China* was ſending to the King of *Cambogia*, which Embaſſador was a Native of *Nuoceman*, where we dwelt, and next the Governour the chief Man in that City, who was then at the Court of *Sinud*, treating with that King upon the Subject of his Embaſſy. After the uſual Ceremonies and Complements, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, the Lady being unwilling to loſe time upon matters that were not to her purpoſe, *Let us come* (ſaid ſhe) *to the Buſineſs I aim at; I have been fully inform'd, Father, of your coming into this our Country and Province, and of the occaſion of your coming; I ſee the holy and unblemiſh'd Life you lead, I know you preach and teach the true God; and being ſatisfied that this is moſt agreeable to Reaſon, am perſuaded that there is no true Law but yours, nor other God but yours, nor any Way to Life everlaſting, but that you teach; and therefore my coming to your Houſe, is for no other intent, but earneſtly to beg of you, that bathing me in your Holy Water, you will add me to the number of Chriſtians; this is the utmoſt of my Wiſhes and Deſires.* In the firſt place I commended her good and holy Reſolution, exhorting her to return Thanks to God for ſo ſignal a Mercy beſtow'd on her, in calling her to the Knowledge of his Holy Law, there being nothing in this World to be valu'd equal to the Soul's Salvation. Next I made my Excuſe for not complying out of hand with her pious and reaſonable Requeſt; becauſe, altho' I had ſome knowledge of the *Cochin-Chineſe* Language, yet it it was not enough to inſtruct her in the lofty Myſteries of our Chriſtian Religion; and therefore I adviſ'd her Excellency to wait for F. *Buzome*, who in a few Days was to return from *Turon*, having with him an excellent Interpreter, by whoſe means ſhe would be inſtructed as ſhe ought to be to her own Satisfaction, and obtain the End of her Holy Deſires. *The great Fire* (reply'd ſhe) *that inflames my Heart, will not allow of ſuch a long delay; and the more, for that my Husband is hourly expected from Court, with whom I am ſoon to embark for the Kingdom of* Cambogia, *where the Dangers of the Sea being frequent, a Storm may happen to riſe, where dying, I may periſh for ever.* She added, That it was enough if I diſcours'd of Matters Divine, as I did of other things; for ſhe ſhould underſtand all I ſaid. Theſe viſible Tokens of her Reſolution obliging me to it, I began the beſt I could to inform her in ſeveral Matters and Principles of our Holy Faith. Soon after it pleas'd God, F. *Buzome* return'd, and ſeeing this good Succeſs, gave infinite Thanks to God. The Lady was much pleas'd with the arrival of the Interpreter, whom ſhe had ſo earneſtly expected; with whoſe aſſiſtance, and her continual application, ſtudy, and attention at Catechizing, which was done for two Hours before, and two Hours after Dinner, in a Fortnight's time ſhe became perfect in the Chriſtian Doctrine. Above all, what made the greateſt Impreſſion on her Heart, was the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt, true God, made Man, and humbled for the ſake of Man; and therefore in ſome meaſure to imitate our Saviour's great Humility, ſhe for the future came to our Houſe, which was a good Mile from hers, not only without the State and Elephants ſhe us'd before, but bare footed, in Dirt, and upon Stones, obliging her Gentlemen and Ladies, by her Example, to imitate her Devotion.

Twenty ſix baptiz'd.

In our Spiritual Diſcourſes, and Expoſition upon the Catechize, when we came to make mention of Hell, deſcribe its Torments, repreſent the greatneſs, eternity, and variety of Torments there ſuffer'd, the horrible Company of the Devils, the Darkneſs of thoſe infernal Dungeons, and inhabitable Dens; and laſtly, the Torture of Fire: Both ſhe and her Ladies were ſo terrify'd, that having by themſelves, all Night, conſider'd upon what they had heard, they came again the next Day to tell us, they would all be Chriſtians, to avoid that everlaſting Miſery: But we telling them it was impoſſible, they being Servants, and conſequently Concubines to the Embaſſador, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, as has been mention'd in the firſt Treatiſe, the Embaſſador's Lady anſwer'd, *That Impediment does not concern me. It is ſo*, ſaid we, *for your Excellency is your Husband's only Wife, and has not to do with other Men, and therefore may freely be baptiz'd.* At theſe words, lifting up her Hands to Heaven, ſhe gave ſuch Tokens of Joy, as if ſhe had been beſides her ſelf, tho' ſhe had never been truly ſo much her ſelf, as when ſhe ſhew'd ſuch Signs of Joy, for that which ought to be the only Cauſe of all our Satisfaction. Her Women

Women on the other ſide, ſeeing themſelves excluded the way of Salvation, cry'd out aloud, They would forbear being the Embaſſador's Concubines, ſince it obſtructed their Baptiſm, and was the way to Damnation. The Lady ſeconded their good purpoſes, taking upon her to deliver them from that Sin, and get every one of them a Husband. All Lets and Impediments being remov'd by theſe Promiſes of the Lady, and firm Purpoſes of the Women, one Day, which was the joyfulleſt I ever ſaw in my Life, the Embaſſador's Lady richly apparel'd, and dreſs'd with Jewels, and nobly attended to our Church by Gentlemen, was baptiz'd, with twenty five of her Women, and as chief of them call'd *Urſula*, to the Glory of Jeſus Chriſt, who by means of theſe few Women, open'd a way to the Converſions made by our Miſſion in *Cochin China*.

Zeal of the Converts.

After they were baptiz'd, we went in Proceſſion to the Palace of the Embaſſador's Lady *Urſula*, where there was an Oratory, in which ſhe us'd before to perform her ſuperſtitious Devotions to an Idol. When we came in, we firſt ſprinkled the Houſe with Holy Water, and then the Lady, and her Women, couragiouſly laid hold of the Idol, and throwing it violently againſt the Ground, beat it to pieces, trampling on it; in whoſe place we ſet up a fine Picture of our Saviour, which thoſe new devout Chriſtians falling down, devoutly worſhipp'd, owning themſelves his moſt humble and devout Slaves. Then we put about their Necks ſome *Agnus Dei's*, Croſſes, Medals, and Relickaries, which they valued above the Gold Chains, and Strings of Pearls they were adorn'd with. Having obtain'd this Victory over the Devil, after ſaying the Litany, and other Prayers in the Oratory, now bleſs'd, F. *Bazome*, and I, return'd home with that Satisfaction and Thankſgiving that every Man may imagine. The Embaſſador's Lady, and her Women, came after this, every Day duly to Maſs, Catechize, and other Spiritual Exerciſes, with great Tokens of Fervour, and Chriſtian Piety.

Twenty ſix baptiz'd.

The Lady's Carriage to her Huſband.

At this time the Embaſſador, Huſband to the Lady *Urſula*, came from Court, to depart in a ſhort time upon his Embaſſy to the King of *Cambogia*. It is the Cuſtom of that Country, when the Head of the Family comes from afar off, for the Wife, Children, and reſt of the Family, to go out at leaſt a Mile upon the Way to meet him. [illegible] *Urſula* fail'd to perform this [illegible] being then retired in her Oratory. [illegible] Husband wondring at it, and ſuſpecting ſhe might be hindred by Sickneſs, aſk'd what was become of her; but underſtanding ſhe was well, admir'd no more, till coming to the Gate of his Palace, and miſſing the uſual Reſpect, he began to miſtruſt ſhe was angry with him. At length he went up, and in the Oratory, where he found his Lady and her Maids, with *Agnus Dei's*, and Relicks about their Necks, Beads in their Hands, and other Chriſtian Signs, praying before the Image of our Saviour. The Embaſſador was aſtoniſh'd at this ſight, and his Lady directing her Diſcourſe to him, bid him not admire that ſhe had forbore the uſual Compliments to him, becauſe ſhe was raiſed to a higher pitch of Honour than he was, both ſhe and her Women being Children of the true God, and Saviour of the World, Jeſus Chriſt, whoſe Picture ſhe ſhew'd him, ſaying, he ought to adore him, if he would be equal to them in Dignity. The Embaſſador mov'd by his Lady's Words, and the Beauty of the Picture, with Tears in his Eyes fell down and ador'd, then ſtanding up, he turn'd to his Wife and Women, ſaying, *How is it poſſible you ſhould be Chriſtians? Have you a mind to leave me? Do not you know that the Laws the Fathers preach forbids Polygamy? Therefore you muſt either find out their Dwelling-place, or I leave this to you, and ſeek out another Houſe.* His Lady anſwered, *Neither need you depart, nor we leave you, for there will be a Remedy for all things:* Wiſely concealing for the preſent, the Prohibition of Plurality of Wives, to avoid that difficulty which would have bred a diſturbance. The Embaſſador took Heart at theſe Words, and conceiving, as yet, that he need not be oblig'd to leave his Women; thus piouſly impoſ'd on, he ſaid, he would be a Chriſtian too, and follow the good Example ſet him by his Wife and her Women.

The next Morning betimes the Embaſſador came to our Houſe, to tell us, that ſince we had made his Wife a Chriſtian, he had a mind to embrace the ſame Religion, if we thought it practicable. Very practicable, ſaid we, The Embaſſador full of Joy and Satisfaction at ſo grate- ful a Queſtion: For in caſe he were ſtarted. reſolv'd, we would in a ſhort time inſtruct him ſufficiently to be baptiz'd.

BORRI. He was pleas'd, and becauſe the Affairs of his Embaſſy took up the Day, ſo that he had not leiſure to be inſtructed: Upon his Requeſt we agreed to go to his Houſe at Night, where we began to Catechize him, continuing it for twenty Nights, four or five Hours at a time, informing him in the Myſteries of our Holy Faith, from the Creation of the World, till the Redemption of Man, the Glory of Heaven, and Pains of Hell. It was no ſmall matter for ſo great a Perſon, and ſo full of Buſineſs, to loſe his Sleep to hear the Word of God; and he gave himſelf to them with great application, asking many very ingenious Queſtions, which ſhew'd his great Wit. In all our Diſcourſes, our whole aim was to imprint the Truth of our Holy Law in the Heart of this Noble-man, and make it agreeable to Reaſon, that being made ſenſible of the great Importance of Salvation, and the Terror of the Pains of Hell, and being well inclin'd to, and convinc'd of the Certainty of our Religion, he might afterwards make leſs difficulty in the main Point concerning Polygamy, which was the only thing he ſtuck at, and which we till then had deſignedly forbore to ſpeak of. Having gone ſo far towards the Embaſſador's Converſion, we began to expound upon the Commandments, where we inform'd him, that among Chriſtians it was unlawful to have many Wives.

Convinced about Polygamy.

This Propoſition was ſo unexpected, that like Fire that has Water thrown on it, the Embaſſador preſently cool'd, and taking leave of us, ſaid, This was a matter of great conſequence, and therefore requir'd time to come to a Reſolution. This Anſwer was ſo diſpleaſing and grievous to us, that returning home we ſpent that Night in Prayer and Mortification, praying to God with all the Fervour we could, that he would be pleas'd to put a happy Concluſion to the Work he had ſo well begun. Next Morning one of the moſt learned *Omſaits* in the City came to us from the Embaſſador, to examine the Reaſons for the Prohibition of Polygamy. Among other Objections, this Man made one, in his Opinion, of the greateſt force; which was, Why Plurality of of Wives ſhould be forbid, ſince Generation and Children were a Work of Perfection, and ſo agreeable to Nature, chiefly when a Man had a barren Wife, as was the Embaſſador's Caſe, and might not have another to get Heirs upon. We wanted not Anſwers according to our Divinity, but perceiving they were not ſatisfactory to them, becauſe they were not us'd to our Theological Notions, we at laſt added a Reaſon out of Scripture, whereof the Embaſſador had before ſome knowledge from us, and it pleas'd God, this made an Impreſſion on his Heart, and abſolutely convinced him. This was putting of him in mind, that God being ſo juſt, and the Law he had preſcrib'd ſo agreeable to Natural Reaſon, as he himſelf had own'd, he ought without doubt to obey in this point, ſince God himſelf commanded it; and this ſo much the more, in regard that God creating Man, intimated the ſame to him, when there was moſt occaſion for propagating Human Race, and yet he gave *Adam* but one Wife, whereas he could as eaſily have given him many more, that Man might multiply the faſter. This Reaſon, I ſay, fully ſatisfy'd the Embaſſador, yet finding it difficult to obſerve the Precept, as being a thing he was much addicted to. *Is there no Remedy*, ſaid he, *or Diſpenſation from the Pope, or any other means, tho' never ſo difficult, to have this Point remitted?* We told him, it was in vain to ſeek any Redreſs whatſoever in this Caſe; and therefore, if he deſir'd to be ſav'd, he muſt diſmiſs the other Women, and ſtick to his Wife. Then the Embaſſador lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, as it were ſtruggling with himſelf, and preſs'd on by Truth, with a generous Reſolution ſaid, *If then multiplicity of Wives be inconſiſtent with my Salvation, let them all go in the Name of God; for it is pity to loſe an Eternity of Glory, for a tranſitory Delight.* Then turning to his Concubines, who were preſent with his Wife, he diſcharg'd them all: But perceiving they laugh'd at his Diſcharge, as a thing that would never ſtand good; to ſhew he was in earneſt, he order'd his Wife to pay them all off immediately, and let not one of them ſtay in his Palace that Night. After which turning again to the Fathers, *Behold*, ſaid he, *I have readily perform'd all you commanded me.* Having obtain'd our Deſires, we went home to give Thanks to Almighty God.

His Converſion.

But the Devil found out a way ſtill to make oppoſition, making uſe of the Lady *Urſula*'s Womaniſh Temper; for ſhe had not the Heart to turn away thoſe Women ſhe had bred up from their

their Infancy in her Houſe, and lov'd them as if they were her own Children. Therefore ſome Strife ariſing between the Man and his Wife, he preſſing to have them gone, and ſhe oppoſing, the Embaſſador diſſatisfy'd, came to us to juſtifie himſelf, and deſire to be baptiz'd, ſince the Impediment was remov'd, he being willing the Women ſhould depart his Houſe. We were about going to work, perceiving he ſpoke rationally, and particularly becauſe he reſolv'd they ſhould not continue in the Houſe as his Concubines, but as his Lady's Servants. But the Good Man making a ſtand as if he were thinking, at laſt ſaid he had a Scruple to propoſe: *Since, according to what you Fathers have taught me*, ſaid he, *God ſees into the Heart of Man, and cannot be deceiv'd, tho' I deſire to forſake and ſend away the Women, yet whilſt they continue in the Houſe, I plainly ſee, either my ancient Habit, or frailty of Nature will eaſily cauſe me to fall again into Sin; therefore methinks I do not proceed with due Sincerity in this Affair.* We perceiving, by the Embaſſador's Diſcreet and Chriſtian Diſcourſe, he foreſaw the danger of being in the immediate occaſion of Sin, ſtudy'd ſome proper Means to remove ſo conſiderable an Impediment, but nothing occurring for the preſent, he himſelf being very earneſt upon the Buſineſs, propos'd a Method, which we ſtuck to as the beſt of all others: *Fathers*, ſaid he, *the ſafeſt way I can think of is that you as their Directors powerfully perſuade the Chriſtian Women that were my Concubines, (for the Heathens I will infallibly make my Wife turn away) that in caſe through frailty I ſhould be under any Temptation, they reſiſt me reſolutely; and foraſmuch as I bear a great reſpect to, and ſtand in awe of our Saviour's Picture placed in the Oratory, if the Women lie in that place, I will rather be torn to pieces than have any thing to do with them in the Preſence of that Great Lord; and they being thus ſecur'd againſt me, till there be an opportunity of marrying them, it will be known abroad, that they are not kept in the Houſe as my Concubines, but only as Servants to my only Wife* Urſula, *and the People will be ſenſible I do not act contrary to the Law of God.* This Method was ſo well approved of, that the Day after it was put in execution, the Embaſſador was baptiz'd in great State, attended by Drums, Fifes and other Inſtruments, and he himſelf clad in rich Apparel. With him were baptiz'd twenty other Gentlemen, his beſt Friends, and he had the Name of our holy Patriarch *Ignatius* given him. After which, taking his Wife *Urſula* by the Hand, ſhe renew'd the old Contract of Matrimony as a Sacrament of the Church. The Joy they all conceiv'd at their Baptiſm, and new Marriage, was unſpeakable. BORRI.

It now remain'd that the Embaſſador ſhould depart on his Embaſſy for *Cambogia*; and he order'd, that the Ship which was to carry him, ſhould have a Croſs in its Colours, and the Picture of the glorious Father S. *Ignatius* his Protector, cauſing all the Jacks and Pennants to expreſs the Religion he profeſs'd. Embarking with all his Gentlemen and Chriſtian Women, he had a proſperous Voyage from *Nuocman* to *Cambogia*. When the Squadron appear'd, being well known to the People of *Cambogia* to be the Embaſſador's, they were all aſtoniſh'd, ſeeing Chriſtian Colours ſet up; and therefore they imagin'd that the King of *Cochin-China*, inſtead of the ordinary Embaſſador, had ſent ſome extraordinary *Portugueſe* Chriſtian; but their doubt was ſoon clear'd, ſeeing the uſual Embaſſador land with a Croſs and Medals on his Breaſt, among the Gold Chains and Jewels. This ſight on the one hand, mov'd the *Portugueſe* and *Japoneſe* Chriſtians, who reſide there on account of Trade, to give Shouts of Joy, and bleſs God for this new Off-ſpring *Cochin China* had produced; and on the other, the Heathens could not believe that the Embaſſador, who before was obſerv'd to be exceſſively laſcivious, ſhould embrace the Chriſtian Religion, which forbids all immodeſty. But the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt ſoon appear'd to ſtrengthen Human Frailty; for tho' the Embaſſador at his Palace in *Cambogia*, had double the number of Concubines, as generally us'd to attend his Wife, he order'd them to be all diſmiſs'd; nor did he ever lift up his Eyes to look at them, which made his Fame ſpread abroad, as of a Man of ſingular Sanctity and Vertue; and being reputed a Man of great Knowledge, his Example mov'd many of the moſt learned Perſons of *Pulucambi* to be baptiz'd.

BORRI.

CHAP. VI.

How God open'd another Way to Chriſtianity, through the Means of the Learned People among the Heathens.

Means for the Converſion of the *Cochin-Chineſes.*

GOD's infinite Mercy, and his ardent Deſires for the Salvation of Mankind, finds out divers Means ſuitable to the ſeveral Conditions of Perſons, which are as it were ſo many Ways to direct and lead them to that End for which they were created. Thus we ſee he himſelf in Perſon call'd upon his People, and complying with the Inclination of the Perſons, invited the Wiſe Men by means of the Star; *Denis* the *Areopagite* the Aſtronomer, by the Prodigy of the wonderful Eclipſe; S. *Auguſtine* by the Knowledge of the true Light and Law, and the Confuſion and Obſcurity of former Errors; and in fine, he calls the ignorant Multitude, by the means of Prodigies, Wonders and Miracles. So it fell out in the new Church of *Cochin China*; for when his Divine Majeſty had by himſelf convinced ſome of the principal Perſons, as has been ſhewn, next he call'd not only the learned and wiſe Philoſophers and Mathematicians, by means of ſome Eclipſes, as ſhall be ſhewn in this Chapter, but alſo the *Omſaiis* or Prieſts, who were hardned in the Errors of their Heathen Sects, to the knowledge of the true Religion, as the following Chapter will make appear. And laſtly, in the next to that we ſhall ſet down, how he open'd the way of Salvation to the People by means of ſeveral Prodigies and Miracles.

Aſtrology in great eſteem.

Now to come to the manner of converting the wiſe and learned *Cochin-Chineſes*, reputed excellent Mathematicians, by means of the Eclipſe. For the better underſtanding of what we are to ſay, it is requiſite in the firſt place to be acquainted with a Cuſtom they have in this Kingdom, relating to the Science of Aſtrology, but particularly of Eclipſes; for they make ſuch great account of it, that they have large Halls where it is taught in their Univerſity; and there are ſpecial Allowances aſſign'd the Aſtrologers; as for inſtance, Lands which pay them a Tribute or Stipend. The King has his peculiar Aſtrologers, and ſo has the Prince his Son, who uſe all their Art to ſet down Eclipſes exactly. But wanting the Reformation of the Calendar, and other matters, relating to the Motion of the Sun and Moon which we have, they commit ſome Miſtakes in the Calculation of the Moons and Eclipſes, wherein they generally err two or three Hours, and ſometimes, tho' not ſo often, a whole Day; tho' generally they are right as to the material part of the Eclipſe. Every time they hit right, the King rewards them with a certain quantity of Land; and ſo when they miſtake, that ſame quantity is taken from them.

Superſtitions concerning Eclipſes.

The Reaſon why they make ſuch Account of foretelling the Eclipſe, is becauſe of the many Superſtitions at that time us'd towards the Sun and Moon, for which they prepare themſelves in very ſolemn manner: For the King being told the Day and Hour a Month before the Eclipſe happens, ſends Orders throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, for the learned and common ſort to be in a readineſs that Day. When the time is come, all the Lords in every Province meet with their Governours, Commanders and Gentry, and the People with their proper Officers in every City and Liberty. The greateſt Aſſembly is at Court, where the principal Men of the Kingdom are, who all go out with Colours and Arms. Firſt goes the King cloath'd in Mourning, and after him all the Court, who lifting up their Eyes to the Sun or Moon, as the Eclipſe comes on them, make ſeveral Obeiſances and Adorations, ſpeaking ſome Words of Compaſſion for the pain thoſe Planets endure; for they look upon the Eclipſe to be no other, but that the Dragon ſwallows up the Sun or Moon; and therefore, as we ſay, the Moon is all or half eclips'd; ſo they ſay, *Da an nua*, *Da an het*; that is, the Dragon has eaten half, now he eats all.

Their Aſtrological Terms and ours alike.

Which way of expreſſion, tho' it be nothing to the purpoſe, yet it ſhews that they aſſign the ſame Ground for the Eclipſe originally that we do, which is the cutting of the Ecliptick, that is the Sun's Circle and the Line of the Courſe of the Moon, in thoſe two Points which we call the Dragon's Head

Head and Tail, as Aſtronomers well know: Whence it follows, that the very ſame Doctrine, and the ſame Terms and Names of the Dragon, are common both to us and them, and ſo they give Names like ours to the Signs of the Zodiack, ſuch as *Aries*, *Taurus*, *Gemini*, &c. And thus in proceſs of time the People have invented fabulous Cauſes of the Eclipſe, inſtead of the true, ſaying that the Sun and Moon, when eclips'd are drown'd by the Dragon; whereas, at that time they are really in the Head or Tail of the Aſtronomical Dragon.

Superſtitions concerning Eclipſes.

Now to return to the Compaſſion they have for thoſe ſuffering Planets; when the Adoration is over, they begin firſt at the King's Palace, and then throughout all the City to fire Muskets and Cannon, ring Bells, ſound Trumpets, beat Drums, and play upon other Inſtruments, even to clattering of the Kettels, and other Utenſils of the Kitchin in all Houſes: And this is done, to the end the Dragon may be frighted with the great Noiſe, and not proceed to eat any more, but vomit up what he has already eaten of the Sun or Moon.

Converſions by means of an Eclipſe.

When we were inform'd of this Cuſtom, the firſt Eclipſe that hapned was one of the Moon, in the Year 1620, on the Ninth of *December*, at eleven at Night. I was then in the City *Nuoecman*, in the Province of *Pulucambi*, where there was the Commander of the Ward we liv'd in, whoſe Son was become a Chriſtian; tho' the Father, as proud of his own Learning, deſpis'd not only our Religion but our Knowledge; and we earneſtly deſir'd his Converſion, hoping that if he receiv'd the Catholick Faith, his Example would induce thoſe of his Ward or Quarter to do the ſame. This Man came once to viſit us before the Eclipſe of the Moon hapned, and in Diſcourſe we hapned to talk of it, he poſitively affirming there would be no ſuch Eclipſe: And tho' we demonſtrated it to him, according to our Calculation, and ſhew'd him the Figure of it in our Books, yet he would never believe it; alledging among other Arguments for his Obſtinacy, that if any ſuch Eclipſe were like to be, the King would doubtleſs have ſent him Notice a Month before, according to the Cuſtom of the Kingdom, whereas there wanted but eight Days of the time by us appointed; wherefore he having no ſuch Advice, it was a certain ſign that there would be no ſuch Eclipſe. He perſiſting obſtinately in his Opinion, would needs lay a Wager of a *Cabaia*, which is a Silk Gown. We agreed to it upon Condition, that if we loſt we were to give him ſuch a Garment; but if we won, inſtead of paying the Gown, he was to come to us for eight Days together, to hear the Catechize and Myſteries of our Faith expounded. He reply'd, He would not only do ſo, but the very moment he ſaw the Eclipſe would become a Chriſtian: For he ſaid, if our Doctrine was ſo certain and infallible in ſuch hidden and heavenly things as Eclipſes are, and theirs ſo erroneous, there was no doubt but our Religion and Knowledge of the true God was no leſs aſſured and ſafe, and theirs falſe. The Day of the Eclipſe being come, the aforeſaid Gentlemen with a great many Scholars came to our Houſe at Night, bringing them as Witneſſes of the Event. But becauſe the Eclipſe was to be at Eleven at Night, I went to ſay my Office, turning up the Hour-glaſs in the mean while. An Hour before the time theſe Men came ſeveral times, calling upon me by way of deriſion to ſee the Eclipſe, thinking I had not withdrawn to ſay my Office, but had hid my ſelf for ſhame that there would be no Eclipſe. Yet they could not but admire at my aſſurance in anſwering them, that the Hour was not yet come, till the Glaſs was run out, which they gaz'd at, as if it had been ſome wonderful thing. Then going out, I ſhew'd them that the Circle of the Moon on that ſide the Eclipſe began, was not ſo perfect as it ſhould be, and ſoon after all the Moon being darkned, they perceiv'd the Truth of my Prediction. The Commander and all of them being aſtoniſh'd, preſently ſent to give Notice of it to all the Ward, and ſpread the News of the Eclipſe throughout the City, that every Man might go out to make the uſual Noiſe in favour of the Moon; giving out every-where, that there were no ſuch Men as the Fathers, whoſe Doctrine and Books could not chooſe but be true, ſince they had ſo exactly foretold the Eclipſe, which their Learned Men had taken no Notice of; and therefore in performance of his Promiſe, the Commander with all his Family became Chriſtians, as did many more of his Ward, with ſome of the moſt Learned Men in the City, and other Men of Note

Their Aſtrological Terms and ours alike.

Such

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The Fathers foretel the Eclipse truer than the *Cochin-Chinese* Astrologers.

Such another Accident hapned at the ſame time, tho' among People of greater Quality, and in a more eminent Place. Tho' the King's Aſtrologers had not foreſeen this Eclipſe, yet thoſe belonging to the Prince at *Cacciam*, being more ſtudious and intelligent, foretold it; but with a groſs Miſtake as to Time: For it was not of an Hour or two, as is uſual, but of a whole Day, giving out that the full Moon, and conſequently the Eclipſe would be a Day ſooner than it was. F. *Francis de Pina*, who was then at Court, had given Notice of it to a Courtier who was very great with the Prince, being his *Omgne*; that is, in the nature of Maſter of the Ceremonies. The Father told him, That ſince the Eclipſe was not to fall out as their Aſtrologers ſaid, but as F. *Chriſtopher Berri* affirm'd, the following Night, he ſhould give the Prince his Maſter Notice of it. But the *Omgne* not giving entire Credit to the Father, would not do that Duty of his Office at that time. The Hour appointed by the Aſtrologers being come, and the Prince having Notice of it, he went out with his whole Court, according to Cuſtom, to ſee and help the Moon, that as they ſaid was to be eclips'd; but finding he was deceiv'd, and growing angry with his Mathematicians for their Miſtake, he order'd they ſhould forfeit the Revenue of a Town, according to the Cuſtom before-mention'd. Hence the *Omgne* took occaſion to acquaint the Prince that the *European* Father, had, before this happened, told him the Eclipſe would be the Night following. The Prince was mightily pleas'd that the Fathers ſhould hit right, where his Mathematicians had miſcarry'd.

The *Omgne* repair'd immediately to the Father, to know the preciſe Time of the Eclipſe; who having ſhew'd him that it was to be exactly at Eleven the following Night, he ſtill continu'd doubtful of the truth of the matter, and therefore would not wake the Prince till he ſaw the beginning of the Eclipſe. Then he ran to rouze him, and he coming out with ſome of his Courtiers, perform'd the uſual Ceremonies and Adorations to the Moon. Yet he would not make the matter publickly known, for fear of utterly diſcrediting their Books and Mathematicians, tho' all Men conceiv'd a great Opinion of our Doctrine, and particularly the *Omgne*, who from that time forwards for a whole Month came to hear the Catechiſing, diligently learning all that belongs to our Holy Faith. However he was not baptiz'd, wanting Reſolution to overcome the difficulty of the multiplicity of Women, as the Embaſſador *Ignatius* had done before. He forbore not nevertheleſs publickly with much fervour to declare our Doctrine and Law were true, and all others falſe, and ſaid he would certainly die a Chriſtian, which mov'd many others to deſire to be baptiz'd.

An Eclipſe of the Sun miſtaken.

Having talk'd of the Eclipſe of the Moon, we will conclude with another of the Sun, which hapned on the 22d of *May*, 1621, which the King's Aſtrologers foretold was to laſt two Hours; but having conceiv'd a great Opinion of us as to this particular, for their own greater Security, they came to ask our Opinions concerning it. I told them it was true there would be an Eclipſe of the Sun, the Figure whereof I ſhew'd in our *Ephemerides*; but I purpoſely forbore to let them know, that it would not be ſeen in *Cochin-China*, by reaſon of the Moon's Parallax to the Sun. Now they know not what the Parallax is, which is the cauſe they are often deceiv'd, not finding the juſt time by their Books and Calculations. This I did, that their Error being obſerv'd, our Knowledge might appear the more: I therefore demanded time to find out the preciſe time, ſaying in general terms, it was requiſite to meaſure Heaven by the Earth, to diſcover whether that Eclipſe would be viſible in their Country; and I delay'd the Anſwer ſo long, till the time of making known the Eclipſe being come, the Aſtrologers ſatisfy'd that our Book agreed with their Opinion, without farther reflection, concluded the Eclipſe was moſt certain, and adviſ'd the King to publiſh it after the uſual manner. When the Aſtrologers had ſpread their falſe Prediction throughout the Kingdom, I gave it out that the Eclipſe would not be ſeen at all in *Cochin China*. This Aſſertion of ours was carry'd to the Prince, who being doubtful in the matter, ſent his Mathematicians to me to ask my Opinion, and argue the Point. This Diſpute had no other effect on them, but only to increaſe their doubt, and hold the Prince in ſuſpence, whether he ought to ſend his Orders throughout the Kingdom, as the King his Father had done, or publiſh the contrary; for on the one hand it wrought upon him to ſee that both their Books and ours granted the Eclipſe,

Eclipſe, wherefore he thought it would be a Diſhonour to him, in caſe it happened not to have ſent the uſual Advice; and on the other ſide, he had a great Opinion of us on account of the antecedent Eclipſe of the Moon. Hereupon ſending to conſult me again, I anſwer'd, that having calculated the Eclipſe very exactly, I found it could not poſſibly be viſible in his Kingdom; and therefore he need not take any care to ſend Advice about the Country, for I would be anſwerable for his and his Aſtrologers Reputation, againſt the King and his Mathematicians. He at laſt rely'd upon my Words, and took no care to give Notice in his Liberty of the Eclipſe, the whole Court and King's Aſtrologers admiring at it; and they enquiring into the Cauſe of the Prince's neglect, were anſwer'd, that he had better Mathematicians in his Court than the King his Father: By which they underſtood that ſome of our Fathers being there, he forſook the Opinion of the Natives for theirs. However the Publication they had made being irrevokable, the uſual Preparations were made againſt the Day of the Eclipſe, till the Hour being come they experimentally perceiv'd their Error. The Day was clear and not a Cloud to be ſeen, and tho' it was the Month of *May*, when the Sun is there in the Zenith, and the Time of the Day about Three in the Afternoon when the Heat is violent, yet the King did not omit to go out with his Courtiers, enduring all the burning Sun for a long time; but finding himſelf impos'd upon, and being much incens'd, as well by reaſon of the great Heat he endur'd, as at the Ignorance of his Mathematicians, who had put him to that trouble without any reaſon, he reprimanded them ſeverely. They alledg'd for their excuſe, that there would be an Eclipſe infallibly, but that they had made a Day's Miſtake as to the Conjunction of the Moon, and therefore it would be ſeen the next Day at that ſame Hour. The King ſubmitted to his Aſtrologers, and coming out the next Day at the ſame Hour, ſuffer'd the ſame Inconveniency of Heat, to the great ſhame of his Aſtrologers, who eſcap'd not unpuniſh'd; for he not only took away their Revenues, but order'd they ſhould kneel a whole Day in the Court of the Palace, bare-headed expos'd to the Heat of the Sun, and to the Scorn of all the Courtiers. To return to the Prince who had got the better in this point, he writ to his Father in a jeſting manner, That tho' he was his Son, he had out-done him as to the Eclipſe, and had more Learned Men at his Court.

It is not to be imagin'd how much Reputation this Accident gain'd us among the Learned, inſomuch that even the King's and Prince's Mathematicians came to us, earneſtly begging we would receive them for our Scholars; and upon this account the Fame of the Fathers was every-where ſo great, that not only our Knowledge in Aſtronomy, but our Religion was extoll'd above their own, they arguing from the heavenly Bodies to things above the Heavens, as I ſaid before.

CHAP. VII.

How God open'd another Way to Chriſtianity, by means of the Omſaiis, *or Heathen Prieſts.*

Converſion of a Heathen Prieſt.

GOD in his infinite Wiſdom foreknowing of how great Conſequence it would be for the Converſion of thoſe Heathens, that ſome of their Prieſts or *Omſaiis* ſhould be converted, becauſe of the great Authority they have among all the People, it pleas'd his Divine Majeſty to open even this way to his Holy Faith. An *Omſaii* whoſe Name was *Ly*, liv'd near to our Houſe, and had the Charge of an Idol Temple, and being a Neighbour had frequent Opportunities of converſing with us, and of coming to ſome knowledge of our Rules, Actions, and Courſe of Life. This pleas'd him ſo well, that proceeding ſtill farther, he would needs be inform'd as to the Law of God, whereof we gave him a full Account; and coming to diſcourſe of the Reſurrection of our Lord, ſhewing him how he roſe again, that he and all Men might

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BOOK I. rise again the last Day, he was so pleas'd at it, that being inspir'd by God, he ask'd to be baptiz'd, which was accordingly granted to him and all his Family upon Christmas Night, which he spent on his Knees in Prayer with Floods of Tears, uttering these words, *Tun Cum Bet*; that is, I knew not, as if he would have said, Forgive me my God, for till now I knew you not. Then continuing some time very still, as it were contemplating, he repeated the same words, making a sweet Harmony to the new born Infant. After Baptism he took such an Affection for us, that he resolv'd to come to us with all his Family, that he might live under our Rule; but being inform'd that could not be, because he was marry'd, he concluded to live nearer to our House, that he might regulate his Actions by the Sound of our Bell, even to saying the long Litany in his Oratory, at the time we use to say it every Day, according to the Custom of the Society. And it is remarkable, that observing me at a certain Hour us'd to say our Beads walking, he would walk at the same time, to the amazement of his Country men, who look upon walking as a strange and ridiculous Action, because they never going a step but what is about Business, or to some Diversion, look'd upon our Action of walking as idle, because we went to a place to no other end but to return; so that the People flock'd to see us walk, and admiring the strangeness of it said, *Omsais di Lay*; that is, the Father goes and comes, goes and comes. Yet their Gazing did not make *Omsais* to leave his Custom, which tended to nothing but to be like us in all Points. He had but one Wife, and had liv'd about thirty Years, which was his Age, strictly up to the Law of Nature, that he had never, as he said, to that time knowingly deviated in any matter of consequence from what was just and upright; and his adoring of Idols was because he thought it contrary to Reason not to adore them. This shews how true that Doctrine of Divines is, to wit, that God never fails to have Baptism administred, either by the Hands of Men, as this was, or the Ministry of Angels, to a Heathen who lives a good Moral Life, according to the Dictates of Reason, and Law of Nature. This *Omsais Ly* wholly devoted himself to the Service of God, and after providing for the Maintenance of his Family, all he and they could earn was bestow'd upon our Church, taking special Care of its Neatness and Decency, and of adorning the Altars.

Other Conversions.

Nor was this all God requir'd of this his belov'd Servant; for he so inflam'd his Heart, that he apply'd himself to preach the Faith of Christ publickly, making the Mystery of the Resurrection the usual Subject of his Discourse, whereby he attracted and converted abundance, not only of the common sort, but several *Omsais*; for tho' he was none of the most learned, yet his fervour so well supply'd that def that among those who came to de... Baptism, there was one of the most learned and famous Men in the Kingdom, whose Authority, he himself proving the falsity of the Heathen Sects, immediately increas'd the Harvest of the Church. This Man therefore took upon him to oppose the other Gentiles, easily confuting them, as being well acquainted with the Grounds they went upon; herein very much easing our Fathers, who not being so well acquainted with their Sects, could not so well oppose them.

Several sorts of *Omsais*

And in truth there was need of such a help; for there is such variety of *Omsais* in that Country, that it looks as if the Devil had endeavour'd amo those Gentiles, to represent the Be and Variety of Religious Orders inst ted by Holy Men in the Catholick Church, their several Habits answering their several Professions; for some are clad in white, others in black, others in blue, and other Colours; some living in Community, some like Curates, Chaplains, Canons, and Prebends; others profess Poverty, living upon Alms; others exercise the Works of Mercy, ministring to the Sick, either Natural Physick, or Magick Charms, without receiving any Reward; others undertaking some pious Work, as building of Bridges, or other such things for the Publick Good, or erecting of Temples, and going about the Kingdom, begging Alms to this purpose, even as far as the Kingdom of *Tonchin*; others teach the Doctrine of their Religion, who being very rich, have Publick Schools, as Universal Masters. There are also some *Omsais* who profess the Farriers Trade, and compassionately cure Elephants, Oxen, and Horses, without asking any Reward, being satisfy'd with any thing that is freely given them. Lastly, Others look to Monasteries of Women, who live in Community, and admit

admit of no Man among them but the *Omfaii* who looks to them, and they are all his Wives.

The Temples. There are vaſt Temples with beautiful Towers and Steeples, nor is there any Town, tho' never ſo little without a Temple to worſhip its Idols, which are generally very large Statues, with abundance of Gold and Silver ſhut up in their Breaſts or Bellies, where no Body dares to touch it, till extream neceſſity obliges ſome Thief to gut the Idol, without regard to ſo great a Sacrilege as that is accounted among them; and what is very remarkable, they have Chaplets and Strings of Beads about their Necks, and make ſo many Proceſſions that they out-do the Chriſtians in praying to their falſe Gods. There are alſo among them ſome Perſons reſembling Abbots, Biſhops, and Arch-Biſhops, and they uſe gilt Staves, not unlike our Croſiers, inſomuch that if any Man come newly into that Country, he might eaſily be perſuaded there had been Chriſtians there in former times; ſo near has the Devil endeavour'd to imitate us. This will give us an Opportunity of adding here a Chapter of the Sects in *Cochin China*, to give ſome Light how we may draw that People out of ſuch Darkneſs, and bring them into the Light of the Goſpel.

CHAP. VIII.

A ſhort Account of the Sects in Cochin-China.

THE End of all Sects is either the God they adore, or the Glory and Happineſs they expect, ſome believing the Immortality of the Soul, others concluding that all ends when the Body dies. Upon theſe two Principles the Eaſtern Nations build all their Sects; all which took their Origin from a great Metaphyſician of the Kingdom of *Siam*, whoſe Name was *Xaca*, much ancienter than *Ariſtotle*, and nothing inferiour to him in Capacity, and the Knowlege of Natural Things. The ſharpneſs of this Man's Wit raiſing him to conſider the Nature and Fabrick of the World, reflecting on the beginning and end of all things, and particularly of human Nature, the chief Lady of this worldly Palace; he once went up to the top of a Mountain, and there attentively obſerving the Moon, which riſing in the Darkneſs of the Night, gently rais'd it ſelf above the Horizon to be hid again the next Day in the ſame Darkneſs, and the Sun getting up in the Morning to ſet again at Night, he concluded that as well Moral as Phyſical and Natural Things were nothing, came of nothing, and ended in nothing. Therefore returning home, he writ ſeveral Books and large Volumes upon this Subject, calling them, *Of nothing*; wherein he taught that the Things of this World, by reaſon of the duration and meaſure of Time are nothing: For tho' they had a being, ſaid he, yet they would be nothing, nothing at preſent, and nothing in the time to come, for the preſent being but a moment, was the ſame as nothing.

The Philoſopher *Xaca*.

His ſecond Argument he grounded on the Compoſition of things: Let us inſtance, ſaid he, in a Rope, the which not being naturally diſtinguiſh'd from its Parts, inaſmuch as they give its Being and Compoſition, ſo it appears that the Rope as a Rope is nothing; for as a Rope it is no diſtinct thing from the Threads it is compos'd of, and the Threads themſelves are no diſtinct thing from the Hemp they are made of, and the Hemp has no other Being but the Elements, whereof its Subſtance conſiſts: So that reſolving all things after this manner into the Elements, and thoſe to a ſort of *Materia Prima*, and meer *Potentia*, which is therefore actually nothing, he at laſt prov'd, that as well the heavenly things, as thoſe under Heaven, were truly nothing.

His Opinion, that all this World is nothing.

In the ſame manner did he argue as to Moral Things: That the Natural Happineſs of Man did not conſiſt in a poſitive Concurrence of all that is good, which he look'd upon as impoſſible, but rather in being free from all that is evil, and therefore ſaid, it was no other thing but to have no Diſeaſe, Pain, Trouble, or the like; and for a Man to have ſuch power over his Paſſions, as not to be ſenſible of Affection or Averſion, to Ho-

So of all Moral Things.

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nour or Diſgrace, Want or Plenty, Riches or Poverty, Life or Death, and that herein conſiſted true Beatitude. Whence he inferr'd, that all theſe things being nothing, they took their origine as it were from a Cauſe not efficient but material, from a Principle which in truth was nothing, but an eternal, infinite, immenſe, immutable, almighty, and to conclude, a God that was nothing, and the origin of this nothing.

The World how made.

As a Prelude or Introduction to his Sect, this Philoſopher gave ſome Account of the making of the World under two Metaphors. The one was, that the World came out of an Egg, which ſtretch'd out ſo vaſtly, that the Heavens were made of the Shell; the Air, Fire, and Water, of the White; and of the Yolk, the Earth and all earthly Things. The other Metaphor he took from the Body of a vaſt great Man, whom they call *Banco*, whom we would call *Microcoſm*, ſaying that the Maſs of the World came from him, his Scull extending to form the Heavens, his two Eyes making the Sun and Moon, his Fleſh the Earth, his Bones the Mountains, his Hair Plants and Trees, and his Belly the Sea, and thus applying all the Limbs and Parts of Man's Body, to the Fabrick and Ornament of the World; he added, that the other Men ſpread about all the World, were made of this great Man's Lice.

Another Doctrine of the ſame Philoſopher.

Having eſtabliſh'd this Doctrine of Nothing, he gather'd ſome Scholars, by whoſe means he ſpread it throughout all the Eaſt. But the *Chineſes* who knew that a Sect which reduced all things to nothing, was hurtful to the Government, would not hearken to it, nor allow there was no Puniſhment for wicked Men, or that the Happineſs of the good ſhould be reduced only to the being free from Sufferings in this World, and the Authority of the *Chineſes* being ſo great, others following their Example, rejected his Doctrine. *Xaca* diſſatisfy'd that he was diſappointed of Followers, chang'd his Mind, and retiring writ ſeveral other great Books, teaching that there was a real Origine of all Things, a Lord of Heaven, Heaven, Hell, Immortality, and Tranſmigration of Souls from one Body to another, better or worſe, according to the Merits or Demerits of the Perſon; tho' they do not forget to aſſign a ſort of Heaven and Hell for the Souls departed, expreſſing the whole metaphorically under the Names of Things Corporeal, and of the Joys and Sufferings of this World.

The Sect that believes all to be nothing.

This 2d Doctrine being made publick, the *Chineſes* receiv'd it, and above others the *Bonzis*, who are generally the meaneſt and moſt inconſiderable People in *Japan*, who being zealous for their Spiritual Advantage admitted this Doctrine, and preſerv'd it in twelve ſeveral ſorts of Sects, all differing from one another, tho' that which is moſt follow'd and eſteem'd, is the Opinion and Sect that believes all to be nothing, which they call *Genſiu*. Theſe ſometimes go abroad into a Field to hear a Sermon, that is a Diſcourſe of Bliſs made by a *Bonzo*, who treats of no other Subject, but to perſuade his Congregation, that human Bliſs is nothing, and that he is happy who values not whether he has Children or no Children, whether he is rich or poor, ſick or well, and the like; and the *Bonzo* preaches this Doctrine with ſuch ſtrength of Argument, and vehemency, that the Audience being fully bent upon the Contempt of all things, which in themſelves they look upon as nothing, ſuffering themſelves to be in a manner tranſported, they expreſs their Satisfaction and Happineſs in this manner, that is often crying out with a loud Voice, *Xin*, *Xin*, *Xin*; that is, Nothing, Nothing, Nothing, accompanying their Voices with certain Bits of Boards they clap between the Fingers of one hand ſtriking them together with the other (as Boys play on their Snappers) and with this Noiſe they are quite beſides themſelves as if they were drunk, and then they ſay they have done an Act of Bliſs. The *Japoneſes* and others making ſo great account of this Opinion of Nothing, was the cauſe that when *Xaca* the Author of it was come to his laſt, calling together his Diſciples, he proteſted to them upon the Word of a dying Man, that in the many Years he had lived and ſtudy'd, he had found nothing ſo true, nor any Opinion ſo well grounded, as was the Sect of Nothing; and tho' his ſecond Doctrine ſeem'd to differ from it, yet they muſt look upon it as no Contradiction or Recantation, but rather a Proof and Confirmation of the firſt, tho' not in plain Terms, yet by way of Metaphors and Parables, which might all be apply'd to the Opinion of Nothing, as would plainly appear by his Books.

But it is time to return to our *Cochin-Chineſes*, who not receiving this moſt fooliſh and vain Doctrine, which denying

Errors of the *Cochin-Chineſes.*

nying the ſubſtantial Form, reduces all things to nothing, they generally throughout all the Kingdom hold the Immortality of the Soul, and conſequently the eternal Rewards for the Juſt, and Puniſhments for the Wicked, yet mixing a thouſand Errors with theſe Truths. The firſt of which is, that they do not diſtinguiſh between the immortal Soul and the Demons, calling both by one and the ſame Name *Maa*, and attributing to them both, the ſame Practice of doing Miſchief to the living. The ſecond is, that they aſſign one of the Rewards of the Soul to be Tranſmigration from one Body to another, more worthy, nobler, and in greater Dignity; as from one of the common ſort to a King, or Great Lord. The third, that the Souls of the Dead ſtand in need of Suſtenance and Corporal Food, and therefore at certain times in the Year according to their Cuſtom, the Children make plentiful Entertainments for their dead Parents, Men for their Wives, and Friends for their Acquaintance departed, expecting a long time for the dead Gueſt to come and ſit down at Table to eat. We one Day confuted theſe Errors with Arguments which the Philoſophers call *à priori*, and therefore told them that the Soul was a Spirit, and had no Mouth or other material part to eat, and therefore they were deceiv'd to think they could feed. And then *à poſteriori*, for in caſe they did eat, then the Diſhes would not be as full after they had done as they were before. They laugh'd at theſe Arguments, ſaying, Theſe Fathers know nothing; and to ſolve both Difficulties, anſwer'd, That Meat conſiſted of two Parts, one the Subſtance, the other the Accidents of Quantity, Quality, Smell, Taſte, and the like. The immaterial Souls of the Dead, ſaid they, taking only the Subſtance of the Meat, which being immaterial, was proper Suſtenance for the incorporeal Spirit, left only the Accidents in the Diſhes, as they appear to our Corporal Eyes, to which purpoſe the Dead had no need of Corporeal Parts as we ſaid. Any wiſe Man may by this falſe Anſwer diſcover the Acuteneſs of the *Cochin Chineſe* Philoſophers, tho' they abſolutely err as to the reality of the Argument.

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They alſo err in reſpect to the Souls themſelves, adoring thoſe of Men who were look'd upon as holy in this World, adding them to the number of their Idols, whereof their Temples are full, placing them orderly according to their ſeveral Degrees, in Rows along the ſides of the Temples, the leaſt firſt, and ſo bigger and bigger, till the laſt are extraordinary large. But the high Altar being the moſt honourable Place in the Temple, is purpoſely kept empty, behind which is a vacant dark ſpace, to expreſs that he whom they adore as God, and on whom the Pagods, who like us were viſible and corporeal Men, is inviſible, wherein they think the greateſt Honour conſiſts. Such a multitude of Idols, by them accounted Gods, giving us occaſion to endeavour to demonſtrate to them, that there can be but one only God: They anſwer'd, they agreed to it, ſuppoſing thoſe that were placed along the ſides of the Temples, were not they that had created Heaven and Earth, but holy Men whom they honour'd, as we do the holy Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Confeſſors, with the ſame diſtinction of greater and leſſer Sanctity, as we aſſign among our Saints. And therefore to corroborate their Aſſertion they added, That the vacant dark place about the high Altar, was the proper place of the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who being inviſible, and quite remote from our Senſes, could not be repreſented by viſible Images of Idols, but that under that Vacuity and Darkneſs the due Adoration was to be given him as to a thing incomprehenſible, uſing the Interceſſion of the Idols, that they may obtain Favours and Bleſſings of him. And altho' according to what has been hitherto ſaid, they ſeem to have an efficient and intellectual Cauſe for God, yet upon mature Examination of the Matter and their Books, we find that they certainly adore a predominant Element.

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CHAP. IX.

How God open'd another Way to the Converſion of the meaner ſort by miraculous Means.

Frequent Apparitions of Devils.

IT remains that we ſhew how God acting conformably to the mean vulgar People of *Cochin-China*, who were us'd to ſee Phantoms, Viſions, and Apparitions, the Devil often appearing to them, was pleas'd to ſhew ſome Miracles, to the end that declining in their Opinion of Diabolical Prodigies, they might own the only Lord and ſingular Worker of true Wonders. The Devils appear ſo frequently among thoſe Heathens, that not to ſpeak of the Oracles they deliver by the Mouth of Idols, which are in great eſteem among the wretched Gentiles, they walk about the Cities ſo familiarly in human Shapes, that they are not at all fear'd but admitted into Company, and this is carry'd ſo far, that there are abundance of *Incubi* and *Succubi*. And among great People thoſe Huſbands account themſelves happy, who know their Wives have ſuch Familiars; for generally they have to do with none but marry'd Women, publickly boaſting that they are worthy to mix with a Nature ſo much above their own as is the Devils. It hapned in my time, that a Woman of great Quality, Mother to two Sons who were Chriſtians, envy'd by her Neighbours not ſo much for her Beauty, as for her diſhoneſt Familiarity with the Devil, poſitively refuſing to become a Chriſtian, came to die in Labour, and by the aſſiſtance of the Devil brought forth two Eggs: Now it being held as moſt certain among them, that the Devil her *Incubus* was God of the Rivers, they did not bury the Body in a Cave, building a Chapel over it as is the uſual Cuſtom, but carrying it in ſolemn Proceſſion to a River caſt it into the Deep, together with the two Eggs, ſaying, Let her go to the Lord of the River, ſince ſhe was worthy to have to do with him when living. Among the common ſort this Filthineſs is not eſteem'd an Honour, but they rather account it a grievous Diſtemper when their Women are thus moleſted by the Devil, as we ſhould their being poſſeſt. Theſe Women therefore underſtanding that the Religion of the Fathers was altogether oppoſite to the Devil, they imagin'd they might have ſome Medicine againſt this Diſtemper, calling Holy Things as the Water of Baptiſm, *Agnus Dei*, and the like, Medicines, and therefore came to our Houſe to beg ſuch Medicines; and by the Grace of God all thoſe that carried away with them any bit of *Agnus Dei*, were never more moleſted by the Devil, yet with this difference, that thoſe who were not Chriſtians [illegible] the *Incubus* come to the Bed's-[illegible], but had not power to lay hold on, or touch their Perſons, whereas the Chriſtians perceiv'd he could not come near the Chamber-door, which occaſion'd ſeveral to be baptiz'd.

Incubi and *Succubi*.

Other monſtrous Viſions.

Tho' theſe *Incubus* Devils appearing in human Shapes, do no harm to the Body, yet ſometimes there are others that appear in horrid and frightful Shapes, and the *Cochin-Chineſes*, who have often ſeen, deſcribe them after the ſame manner as we paint them, for example, with a Cock's Face, a long Tail, a Bat's Wings, a hideous Look, bloody flaming Eyes; and when they appear in ſuch Shapes, they are much fear'd, being then generally hurtful to Men, ſometimes carrying them up to the tops of Houſes to caſt them down headlong. We once heard a wonderful Noiſe of People in our Street, crying out very loud, *Maqui Maco*, that is, the Devil in a monſtrous Shape; whereupon ſome Gentiles came running to deſire us, that ſince we had Weapons againſt thoſe evil Spirits, we would go relieve thoſe diſtreſs'd People who were infeſted by them. Having recommended our ſelves to God, and arm'd our ſelves with Croſſes, *Agnus Deis* and Relicks, we went two of us to the place where the Devil was, and came ſo near, that we only wanted turning of a Corner to be upon him, when he ſuddenly vaniſh'd, leaving three Prints of Feet upon the Pavement, which I ſaw, and were above two Spans long, with the Marks of a Cock's Talons and Spurs. Some attributed the Devil's flying to the Virtue of the holy Croſs and Relicks we carry'd with us.

Theſe

Good Visions.

These frightful Apparitions God has made use of to attract many to his holy Faith, yet not denying them good Visions, as will appear by the following Accidents, which hapned before me in that Kingdom. The first was, that as we were one Day in our own House, we saw a Procession of a vast multitude of People in a Field making towards us, whither when they came, being ask'd what they would have, they answer'd, That a most beautiful Lady came from their Land through the Air, on a Throne of bright Clouds, who bid them go to that City, where they should find the Fathers, who would shew them the sure Way to Bliss, and the Knowlege of the true God of Heaven. This made us give Thanks to the blessed Virgin, whose this great Benefit was own'd to be, and having catechis'd and baptiz'd the People sent them home well pleas'd.

The second was at another time, F. *Francis Buzome* and I returning homeward together, such a multitude of People came to another place, who having paid us very much respect, told F. *Francis Buzome*, they were come to him to teach them what he had promis'd them the Night before when he was in their Town. The Father was astonish'd at their Demand, having never been in the place they spoke of; but examining into the matter, I found that God of his infinite Mercy had caus'd some Angel in the Father's shape, or in a Dream had given those People some knowledge of our holy Faith. The Fame of these Miracles being spread abroad, such numbers of People were converted, that the Church given us by the Governour was too little, and we were forced to build one larger, his Wife, Children, and Kindred, with many other Christians contributing towards it.

CHAP. X.

Of the Churches and Christians of Faifo, Turon, *and* Cacchiam.

What the Fathers did at *Faifo*.

F. *Francis de Pina* being gone to *Faifo*, a City of the *Japoneses*, as was said before, he there joyn'd F. *Peter Marques*, and they did great Service in that City. The last of them, who was Master of the *Japonese* Tongue, in a short time reform'd some of those Christians who were become Libertines, and kept Women, and converted many Pagans. The other who understood the Language of *Cochin-China* made many Christians, and having convinced some *Bonzes* and *Omfaiis*, by that means drew over many more to the Holy Faith; so that between *Japoneses* and *Cochin-Chineses*, that Church for Number and Religious Observance might compare with many in *Europe*, such was their Piety, Zeal, frequenting of the Sacraments, and other godly Works.

At *Turon*.

The Church of *Turon*, which we said in the second Chapter of this Book, the Heathens burnt down during the first Persecution, was by God's permission rebuilt by means of the Fathers of the Society, who gain'd many Christians in that City.

At *Cacchiam*.

Abundance of People were likewise converted to our Faith at *Cacchiam*; which good Work was much forwarded by the *Omgne*, who on account of the Father's foretelling the Eclipse so certainly, as was before observ'd, publickly affirm'd, there was no other true Religion but that the Father's taught. This was the State of Affairs there, when I came away out of that Country for *Europe*, which was in the Year 1622.

Afterwards by the annual Letters sent me by those Fathers, my Companions left there cultivating that Vineyard, I understood that there were still about a thousand converted and baptiz'd in a Year, and that Christianity flourish'd more than ever it had done at *Cacchiam* particularly. But now of late they write, that the King had forbid any more becoming Christians, and threatned to expel the Fathers out of the Kingdom, and this because the *Portuguese* Trade fail'd. Yet it pleas'd God this Persecution went no farther, the King being satisfy'd, provided one of the Fathers went away to *Macao*, to endeavour to perswade the *Portugueses* to continue the Trade, as it seems was afterwards done; so that things are now quiet, and the Fathers continue gaining new Christians as they did at first.

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CHAP. XI.

Of the Kingdom of Tunchim.

WHEN the Superiours of *Macao* ſent me into *Cochin-China*, they told me, they did not abſolutely deſign I ſhould continue in that Miſſion, but only to learn the Language, that I might afterwards diſcover the Kingdom of *Tunchim*. For this reaſon during thoſe five Years I dwelt there, I almoſt made it my Buſineſs to enquire into, and get certain Information of the Affairs of that Kingdom, the Language being the ſame, as formerly it was but one Kingdom. I will therefore ſay as much of it as any way concerns *Cochin-China*, which has ſome dependance upon *Tunchim*, and this according to the Accounts given me by Natives of *Tunchim*, who came to the Province of *Pulucambi*, where I reſided moſt part of my time; the reſt I will leave to the News we ſhall receive from our Fathers, who are there ſtill making further Diſcoveries.

A Deſcription of *Tunchim.*

This Kingdom, beſides *Cochin-China* which belongs to it, contains four other Provinces, all extending equally in length and breadth. In the very Center of them is the Royal City of *Tunchim*, from which all the Kingdom takes Name, there the Court is kept, and the King reſides, being encompaſs'd on all ſides by thoſe four Provinces, compoſing a Square four times as big as *Cochin-China*. On the Eaſt-ſide of this Kingdom is the Gulf of *Ainam*, into which falls a great and navigable River that runs down eighteen Leagues from the City *Tunchin*, and *Japoneſe* Ships call'd *Jonks* go up it. This River generally overflows twice a Year, in *June* and *November*, drowning almoſt half the City, but it laſts not long. On the South are the Frontiers of *Sinuva*, the Court of *Cochin-China*, as has been obſerv'd already. On the North of it is *China*, without the Defence of a Wall, the Trade and Commerce between the *Chineſes* and *Tunchineſes* being ſo mutual and conſtant, that it will not allow of Walls and Gates ſhut, as they are againſt other Foreigners. This is the Reaſon that induces the Fathers of our Society to attempt the entrance into *China* that way, knowing they ſhall not on this ſide meet with all thoſe Impediments that Strangers meet with throughout all the reſt of the Kingdom, and more eſpecially about *Canton*. Laſtly, On the Weſt it borders on the Kingdom of *Lai*, into which F. *Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon* made his way thro' *Cochin-China*; and this Kingdom, I am of Opinion, cannot but border upon that of *Tibet*, newly diſcover'd; which I am apt to believe, as well by reaſon of the extent and length of the Land of *Tibet* and Borders of *Lai*, becauſe by the greatneſs and compaſs of theſe two Kingdoms, it ſeems impoſſible that any other Land ſhould lie betwixt them; as alſo much more on account of what the ſame Fathers who were there relate of *Tibet*, who report that the fartheſt Province of *Tibet* Eaſtward borders upon, and trades with a People, who ſell them Raw Silk and fine Diſhes, like thoſe of *China*, and ſuch like Commodities, which we know *Tunchim* abounds in, and ſell them to the *Laiis*.

The Government.

As to the Government of this Kingdom it is hereditary, and rul'd as follows: The Supreme Regal Dignity reſides in one they call *Buna*; but he of himſelf does nothing at all, all things being left to his Favourite, whom they call *Chiuua*, whoſe Power is ſo abſolute both in Peace and War, that he is come by degrees to own no Superiour; the *Buna* remaining in his Royal Palace, quite cut off from all Management of the Publick Affairs, ſatisfy'd with an exteriour Reſpect due to him as a ſort of Sacred Perſon, and with the Authority of making Laws, and confirming all Edicts. When the *Chiuua* dies, he always endeavours to have his Son ſucceed him in the Government; but for the moſt part it falls out that the Tutors of thoſe Sons aſpiring themſelves to that Dignity, endeavour to murder them, and by that means poſſeſs themſelves of the Dignity of *Chiuua*.

Power.

The *Chiuua*'s Power is ſo great, that ſuitable to the bigneſs of the Kingdom, he is able to bring into the Field three or four times the number of Men as the King of *Cochin-China*, whoſe Army as was ſaid above amounts to 80000 Men. Nor is it any difficult matter for the *Chiuua*, as often as he pleaſes, to raiſe 300000 armed Men or more, becauſe

cauſe the prime Lords of his Kingdom, ſuch as among us, Dukes, Marqueſſes, and Earls, are oblig'd in time of War to furniſh them at their own Expence. The *Buna's* Strength is not above 40000 Men for his Guard. Yet he is always own'd as Superiour to the *Chiuua* of *Tunchim*, by the King of *Cochin-China*, and by that other *Chiuua*, we obſerv'd in the firſt Book to be fled into the Province bordering upon *China*, tho' theſe are continually at War againſt one another; and the King of *Lais* bordering upon *Tunchim*, pays him a certain Tribute.

Succeſſion. Therefore when we ſay this Crown is hereditary, it is to be underſtood only in reference to the *Buna*, whoſe Children always ſucceed the Royal Race being continu'd in his Family. This is as much as I thought fit briefly to ſay of the Kingdom of *Tunchim*, from what I could learn of it till my return into *Europe*.

Since then I have been inform'd, that F. *Julian Baldinotte*, an *Italian* born at *Piſtoria* in *Tuſcany*, was ſent into that Kingdom to make ſome way for the Goſpel, and arriv'd from *Macao* at the City *Tunchim*, after a Month's Sail. As for what the ſaid Father found in that Country, what paſs'd between the King and him, the Solemnity of his Reception, and the firſt Foundation he laid to Chriſtianity, I refer the Reader to the Account given lately by that Father himſelf; and we are ſtill expecting freſh Advices from the other Fathers, as F. *Peter Marques* a *Portugueſe*, and F. *Alexander Rhodes* of *Avignon*, who we ſaid before had been in *Cochin-China*, and are there ſtill gaining Chriſtians. We therefore hope both theſe Kingdoms of *Tunchim* and *Cochin China*, will ſoon be united to the Flock of the Church, acknowledging and giving the due Obedience to the univerſal Paſtor and Vicar of Chriſt our Lord on Earth.

BORRI.

The CONCLUSION.

IT is not poſſible but that ſuch as have leaſt Inclination to the Diſcovery of the World, and are moſt affected to their own Countries and Homes, muſt be excited by this ſhort Account to deſire to ſee not only the Variety but the Truth of ſuch ſtrange things, which tho' they be not ſupernatural, may yet be term'd Miracles of Nature. Such are thoſe I have ſaid I ſaw in *Cochin-China*, a Land as to its Climate and Seaſons of the Year habitable, by reaſon of the fruitfulneſs of its Soil abounding in Proviſions, Fruit, Birds, and Beaſts, and the Sea, in choice and delicious Fiſh; and moſt healthy, becauſe of the excellent Temper of the Air, inſomuch that thoſe People do not yet know what the Plague is. It is rich in Gold, Silver, Silk, *Calamba*, and other things of great value, fit for Trade by reaſon of the Ports and reſort of all Nations: Peaceable, becauſe of their loving, generous, and ſweet Diſpoſition: And laſtly ſecure, not only by the Valour and Bravery of the *Cochin-Chineſes* accounted ſuch by other Countries, and their Store of Arms, and Skill in managing them; but even by Nature, which has ſhut it in on the one ſide by the Sea, and on the other by the Rocky *Alps*, and uncouth Mountains of the *Kemois*. This is that part of the Earth call'd *Cochin-China*, which wants nothing to make it a part of Heaven, but that God ſhould ſend thither a great many of his Angels, ſo S. *John Chryſoſtom* calls Apoſtolical Men, and Preachers of the Goſpel. How eaſily would the Faith be ſpread abroad in this Kingdom of *Cochin China*, where there are not thoſe Difficulties which we Fathers of the Society diſpers'd about the *Eaſt*, do meet with in other Countries; for there is no need here of being diſguis'd or conceal'd, theſe People admitting of all Strangers in their Kingdom, and being well pleas'd that every one ſhould live in his own Religion. Nor is it neceſſary before Preaching to ſpend many Years in ſtudying their Letters and Hieroglyphicks, as the Fathers in *China* do, for here it is enough to learn the Language, which as has been ſaid is ſo eaſie, that a Man may preach in a Year. The People are not ſhy, nor do they ſhun Strangers, as is practis'd in other Eaſtern Nations, but make much of them, affect their Perſons, prize their Commodities, and commend their Doctrine. They do not lie under that great Impediment for the receiving

the

BORRI. the Grace of the Goſpel, that is, the Sin of Sodomy, and others contrary to Nature, which is frequent in all the other Eaſtern Countries, the very Name whereof the *Cochin-Chineſes* naturally abhor. In ſhort, theſe People may very eaſily be taught the principal Myſteries of our holy Faith, they, as we have ſhewn, in a manner adoring but one only God, accounting the Idols as inferiour Saints, allowing the Immortality of the Soul, Eternal Puniſhments for the Wicked, and Bliſs for the Juſt, uſing Temples, Sacrifices, Proceſſions; ſo that changing the Objects, it would be eaſie to introduce the true Worſhip. That there will be no difficulty in making out the Myſtery of the holy Euchariſt may appear by the Diſtinction they make, between the Accidents and Subſtance of the Meat they provide for the Dead, as has been ſaid above in this Second Book. All theſe things inflame the Minds of the Children of the Society, who tho' recluſe and ſhut up in the Colleges and Provinces of *Europe*, have an ardent Deſire to convert the World. And tho' many of them put it in practice with the Aſſiſtance of the Holy See Apoſtolick, which with a Fatherly Care relieves the Miſſion of *Japan*, as alſo by his Catholick Majeſty King *Philip*, and his Council of the *Indies*, who ſo frequently with incredible Bounty ſupply the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies* with Miniſters of the Goſpel, yet it is impoſſible that theſe two great Pillars which ſupport other mighty Weights, and bear almoſt all the World on their Shoulders, can ſufficiently ſupply all that daily occurs and is diſcover'd. I therefore truſt in God, that his Divine Providence will rouze up ſome generous Soul, inflam'd with the Zeal of God's Honour, to ſend and maintain ſome Evangelical Miniſters, who ſatisfy'd with a religious and poor Suſtenance, may convey the Food of the Goſpel not only throughout *Cochin-China*, but unto the great Kingdom of *Tunchim*, founding a Church and Chriſtian Flock that may compare with the moſt renowned in the World.

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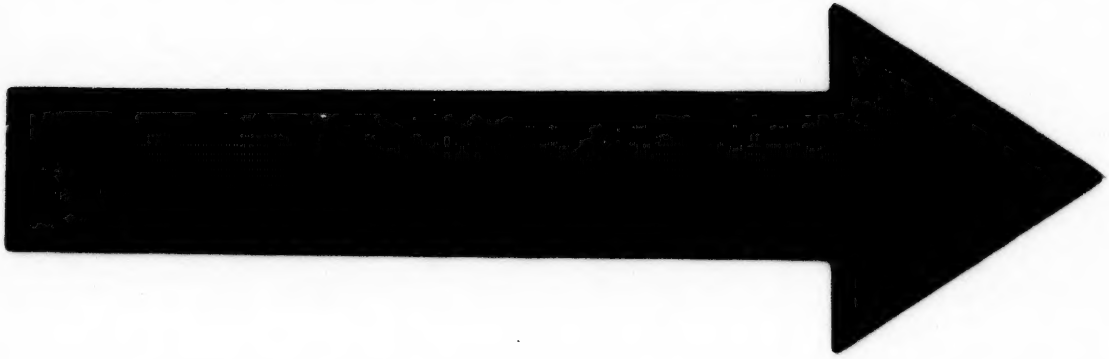
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